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THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

11

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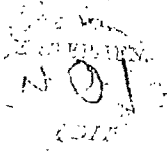


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## The

## American Historical Review

EARLY RECORDS OF THE KING'S COUNCIL<sup>1</sup>

THE early history of the privy council is a subject that has been left in much obscurity. This is largely because there have seemed to be no records of its acts and proceedings before the reign of Richard II. While much concerning the council of the fourteenth century may be gathered from various collateral sources; it has seemed to some that in the lack of more direct evidence our knowledge of the subject cannot be clear and definite.<sup>2</sup> It has been thought too that the council can not be considered a distinct and mature body before the beginning of its records. Says Dicey, "The conjecture is therefore natural that the council's acts were first accurately recorded when its existence as a separate institution was for the first time recognized."<sup>3</sup> This time was understood to be the reign of Richard II., which has been taken as marking a special change in the council's development.<sup>4</sup> Much therefore hinges upon the question when such records were actually first made.

The famous collection of Sir Harris Nicolas, entitled *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, contains for its first entry a record of the tenth year of Richard II. That the same eminent author and editor subsequently discovered two isolated instances of council minutes of earlier date, belonging to the years 1337 and 1341 respectively, which he presented in his *History of the Royal*

<sup>1</sup> The term *king's council* rather than *privy council* was generally used in the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> "Its history can only be traced in its proceedings and until those proceedings are collected and printed, he [the author] is persuaded that anything which could be written would be unworthy of attention, because it must be formed of speculations founded upon most imperfect premises." Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Dicey, *Privy Council*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> "The privy council, from the reign of Richard II. onwards, although it inherited and amplified the functions of the permanent council of Edward I., differed widely in its organization." Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 274.

*Navy*,<sup>1</sup> has been generally overlooked. It would be strange indeed were these the only instances during a period of fifty years when minutes of the kind were made. Now a search among the archives of the Public Record Office reveals that there is an abundance of such material, not only of earlier date than anyone has stated, but also of later times, which have not been utilized. In view of their bearing upon the history of the council, it seems useful to give an account of these newly found manuscripts. They are of various kinds, corresponding to the different proceedings of the council.

The earliest and simplest form of record made by the council was in connection with the petitions, of which thousands were received. It is well known how suitors addressed petitions to the king and council seeking remedies which they could not obtain from the ordinary courts. The responses were made regularly upon the backs of the same strips of parchment, in words as few as possible. As the council did not usually try cases, the endorsements consisted of brief directions to the suitors, the judges, or the chartellor: to the effect that the parties should sue at common law, or in the chancery, that writs should be issued, that judgment be rendered, and the like. The response assumed greater length when a point of law had to be explained. Not that all of the numberless responses were actually made by the council, for there were hearers and triers of petitions appointed to do much of the work. But it is plain that even too much of the council's time was spent in the hearing of private petitions.

The function of the council in the way of receiving and answering petitions has been adequately described by the ablest writers.<sup>2</sup> This much, however, it is necessary to recall as furnishing a clue to the council's proceedings in other matters, for the process of petition and response was followed in all kinds of business, public as well as private. It was in a manner analogous to that followed with the small private petitions, that the council was accustomed to deal with state questions submitted to it. The usual form in which matters for the consideration of the council were stated, consisted of a series of articles, each article being a distinct petition or proposition. A characteristic title upon one document of this kind reads, *fait a remembrer des choses a monstreres au conseil nostre seigneur le Roi*.<sup>3</sup> Such a document constituted a kind of agenda, which could

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, II. 188-192.

<sup>2</sup> See Hale, *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords*; Maitland, *Memoranda of the Parliament of 1305*; and Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, Chancery, file VII, no. 19. The collection under this title in the Public Record Office is newly compiled, and contains much material, relating both to Parliament and to the council, which has not been available before.

be considered point by point. Upon the wide margins and between the paragraphs of such a parchment could be written the responses or decisions of the council to each point. In case the articles were accepted in their entirety the inscription was a simple matter.<sup>1</sup>

It will illustrate a whole class of documents to describe one which belongs to the second year of Edward III.<sup>2</sup> In this John Darcy lays before the council a series of petitions in sixteen articles, stating the conditions upon which he is willing to go to Ireland as chief justice. He asks that certain men whom he names be placed in office as his associates; that the chief justice have powers of supervision over other officers; that he have the power to pardon for felony; that no grants in Ireland be made without consulting the justice and others of the council there; that it be granted by statute that all Irishmen wishing to use English laws be permitted to do so without having to buy charters for the privilege. The answers of the council are inserted between the lines and in the margins in a handwriting clearly different from the former. Most of the propositions were accepted with some modification. Some of the names suggested were scratched out and others substituted. As to the granting of pardons, it was answered that it seemed better that the power should not be exercised without consulting the king. As to the Irish freely enjoying English law, the justice was to get the opinion of the next Irish parliament. Other items were accepted with a simple *fiat*. The decisions thus reached were put into execution on the authority of "king and council," according to the attestations upon the letters of great seal that were forthwith issued.<sup>3</sup>

There is a document of the year 1311 which was one of a number coming from Gascony, perhaps having been drawn up in the king's council there, as others were.<sup>4</sup> It consists of a series of articles, punctuated with the words, *item intimandum est*, *item consilium est*, etc., written in a provincial Latin strange to England. Most likely it was considered at the small council summoned at York for February 27, 1312, to confer on affairs of Aquitaine.<sup>5</sup> The items in detail specify that the mayor and *jurati* of Bordeaux are increasing the taxes, that many officers commit excesses while the

<sup>1</sup> Upon one of the documents occurs the following marginal note in an unclerly hand: *ceux articles sont lues devant le Roi et le con. est et sont acordes en tous points*. Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VI. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Calendar of Patent Rolls, 2 Edw. III., p. 316; Calendar of Close Rolls, p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, p. 114. This is another file into which many of the council documents have fallen.

<sup>5</sup> Parliamentary Writs, II. 71.

country is distracted by war, that commissioners with plenary powers should be appointed, that the castles of Bordeaux need repair, that in the law-cases pending in the court of the king of France subjects of the king of England should be treated fairly, and that for use in these cases evidence should be diligently sought for in the king's treasury. The responses of the council are written in a small cramped hand between the several paragraphs. Many of the questions were referred to the seneschal of Gascony, who was to act with the advice of the king's council of that part. Some of the answers are made with the additional confirmation, "*placet regi*," while in some instances it was required, "*informetur rex*." As in other cases of the kind, the responses were the basis for executive orders, the appointment of a commission to Paris being upon the close roll of the same year in accordance with the Gascon petition.<sup>1</sup>

That the procedure which has been illustrated in the foregoing examples was followed in much the same way by the king's council of Gascony, there is evidence in a large document of the year 1320.<sup>2</sup> It contains certain petitions from Agen and other towns asking for various franchises and for reforms in the Agenais. The articles from the towns having been first submitted to the seneschal and council of Gascony, received certain amendments at their hands, which are incorporated in the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> In this form they were sent to England, where they were submitted to the council, the responses being inscribed in the usual manner. All the petitions were accepted but one, about which there was to be further deliberation.<sup>4</sup>

Considering the documents as respects their form, the result was different when at greater length responses to petitions were rendered upon separate parchments. Of the year 1334 there is a voluminous petition coming from the seneschal and council of Gascony to the king and council in England, consisting of twenty-nine articles relating to the aggressions of the king of France.<sup>5</sup> A short inscription on one of the pages describes how the answers of the

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 6 Edw. II., p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> *Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls*, 5/16.

<sup>3</sup> How the petitions were treated is told in the document itself. (*Articulos*) quos dominus Guillelmus de Monte Acuto quondam senescallus Vasconie una cum responsionibus dictorum articulorum et avisationibus per ipsum et vestrum consilium illarum partium inde factis vobis remisit, et quos post modum vos remisistis sub pede sigilli vestri senescallo Vasconie et mandastis observari nuper responses eis factas, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Postmodum exhibitis dictis articulis et diligenter examinatis visum est consilio quod poterunt confirmari salvo jure Regis excepto XX<sup>mo</sup> de quo deliberaretur.

<sup>5</sup> *Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls*, 5/22.

council were returned in a roll. "*As touz les pointz q touchent les articles desuzditz est respondu en le point entre en un roule sur l'ordenance faite par le conseil sur les ditz articles et articles suauntz.*" In this case, as in most others when the same method was followed, petitions and responses have been irrecoverably separated.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, in a way that was followed also with the private petitions, transcripts were made from the original membranes considered by the council. The distinguishing feature of the transcript is that both petitions and responses are in the same handwriting. While the original responses were often written in an irregular, unclerly hand, the copies were made by a professional scribe. In these cases the entire manuscript is made by the council or by its direction. A good example of a state paper of this kind is one, dated March 24, 1318, which embodies a report from the bishop of Worcester which was sent to the council for its consideration.<sup>2</sup> In a number of articles in the usual form it gives an account of certain judicial processes which were being drawn into the court of France, involving ministers and other subjects of the king of England in Aquitaine. Some of the recommendations of the bishop, who had been one of the king's proctors at the court of France regarding these cases, were that an effort should be made to have a joint commission appointed by the king of England and by the king of France to deal with the cases in dispute; that penalties imposed on the appellants should not be exacted provided they would withdraw their appeals; that in regard to certain cases request should be made for delay in the hope of a permanent peace.

Throughout the period under review the method described, of petition and response, was the most usual mode in council proceedings. In some ways it is the most satisfactory kind of record, for it reveals more clearly than any other the steps by which the council came to its decisions. Better than any other does it distinguish the council from Parliament, for the process is totally different from anything shown in the records of Parliament. The document of petitions when completed with the responses was considered to be fully binding as an expression of the will of the king and council.

<sup>1</sup> There is a noteworthy set of responses sent to Gascony about the year 1314, bearing the endorsement, *avisamenta consilii Regis super quibus petitur tangens Regi*. (Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, p. 398.) There is a series of recommendations as to problems of Ireland, which contains no responses. (Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 19.)

<sup>2</sup> It describes itself as follows. *Dominus T. dei gratia Wigornensis episcopus liveravit Elie de Jonestone infrascriptos articulos portendos dicto domino Regi, cancellario, et thesaurario suis et ceteris de consilio ad quos pertinet super hiis consulere et remedia adhibere*. Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, 250.

This was expressed with regard to a series of petitions received in the sixteenth year of Edward III. from the prelates and barons of Ireland. "The king ordained that these should be diligently examined by the council and answer made, to be written after each petition, and then the king commanded that the answers with the articles should have full force with the penalties contained therein."<sup>1</sup> The petitions, with the answers and ordinances made thereupon, were then sent back to Ireland to be observed.<sup>2</sup>

The method of petition and response, however, was not the only method of council proceedings. A different, though not necessarily a more mature, form was observed when the things agreed to were recorded in the shape of minutes or resolutions, without reference to any petition or address. Such minutes containing recommendations, ordinances, or drafts of ordinances, were written always upon single and detached membranes, usually in a series of brief articles, as in the previous examples, with a preference for the less formal French language rather than the Latin, and are indicated by phrases like *fait a remembrer que, accorde fust par le conseil*, or *avis est de conseil*. In some cases the appearance of the writing suggests that the articles were put down at different times, as the decisions were made, and sometimes space is left for more.

It is remarkable that some of the earliest records of the council should be of this kind. Thus there is an ordinance, apparently of the ninth year of Edward I.—*accorde est par le Roi e par sun conseil*—protecting from legal liabilities those who were going on service to Wales.<sup>3</sup> Of the year 1299 there is a very clear record of an act, stated to be *ordinatum per Regem et consilium suum*, awarding sums of money to various Gascons who had lost their lands in the king's service. The document is remarkable in that it gives the names of the councillors, six in number, who were responsible for the measure.<sup>4</sup> Of the same general form is an ordinance by the council, of the twenty-fourth year of Edward I., called "*de statu religiosorum de potestate regis Francie*," which relates to alien priories, forbidding them to exist within thirteen miles of the sea or other navigable waters.<sup>5</sup>

In the first and second years of Edward II. there are some notable ordinances relating to the government of Scotland, directing appointments to offices, salaries, military equipment, and like matters.<sup>6</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., 508.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 516.

<sup>3</sup> *Parliamentary Proceedings*, I. 21-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls*, 5/5.

<sup>5</sup> *Parliamentary Proceedings*, II. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Diplomatic Documents*, Chancery, 217 and 809.



great many of the proceedings relate to Ireland. Of the sixteenth year of Edward III. there is the draft of an ordinance concerning the government of Ireland, which claims to be merely the "advice" of the council.<sup>1</sup> The extended and completed ordinance may be found upon a printed roll of the same year.<sup>2</sup> A larger number could be produced relating to Gascony.

Of small instruments which are merely the drafts of single orders made by the council or with its sanction, to be issued as letters under the great seal, there exists an indefinite number.<sup>3</sup> If it be thought that the memoranda here described may have been written by some councillor for his personal use rather than by the council's own direction, there is sufficient proof to the contrary in occasional statements upon the membranes, such as *le conseil ad cy escrit son avis* and *cestes notes furent faites par le conseil*.

The manner of record thus described, of ordinances and resolutions, is less distinctively of the council than the former one of petitions and responses. The same general form was followed in the ordinances of great councils and parliaments. From the words *ordinatum est per consilium* alone one cannot tell which council is meant. It is clear and satisfactory only when the names of the councillors who drafted or assented to the acts are given. In the fourteenth century this was not commonly done. Under Edward I., strange to say, the names were stated more frequently than in the next reigns. In the later years of Edward III. the practice began of appending the names to the memoranda which passed the council. This became the regular way by which acts of the council were authenticated. In no case, however, during the reigns of Richard II. or Henry IV. were the names written as signatures; they were inscribed in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, without doubt by the clerk.<sup>4</sup> In 1422 it was enacted that the clerk of the council should write the names.<sup>5</sup> It was about this time that signatures appear. In 1424 it was enacted that "the names of thasenteurs be written of their own hand."<sup>6</sup> The ordinances of 1426 were said to have been subscribed by the lords of the council with their own hands.<sup>7</sup> The earliest instance that the writer has hap-

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., 508.

<sup>3</sup> A schedule of council orders, on matters relating to the war with France and Scotland, may be found in Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls, 1/20.

<sup>4</sup> It is necessary to explain this point in detail, for a quite wrong impression has been given by Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 150, 216.

<sup>7</sup> *Per dominos de consilio suis propriis manibus se subscribentes*, *ibid.*, III. 221.

pened to find of autograph signatures by the members of the council occurs in the second year of Henry VI.<sup>1</sup> As most of the council records of that time now remaining are transcriptions, it is impossible to say how generally this practice was followed.<sup>2</sup>

Taking now into consideration the council memoranda of whatever kind, whether responses or resolutions, it is a further step to inquire for what purpose they were made and how they were used. Now and again one finds a suggestion upon a bill to the following effect: *ceste bille fut livree de par le Roi et le conseil et sur ceo fut bref fait.*<sup>3</sup> To be carried into effect it was necessary for the orders of the council to be embodied in letters or writs either of the great seal or of the privy seal.

Letters of privy seal were the most direct means of expressing the will of the king or of the council, the keeper being one of the most constant attendants. Some of these bear the stamp of the council's sanction by the conventional attestation, *per consilium*. Many of them, however, bear evidence of being written in the council or by its direction. There exist a number of writs of privy seal that are warrants directed from the council to the chancellor for the issue of letters of the great seal. Council warrants are on file beginning with the fifteenth year of Edward III.,<sup>4</sup> although here and there are earlier ones to the same effect. As these writs invariably bear the date and place of the council's action, and are more likely than other notes to give the names, they have a special value as records.

Letters of the great seal, including letters close and patent, were used for the more formal administrative orders. Sometimes upon a council paper one finds a statement like the following: *Cestes notes deinz escriptes furent faites par le conseil le Roi et mandees a la chauncellerie pour engrosser.*<sup>5</sup> From notes of the council, whether an endorsement of a petition, a writ of privy seal, a memorandum, or other communication, the chancery issued the letters desired. This is the meaning of the recurring phrases of attestation to be found throughout the calendars of close rolls and patent rolls, *by council, by petition of council*, and the like. A comparison of letters of the great seal, such as are given in the printed rolls, with writs of privy seal and other council minutes, shows that with the neces-

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Cotton MSS., Vespasian, C. XIV. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Other examples of signed council memoranda of the fourth year of Henry VI. are: Public Record Office Museum, Pedestal 15; Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, IV. 26, 27, 28, 30, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Warrants Privy Seal, 19 Edw. III., file 1538.

<sup>4</sup> Warrants Privy Seal, files 1538-1548.

<sup>5</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 13.

sary change of form, with the addition of explanatory phrases, and with the greater redundancy of official Latin, the chancery faithfully reproduced the data of the original draft. That the clerks of the chancery were expected to fill in the minor details is many times stated upon the original memoranda, which say, "as is more fully contained in letters patent." Particularly as to the dating, it is important to observe, the letter close or patent gives not the date and place of its own issue, but those borne upon the letter of privy seal or other previous draft. Thus the letters of the great seal are an indirect or secondary record of the council proceedings, but are not on this account the less useful.

Upon one of the council ordinances is an inscription that it was delivered to the keeper of the rolls of the chancery to be enrolled.<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that a large number of council ordinances are to be found upon the various chancery rolls, including the close rolls and the patent rolls, the Gascon rolls, the parliament rolls, and others. The same is true of enrollments in the exchequer. Upon one of the memoranda rolls it is told how the treasurer, delivering an ordinance of the council, directed it there to be enrolled.<sup>2</sup> Here and there throughout the rolls of Edward I. are to be found small membranes, which are original memoranda of the council. Upon one of them is the statement: *ista cedula liberata fuit per cancellarium in pleno consilio apud Evesham in cancellaria irrotulanda*.<sup>3</sup> Instead of being transcribed they were merely attached to the roll. That the council could thus command the rolls of the chancery and of the exchequer is a reason why it did not have a roll of its own.

The records of the action of the council, then, appear in as many as four stages:

1. The original memoranda of the council, the chief purpose of which, as appears in this connection, was not to form a record, but to serve as drafts for the ensuing letters and enrollments, and for the practical use of the officers and clerks who had to follow them. For this reason they were made often in duplicate, and in one case at least there were as many as ten copies issued;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Et memorandum quod tertio die Augusti anno regni Ricardi secundi secundo ista cedula liberata fuit per consilium . . . custodi rotulorum cancellarie pre-dicte irrotulanda.* Parliamentary Proceedings, IX. 8.

<sup>2</sup> In the Memoranda Roll K. R. of the Exchequer, 3 Edw. II., Trinity term, is the following entry: *Memorandum quod Johan de Sandale thesaurarius liberavit hic septimo die Augusti hoc anno quandam ordinationem factam per Regem et consilium suum super conto garderobe . . . et eam precepit inrotulari in hec verba*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Close Roll, 29 Edw. III., m. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, I. 21-30.

2. The writs of privy seal, some of which might be classed with the former;

3. Letters close and patent, which are the most available of all sources, calendars of them having now been in large part printed;

4. Lastly, when a final engrossment was desired, the enrollments upon one or more of the rolls in the custody of the chancery or the exchequer. It is important to show this connection, for the original minutes are mostly lost, having served their purpose for the time being; while upon the rolls may still be found most, if not all, that is important of the acts of the council.

In this light we can understand the request of the commons in the twenty-seventh year of Edward III., when they asked that certain articles of the ordinance of the staple should be rehearsed at the next Parliament, "inasmuch as the ordinances and agreements made in councils were not of *record*, as if they had been made in Parliament." The king answered that they should be rehearsed in Parliament and put upon the roll.<sup>1</sup>

Other documents there are, some written by the council, others pertaining to the council, which are not so directly converted into administrative orders. Those which reveal the relations of king and council are interesting as giving a certain individuality to that body. There is preserved a large amount of official correspondence that went on between the king and council, at times with daily frequency. Letters from the king to the council appear as early as Henry III., while letters from the council to the king are seen in the reign of Edward II.<sup>2</sup> Messages of the king ask for the immediate consideration of a petition or some other memorandum which he sends; letters of the council report what has been done and ask for special mandates or information when they are in doubt.

As a kind of *agenda* for the consideration of the council, in the sixteenth year of Edward II. the king sent a series of articles, the first of which proposed the drafting of a statute for the repeal of the ordinances of 1311.<sup>3</sup> In conclusion it reads, "and be it known that the king wishes that each sage of his council consider these points; that they may amend the law for the profit of the king and the people; that they submit their agreement in the form of a statute or make some other remedy if it will suffice, and that such thing should be put into form in order that he may be advised before the Parliament the more readily to deliver to the people who come to Parliament." A clearer statement of the function of the council in devising the legislation of Parliament could hardly be made.

<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, VI. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Correspondence* in 58 volumes.

<sup>3</sup> *Parliamentary Proceedings*, V. 10.

In many of the council notes it is evident that the council is acting apart from the king. Sometimes upon petitions there are double inscriptions, the first being the opinion of the council stated conditionally, *s'il plect au Roy*; the second bearing the approval of the king, *il plect au Roy*. Receiving a series of petitions from Ireland the council answered most of the items, but in one case the response was, *soit parle au Roi de ce point*.<sup>1</sup> A set of council ordinances made in the conditional form—*il semble au conseil sil plect au Roi*—contains answers of the king in side notes.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most interesting of all the council papers is one of the year 1339, which is a transcription of certain messages that have passed between England and Flanders. It is entitled, "Articles reported to the chancellor, treasurer, and others of the king's council in England . . . from the king across the sea and the responses to the same articles."<sup>3</sup> The document is plainly one made in the council, and not, as certain others were, a parchment sent from outside receiving the marginal notes of the council. The messages from the king, who was at war, express his disappointment that he has not received enough of the revenues and supplies, while the answers give the explanations of the council that they have done their duty. In this way some information may be gathered about the state of the taxes of that year, especially as to that very remarkable subsidy of 1338 when the king was granted the pre-emption of 20,000 sacks of wool at a fixed price. The management of this levy, it may be said by the way, had devolved entirely upon the council, and was turning out to be far from successful. Regarding the 20,000 sacks of wool, the king in his message complained that of the assignments already made not one half had come to him; the council answered that as to this and other things they were sending messengers to explain, and asked the king to consider some facts contained in a certain schedule to be sent. The king said further that he would like an explanation how certain parties to whom assignments of wool had been made had not only failed to receive them, but had found their assignments to be repealed and changed. The council replied that some of the assignments in question they had delivered and that none had been repealed or changed without the king's command. Most of all did the king complain of the corrupt and faulty methods of the levy, by which inferior wool of light weight and not marketable had been sent him; the council

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VIII. 27. Similar forms are in Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls, 1/20.

<sup>3</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 7.

claimed to have done their duty by providing in their commissions and writs against these very evils. Certain petty financial devices suggested by the king, such as the repeal of some assignments and the recall of ministers' fees, were pointed out by the council to be quite impracticable. Altogether the relations here revealed amount almost to an altercation.

As an example of a message sent by the council to the king, there is one of the seventeenth year of Edward III., bearing the following inscription: *Ces sont les articles baille a William de Edington pur monstrier a nostre Seigneur le Roi de par son conseil.*<sup>1</sup> Conversely to the document just mentioned, it contains certain propositions of the council with the answers to each given by the king.

The council being a body which carried on negotiations, whether with private parties like merchants, or with foreign princes, there are not a few records of proceedings of this kind. Of the agreements which were reached by the council on the one hand and the ambassadors or merchants on the other, the most suitable form was the device of the duplicate parchment known as the indenture. Instances of original indentures are to be found from the time of Edward I. How in the twelfth year of Edward II. ambassadors of the count of Flanders came to a parliament at York and treated with the council there as to certain damages sustained by the people of Flanders as well as by the people of England by certain depredations at sea, is described in an indented parchment as follows: *fait a remembrer qe come avant ces heures trete fut entre le conseil le Roi Dengleterre et certains messengers le Conte de Flandres . . . les quex messages vindrent au dit Roi a son parlement a Everwik . . . et reherse entre le conseil le dit Roi et les ditz messages, etc.*<sup>2</sup>

As an instance of the very many contracts or agreements that were made between the king or his council and the merchant companies, there is the original note of an assignment of wool to the Bardi and Perucchi in the twelfth year of Edward III.<sup>3</sup> The document itself explains how the agreement, which was made with the advice of the council, having been amended in certain points by the king's secretary, was delivered to the chancery, where it was engrossed in the same form. As in the case of other minutes, most

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Parliamentary Proceedings, VII. 8. The following words occur in an endorsement, such as was frequently used to describe the purport of a document: *Fait a remembrer que ceste note entre Seigneur le Roi et les marchands de Bardi et Perucchi fust fait par lavisement du conseil et puis amenda en ascunz points par Mons. Geoffrey Lecrop et livre en chauncellerie pour engrosser et est engrosse sur mesme la forme.*

of the original indentures are lost, but a very large number may be found inscribed after the same manner upon the rolls of the chancery.

Of documents which were not made by the council, but which relate to it and are useful as affording sidelights, brief mention may be made of certain exchequer accounts of expenditures. Among the fragments of exchequer memoranda, for the most part ill preserved and hardly legible, are the accounts of the fees and wages of councillors.<sup>1</sup> In cases where it was a matter of daily wages, at the rate of 10s. or 20s. a day, detailed statements are given of the very days and places in which these men served or attended the council. The earliest of such accounts is that of Master Andrew de Offord, of the twentieth year of Edward III.<sup>2</sup> Another series of special accounts relates to the *jantacula* or breakfasts, which were served to the council at times in order that its sittings might be prolonged.<sup>3</sup> These accounts give a list of all the provisions purchased, including ale, wine, bread, meat, fish, game, vegetables, spices and sweets, with the prices of each. The cost of such entertainment, while varying from twenty to one hundred shillings a day, was on the average about sixty shillings a day.<sup>4</sup>

Returning to the council records, there remains a word to be said as to how they were kept and how they are now to be found. As yet in the fourteenth century the council was deficient in that it did not keep a regular roll of its proceedings, as did Parliament and each of the common-law courts. Unless its acts appeared upon such a register, they were not in a technical sense considered matters of record at all. What then became of the bills, memoranda, indentures, letters, and other loose parchments which were used by the council? As is well known, there were two main repositories of government muniments, the exchequer and the chancery. Council membranes are to be found in each. In general one may say that those which passed through the office of the privy seal were handed over to the exchequer for safe keeping, while those which were used for orders of the great seal were given to the chancery. As the original files in these departments have been quite broken up it is not possible to say much about them. One reads, for instance, how bundles of letters and other instruments were delivered by the council to the exchequer, where they were put in a

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer, K. R., bundle 96, Nos. 1-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 96/2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 96/8-13.

<sup>4</sup> Of the information contained in these accounts I have made further use in an article to be printed in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1906.

chest with a special mark for identification.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that in the case of many of the memoranda, which were only for temporary use, no effort was made for preservation. At any rate, the loose parchments were easily scattered, stolen and lost. Some of them fell ultimately into the hands of private collectors. The few and only proceedings now in print for the reign of Richard II. were taken from a collection of this kind, namely, the Cottonian Library.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, council proceedings for this reign and afterward which are not embraced in that publication. That council records have seemed to begin with the tenth year of Richard II. is therefore a mere accident of collection.

Those which remain in the government's custody are to be found among a half-dozen or more files of the Public Record Office, where they are listed not as council records, but according to their subject-matter. The modern rearrangements and classifications have tended the more to scatter the documents. Taken out of their setting, with responses apart from petitions, and even with one half parted from the other, one does not always have the means of identifying these stray parchments. If internal evidence be lacking it can be done only by dint of search for a companion document, such as may most likely be found with the aid of an index of petitions or letters of the great seal.

Not until 1421 was the register known as the Book of the Council begun, which was compiled by copying the minutes upon regular roll.<sup>3</sup> The original method, however, of making notes upon loose membranes still continued, and many of these are extant. From them it is plain that the Book was not intended to contain all of the proceedings. A comparison of a few of the memoranda of the reign of Henry VI. with the corresponding entries in the Book of the Council makes it clear that the transcription might be only an abstract of the real minutes. Only fragments of the Book are extant, but it is evident that it was a very imperfectly kept register. There is very good reason to believe that there are other records of the council still undiscovered, which may be hidden in one library or another.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, 38-41 Edw. III., passim.

<sup>2</sup> These archives therefore happen to be in the British Museum, instead of in the Public Record Office, where they would properly belong.

<sup>3</sup> Described in Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. xxvi et seq.

<sup>4</sup> There are the two memoranda of the years 1339 and 1341 translated in Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, Vol. II., pp. 188-192. That the author does not state where the original manuscripts are to be found has puzzled others, as well as myself. My search for these, however, has been rewarded by finding many others of the same kind.



Finally what is shown by these records concerning the development of the council itself? Enough has been said within the limits of this paper to show that certain current views regarding this body must be modified. So far as the records of council proceedings show, there was no considerable organic change during the reign of Richard II. Comparing the memoranda of that time with those of the earlier period there is no particular difference to be observed, beyond the growth of an institution already mature. Of new historical material the minutes of the council will probably not furnish much, for the same data may generally be found elsewhere. What is of more value than the miscellaneous subject-matter which they contain, is the clearer understanding that the original records give of the steps of council procedure. They are perhaps most serviceable in showing how the acts of the council came to find place upon the various rolls of the chancery and the exchequer. They reveal also, what is partly understood already, a power working with great persistency in legislation and administration,<sup>1</sup> which it would be no exaggeration to call the mainspring of the government. They show, moreover, that the usual working council, the *consilium ordinarium*, as some have called it, consisted of a very small number of men. No wonder it roused the jealousy of Parliament and particularly of the House of Lords, which sought in various ways to curb its powers!

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

<sup>1</sup>The functions of the council in judicial proceedings, about which more is generally known, I have held for the present in reserve.

## THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I.

It is not so rare as one might suppose for great rulers to try their hands at literature, and Julius Caesar and Marcus Aurelius wrote books which rank them among the masters. If Maximilian I., Emperor of Germany from 1494-1517, failed to write anything comparable to the Commentaries on the Gallic War, it was not for lack of trying. During all the latter part of his life he was busied with plans for writing or collating. The list of proposed subjects finally grew to over a hundred and ranged from a treatise on cooking to a collection of prayers. But it is very doubtful whether he ever took much interest in any subject simply to produce a beautiful, an interesting or a useful book. He did not write from the love of letters.

Maximilian was firmly convinced that he could do almost everything better than anybody alive, better than all but a few of those who were dead. And a severe analysis of his books shows in them all the same leading motive—bragging. He brags of what has come to him by birth and what he has achieved; of what he owns and what he has done; of what he is and what his children will become. He brags of his great skill in cooking and of his piety; of his dancing and his generalship; of his knowledge of horses and pictures; of the marriages of his children and of the waters he preserves for fishing; of his ability to talk many languages and hunt all kinds of game; of the antiquity of his family and of his skill in blacksmithing; of his kindness to the poor and of his slaughter of enemies; of his mercy and of his executions of rebel peasants; of his ability to endure fatigue and his regularity in saying his prayers. Every book in which he took any interest is either a record of his deeds, a catalogue of his possessions or an exhortation to his descendants to base their greatness on his example. His prayer-book seems an exception. But its latest commentator believes it was designed to promote a pious enterprise of which Maximilian, as head of Christendom, was to be the glorious leader.

The works on genealogy and history are not even apparent exceptions to this inspiration of vanity. Maximilian's plan for his own tomb symbolizes his view of genealogy and history. As he saw it in his mind's eye, forty life-sized figures surrounded it.

They represented Maximilian's ancestors. A hundred small statues of saints of the house of Hapsburg kept their respectful watch over a sarcophagus adorned with twenty-four reliefs of the supreme achievements of Maximilian's life. Over it all, dominating history, genealogy, his own achievements, towered a colossal statue of Maximilian himself.

It is difficult to find a finer example of the desire for the extension of the *ego*, than is shown by Maximilian's work in literature and patronage of art. This egotism is not indeed too crassly expressed. Maximilian knew that it was not wise to put the trumpet of his praise too openly to his own lips. Neither is it concealed with art, as that clever man of the world, Julius Caesar, buried his commendation of his own generalship beneath an impersonal manner. At times it is naïve and childlike. At times the reader notes it indirectly, as one sees the polite struggle of a very vain man to take active interest in talking about anything except his own successes. But open or veiled, it is omnipresent as sunlight on an April day. And the man who survives the reading of all Maximilian's books in succession, receives at least one clear and distinct impression—of continuous, all-pervading vanity.

Vanity, unlike pride, is a weakness rather than a vice. It is not incompatible with amiability, and Maximilian was a most amiable man. It often accompanies capacity, and perhaps literary capacity more often than any other form of capacity; witness for instance the stolid vanity of Wordsworth, the touchy vanity of Pope. But Maximilian had no literary capacity, only a tireless energy in planning, correcting, inspiring the work of secretaries, scholars and illustrators. This judgment is, of course, a matter of taste. The reader who recalls the vague praises of Maximilian's literary ability and artistic knowledge which abound in German popular histories will question it. But if he reads Maximilian's books through, the question will be given up. Even without that severe cure, it is sufficient to notice that the praises are all vague and for his literary activity as a whole. None of the men who in modern times have made special studies of his separate works has anything to say in praise either of the form or the content of the particular object of his study.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, though these books are dull in themselves, they have an overtone of interest. The writer of the only essay in English about any of them had apparently not seen the latest

<sup>1</sup> For *Teuerdank*, see judgments of Haltaus, *Einleitung*, pp. 106, 108, 109; of Goedeke, *Einleitung*, xii, xxi, xxii; of Laschitzer. For *Weiss Kunig* see Alwin Schultz, *Jahrbücher der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, etc., Vol. VI.

edition of the books he wrote about and the conclusions of the only men who have thoroughly studied manuscripts of them, but the title of his essay is very suggestive, "Tewrdanck and Weiss Kunig and their Historical Interest."<sup>1</sup>

The literary work of Maximilian throws light upon a strange personality who played a prominent part upon the stage of history. It does not show Maximilian as the man he thought he was, but it is none the less illuminating for that.

His preparation for literary work was not a very good one. He wrote in his autobiography, of his own childhood, "Although the King was very young he grew so in good habits that he surpassed all other princes and noblemen's children so that everybody wondered at his youth, and the old White King (his father) rejoiced at it, as may well be imagined." But, unfortunately, this summary of an old man writing an account of his life for an example to his grandchildren, does not agree with the indignation he expressed in his manhood against the tutor who had allowed him to grow up in ignorance. Neither does it agree with his father's recollection of the boy's education. For when Maximilian at the age of twenty-seven was crowned King of the Romans at Frankfort, his father expressed the greatest astonishment at the fact that he could make a speech to the magnates in Latin, "For certainly," he said, "at the age of twelve years I was afraid he would turn out either mute or a fool."

When he came to the Netherlands at eighteen as husband of the Duchess, the French statesman, Commynes, thought him very badly educated. He did not remain so. Maximilian had a vast fund of nervous energy always seeking outlets. He never wasted time, and even his amusements were strenuous. He laid aside campaigning or left the labors of the council-chamber only for a hard hunting-trip or a whirl of banquets, masks and balls. When he once discovered the pleasures of the mind and tastes he flung himself into them with the same restless ardor he showed on all sides of life. He surrounded himself with scholars, employed artists, and gave himself the best education he could pick up in the intervals of life by reading, study and conversation. This love of learning, letters and art became, like everything else in him, tributary to his dominant passion, a ceaseless greed for distinction. But it grew from a nobler root. It arose out of a sense of pleasure in the exercise of the mind; just as his lifelong passion for hunting grew out of the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Ward, in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901.

habit of finding pleasure in the exercise of skill and strength in following the chamois to the cliffs or the wild boar to the swamps.

It was natural for an active-minded man who ruled many territories to gain some knowledge of a number of languages. His autobiography says that he could dictate to secretaries in several languages at the same time, and talk to the captains of his army in seven. One of his biographers says that he could speak Italian, French and Latin elegantly. We cannot test this account of his Italian, but it is to be hoped that he spoke French better than he wrote it in those letters to his daughter Margaret which have been preserved. We know this was not the case with his Latin, for a distinguished preacher of his day has left an account of a visit to Maximilian in which he says, "*Latinus bonus sed scripto melius quam verbo*". In that case his spoken Latin must have been very poor.

Every patron who dabbles in art, scholarship or letters becomes a shining mark for flattery. But the praise of Maecenas is not all conscious flattery. The modern critic often finds it hard to maintain a just severity toward the verses, the picture or the statue turned out in the spare hours of the talented amateur who happens to be a charming woman of high social position. The amiable manners of the man who held the highest secular title in the society of Europe of the early sixteenth century produced the same effect. A curious chance has preserved to us from Maximilian's life a classical example of this familiar hypnotic influence of social position in paralyzing critical perceptions.

Willibald Pirkheimer, a cultivated patrician of Nuremberg, served as commander of his city's contingent in the Swiss war. In the year 1499 he crossed the lake of Constance with Maximilian, and years afterward described to Melancthon the voyage. Maximilian spent part of it dictating in Latin some paragraphs of his autobiography. In the evening he gave Pirkheimer the day's dictation and asked him his opinion of the "soldier's Latin". Pirkheimer assured Melancthon that no German historian had ever written in so pure a style as these dictations, for which since the Emperor's death he had vainly searched. Recently some fragments of this autobiography have been found, and on one of the sheets the scribe has written, "King Maximilian wrote this while we were sailing to Lindau on the Lake of Constance". It is therefore the very passage on which Pirkheimer afterwards based his judgment to Melancthon that no German historian had written purer Latin. The editor of the manuscript diplomatically "leaves it to the reader to decide whether the Latinity of the Emperor, the style of his dic-

tation, really deserves the praise of Pirkheimer". Other writers are less reserved. "A more miserable kitchen Latin could scarcely be imagined". Certainly every part of Pirkheimer's own book *De Bello Helvetico* would pass muster as a school-exercise in elementary Latin style with far less criticism than these paragraphs which he told Melancthon were unsurpassed by any German historian. His own language Maximilian never learned to write with great clearness or any freedom.

Maximilian's book-making activity may be most easily described in short space under three heads:

I. Books for which the reader has the right to hold him personally responsible.

II. Books whose manuscripts he criticized and supervised.

III. The expression of his ideas in illustrations and sets of wood-cuts.

Maximilian seems to have written only one book without any help, the *Geheimes Jagdbuch*.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, which contains only twenty-five hundred words, is entirely in his own hand. The Emperor wrote it to teach his two grandchildren, Carl and Ferdinand, the art of hunting. The glamor of an amiable personality in a high position, which affected those who knew Maximilian, is not yet exhausted. The editor speaks of "the fresh air of the woods that breathes from its lines—the reflective sense for nature that takes us captive". But as a matter of fact, it would be difficult to write twenty-five hundred words, chiefly about chamois-hunting in Tyrol, drier and less captivating. Nearly a quarter of the *Jagdbuch* is occupied by a list of hunting preserves and houses. Four-fifths of the rest is filled with minute directions about dress, food and conduct while hunting. Of these miscellaneous directions some are useless, some the boys would have learned by common sense, most of the remainder any of the huntsmen would have shown them in one trip. They are told nothing of value about the habits of the game. There is an absence of any sense of the beauty of nature. This is the more remarkable, for, in an age when mountain-climbing was not fashionable, Maximilian tells us that he had been on the top of the highest mountain in Europe,—he meant either the Gross Glockner or the Gross Venediger. Maximilian may have been like those modern Alpinists who think of their record and never of the view. More probably he lacked, not the feeling for natural beauty shown in the French hunting treatises of his contemporaries, but the power to express it.

<sup>1</sup> Beautifully printed by Thomas von Karajan, 1859, second edition, together with a modern German translation.

The disappointed reader rouses when the writer announces that he will close his book with some wonderful true hunting stories. But they are not very interesting. "The Great Huntsman killed a hundred ducks with a hundred and four shots". He saw a "chamois taken in a fish net; a stag in a house; a wild boar in a mill-wheel". He mixes with such sentences riddles of this sort: "The Great Huntsman arrived on the top of the greatest mountain of Europe without touching the globe or the mountain". The answer probably is, he walked over the snow. All the recorded specimens of Maximilian's wit are of this exceedingly simple and almost childish type.

Three things in this dull performance are interesting. First, his naïve self-glorification. He speaks of himself as the Great Huntsman. And once when he had written Kaiser Maximilian he struck it out and wrote the Great Huntsman. His dreams for the greatness of his house show in the phrase by which he calls the future head of the Hapsburgs, "Thou King of Austria". The title was then "Duke of Austria". One single paragraph shows a touch of that sympathetic tact in personal intercourse which was Maximilian's rarest quality. It suggests the best reason why a gentleman should cherish the survival of primitive instinct in the love of hunting and fishing—to keep him in touch with simple men and the fundamental needs of life. "Thou King of Austria shalt always rejoice in the great pleasures of woodcraft for thy health and refreshing and the comfort of thy subjects . . . because they have access to you, and while hunting you can help the petitions of the poor, for the common man will come closer to you . . . in the hunting field than in houses".

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Before the year 1888 the list of extant books of the first class was supposed to begin and end with the title of this little treatise. The two great autobiographical works, *Teuerdank* and *Weiss Kunig*, were thought to be the work of the imperial secretaries, carrying out general suggestions of Maximilian. A more careful study of the manuscript has dispelled this false impression. As a result of his examination of the four different codices containing drafts of *Teuerdank*, Mr. Simon Laschitzer concludes, "The Emperor himself was the chief redactor of the poem. He himself gave the contents of each separate chapter; and not only those in which his different adventures are told, but also those which simply adorn the poem with mystic or didactic passages. . . . It is certain that without his consent no verse of the poem and no illustration was sent to the printer. And finally he settled the order of the separate chapters".

*Teuerdank* was printed in 1517, and was the only one of Maximilian's works to reach the public during his life. It was begun more than twelve years before, and at least three men helped to put Maximilian's ideas into halting verses, which he criticized, changed and combined. In 1517 the Germans had not yet achieved a national language. Even men of position used dialects in their letters. *Teuerdank* is written in the court language in which Martin Luther found the starting-point for the national language he formed for his translation of the Bible. Hence, one of the editors of *Teuerdank* has written that there is "no work of the age before Luther so easy for a modern German to read". It is doubtful whether anybody finds it easy to read this labored allegorical poem describing the mythical adventures of Teuerdank (Maximilian) on his journey to marry his first wife, Mary of Burgundy. Three treacherous characters, Badluck, Rashness and Envy, plot to destroy him. In succession they meet Maximilian and tempt him into a variety of dangerous positions from which by courage, wisdom and skill he escapes. From a moral point of view this is admirable enough, but the allegory halts. Its standing difficulty is the incredible obtuseness of the hero. It took Teuerdank fifty unfortunate adventures to find out that Badluck was a treacherous counsellor. Surely for a cool and clever hero that was a little slow. At the end Teuerdank reaches his bride and the three scoundrels are put to death.

The carrying out of this plan is monotonous. Envy plunges Teuerdank into two kinds of dangers: of war and of the tilt-yard. There are thirty of these. Badluck and Rashness lead him into dangers of travel, of hunting, and the handling of weapons, varied by two illnesses. There are sixty-three of these, and we are told with unvarying monotony the most various adventures: how the hero did not break through the ice—how powder did not explode when he was duck-shooting in a boat full of it—how water saved his life on a number of occasions because he did not get drowned in it—how he went into a cage of lions—how stones did not fall on him—how the doctors did not kill him because he prescribed for himself—how an avalanche missed him—how he killed a number of animals and how a number of men failed to kill him. The probability is that most of these things really happened or failed to happen. In talking of some of them he must have been interesting. But the poem uses just as many and just as dull sentences in telling how Teuerdank did not step on a rotten beam in an old tower, as in describing his single-handed killing of a boar at bay in a tangled swamp. All the adventures sound very much alike. The most successful literary effort of the poem is the search for laudatory



epithets to link with the name of the hero; the net result is fifteen.

But in its day the book was popular. It was twice printed during the life of the author, each time in two editions. Eighteen years later it was again issued and before the sixteenth century closed it was modernized, appearing in four editions. A hundred years later, in 1679, it was again modernized and printed in two editions. This popularity was doubtless due partly to the affectionate interest which gathered around the legendary figure of Maximilian as a typical Kaiser of the German folk, and partly to the splendid wood-cuts his care provided for the book.

The second of Maximilian's greater literary works is the *Weiss Kunig*, first printed more than a hundred and fifty years after his death. It was long regarded as to a great extent the production of a certain Marx Treizsaurwein, one of his secretaries. Mr. Alwin Schultz, the editor of the final edition of it, says: "What we have of the *Weiss Kunig* is, with the possible exception of the first and second part, unquestionably the personal work of Maximilian himself. Nevertheless, Maximilian permitted his private secretary to dedicate the manuscript to the King of Spain and to his two grandchildren and so to appear, in a way, as the author; just as Melchior Pfintzing had done with *Teuerdank*."

*Weiss Kunig* is an unfinished autobiography in three parts. The last and longest part relates to the achievements of the hero in diplomacy and war. Treizsaurwein tells in a final note that he ordered the dictations of the Emperor, and the internal evidence supports the assertion. The names of the chief personages are concealed. For example, the Fish King means the Doge of Venice; the Blue King, the King of France; the King with Three Crowns, the Pope; the Old White King, Maximilian's father; the Young White King, Maximilian himself. But beyond this disguise the book purports to be history and not allegory. It is really historical romance. The object of the writer was, as Treizsaurwein explains in the dedication, to present to his grandsons, that they might follow in his footsteps, the example of a king ruling in the fear of God. The last editor, writing under the shadow of the throne of Maximilian's descendant, diplomatically remarks: "How far in his relations the imperial poet presents the facts in a light favorable to himself, historians will perhaps measure". It does not need a very careful measure. The *Weiss Kunig* is as bad history as it is literature. In a style clumsy and monotonous, it shows us Maximilian not as he was but as he wanted to appear to posterity. That this treatment of history to his own advantage was more naïve self-consciousness than intentional distortion, is quite possible. His

attitude in the case of his *Genealogy*, suggests this explanation of the suppressions and distortions of the *Weiss Künig*.

The *Genealogy* was only a part of a cyclüs of works he ordered written to display the history of his family. A number of men were engaged in making studies for it, and the Emperor gave a roving commission to search all the convent libraries for material. The researches finally took shape in a great work in five books by Dr. Jacob Mennel, entitled *Die fürstliche Chronik Kaiser Maximilian's genannt Geburtspiegel*.

It opened with a chronicle showing how the Franks were descended through the Romans from Hector of Troy, which prepared the way for showing Maximilian's descent from Priam. It contained also the legends of one hundred and seventy canonized saints, all of whom are in some way connected with the genealogical tables of Maximilian's family, which, with descriptions of their coats-of-arms, complete the volume. But the Emperor, either from his own studies or the suggestions of rival scholars, demanded proofs of the correctness of this genealogical tree. Especially he asked proof of the descent of his ancestor Clovis from Hector of Troy. Mennel referred the Emperor to information he had received from a certain abbot, Trithemius of Sponheim. Trithemius informed the Emperor that a certain Hunibald had written in the time of Clovis an account of the origin of the Franks and their migration from Troy to Germany. He had made extracts from that work, but the manuscript itself he had left in Sponheim eight years ago. His successor as abbot had sold a lot of works to the abbot of Hirschau. The libraries of the two monasteries were carefully searched, but no chronicle of Hunibald could be found. Then Trithemius printed a work on the origin of the Franks from his own pen, with a number of extracts from the lost Hunibald, and Dr. Mennel based on it a new line of descent for Maximilian. A certain learned Dr. Stabius was then asked by the Emperor to decide which was the better genealogy. His report concluded that neither was reliable. It pointed out that the first filled an interval of two hundred and nine years between two historical persons by one name, Amprintas, and suggested that Amprintas must have been rather old when he died. It showed that the second rested on the word of Trithemius about a vanished manuscript. Trithemius had made too many mistakes where his statements could be corrected by authority to entitle him to credit where they could not. Stabius finished by making very pointed remarks about Trithemius's character. He even took the pains to provide his manuscript with a caricature of the abbot as a three-headed monster in a monk's gown. He followed this attack

by another writing saying that there never had been a Hunibald except in Trithemius's imagination. This seems to have been true. When, after Trithemius's death, the Emperor sent Stabius to look for the Hunibald manuscript, he found among the abbot's papers the alleged extracts, altered and rewritten in several different forms.

Mennel now gave up both his old genealogies, but found a new one, landing Maximilian's ancestral line safely once more with Hector of Troy. In 1518 Maximilian and his council of scholars accepted this as correct.

But the history-loving Emperor was not satisfied that he had gotten to the bottom of things, so during his stay in Augsburg he occupied his time with Mennel in historical researches to trace his line back to Noah. This was a little too much for Kunz von der Rosen, a nobleman in the imperial household—part friend and part jester—who had earned great license by risking his life to save Maximilian from the hands of his rebellious Netherland subjects.<sup>1</sup> He called from the streets two disreputable characters, a man and a woman, and took them into the room where Maximilian and Mennel were pursuing their studies. They begged pensions from Maximilian because they were his kinsfolk, being descendants of Abraham. He gave them a couple of coins, and when they persisted, ordered them out. Kunz commenced to laugh and then Maximilian began to see the meaning of the parable. "Dear Kaiser, and thou Mennel", said Kunz, "aren't you a pair of fools? It isn't possible to trace out for the Emperor a long genealogy without finding for him a great many disreputable relatives".<sup>2</sup>

The Emperor's sense of humor always seems to have been in abeyance where his own person or his family were concerned, and he could not see the sense behind this folly. It is doubtful whether Mennel was so obtuse.

But being on Biblical ground with his family history the Emperor was afraid of blundering into heresy without intending it. He appealed therefore to the theological faculty of the University of Vienna he had done so much to raise to a commanding position. He asked them for an opinion on his line of descent from Noah to Sicamber, the grandson of Hector. The faculty appointed a com-

<sup>1</sup> This rests on tradition, but on good tradition. Maximilian's affection for Kunz and the great license he allowed him are established by other anecdotes besides the one here given.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Deutscher Kunstblatt*, Vol. V., by E. Hürzen, from the manuscript of Fugger's *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Oesterreich*. The printed copy of this work, more often quoted popularly than any other source on Maximilian, ought not to be used without great caution. Ranke has shown that it is largely interpolated and untrustworthy.

mittee to examine the question. Their report, which still exists, is a very discreet document. On some steps of descent it makes no comment whatever. To other names it appends a list of passages from authors referring to them. To some it puts an interrogation mark (*in ambiguo est*). In regard to Sicamber, it appends a judicious note which is quite a model in the difficult art of steering between falsehood and offense. "Quis autem fuit is Siccambus quem Turnus genuerit nihil quod afferamus habemus certi." What the Emperor would have done with this report, we cannot say, for he died a month after he asked for it. But in the *Weiss Kunig* Noah appears as his direct ancestor, a fact, it goes on to say, "which had been forgotten and the old writings neglected and lost until by sending learned men without regard to cost to search in all cloisters for books and to ask all scholars, the *Weiss Kunig* had proved it from one father to another (step by step)".

The story of his patronage of genealogy is characteristic enough of his attitude toward history; and this in an age when Reuchlin and Erasmus, Machiavelli, Guicciardini and Thomas More were all living!

Under this head of books which Maximilian caused to be made should be included his *Zeugbücher*, or accounts of the contents of his arsenals, contained in some six hundred and seventy pages of three manuscript volumes. Maximilian took pains to revise and make suggestions about the preparation of these catalogues, which are provided with rhymed verses. The verses and the arrangement often point out the improvements in material of war, notably in cannon, made by Maximilian.

The third branch of his book-making activity was the oversight of illustrations and planning sets of wood-cuts. Every one of his books was illustrated, and the Emperor took the greatest pains about the wood-cuts, inspecting rough sketches, suggesting alterations, rejecting entire plates.

Every leaf of the *Zeugbücher* has a picture. The *Fischereibuch*, a list of his fishing preserves, has five pictures; the *Jagdbuch*, a catalogue of his hunting preserves, has eight. On every page of the Prayer-Book the genius of Albrecht Dürer has surrounded petitions breathing the spirit of the monk and the crusader with a wealth of marginal ornament filled with the joy of life and beauty as it woke again in the Renaissance. *Teuerdank* has over a hundred illustrations. *Weiss Kunig* has about two hundred and fifty, the *Saints of the House of Hapsburg* more than a hundred, the *genealogy*, seventy odd.

But the activity of Maximilian in giving expression to his ideas

in pictures was not limited to these illustrations of a text. His object in pursuing literature and patronizing art was fame. He has given it words in the *Weiss Kunig*. A lord once blamed him because the money he spent "for remembrance" was lost. The *Weiss Kunig* answered, "Who does not make for himself in his life remembrance, he has after his death no remembrance and is forgotten with the toll of the bell. And therefore the gold I spend for remembrance is not lost, but the gold I save in the matter of memorials is a lessening of my future remembrance. And what I do not finish for my remembrance in my lifetime will not be made up for, either by thee or anyone else".

The great tomb that he planned was one of his means to secure remembrance. His written works were another. But in the art of engraving on wood, then flourishing in Germany, he saw a means of keeping his "remembrance" vivid among those who could neither read his books nor visit his tomb. He planned, therefore, several series of wood-cuts to record his glory. *Freydal* was an introduction to *Teuerdank*. It described in allegorical form the wooing of Mary of Burgundy by the Knight Freydal (Maximilian), who, after the fashion of chivalry, takes a trip through sixty-four courts to hold tournament and gain honor. The text is very short and occupies less than one-tenth of the space of the two hundred and fifty-five water-color illustrations made under the careful supervision of the Emperor as models for the wood-engraver. He fights three times at each court and honors its lady with a "mummerei," or masked dance. Of course, Maximilian took no such journey. The editor of the manuscript says that in the allegorical form Maximilian did not forget the historical content. This means only that when Maximilian dictated the short accounts of these games he seems to have had actual tournaments in mind, for usually the Emperor's adversary is named. Two-thirds of the tournaments come to no decisive results. In four-fifths of those that do lead to decisive results, Maximilian appears as victor.

Two similar series of wood-cuts were executed under Maximilian's direction. The one hundred and thirty-five plates of the *Triumphal Procession* show by symbolic figures his achievements as an athlete, sportsman and society leader; the provinces he ruled, his battles, treaties and marriages. The one hundred and ninety plates of the *Triumphal Arch*, when put together, form the largest wood-cut in existence, recording in symbolic form the glories of his family and his reign. And the genius of some of the men who held the pencil and burin for these thirteen hundred illustrations of his glory, has

thrown around the works of Maximilian a charm which is neither in his style nor in his ideas.

Popular tradition is sometimes very gentle to men. If there is anything in a ruler the people like, their memory adorns his figure as the evening light gives an unreal beauty. The courage, the vivacity, the tactful manners, the amiable personality of Maximilian made the Germans forget his faults. If he thought of Germany as anything but a background for the glory of the House of Hapsburg, it does not appear in what he did or wrote. Yet in tradition he is the typical Kaiser of the German folk. Foreign contemporaries all speak of him as lacking in ability, reckless in undertaking, slow in execution, overdaring in ideals, infirm of purpose. Yet the Germans took at its face value that most spurious of all literary coin, the praises of the humanists of the early sixteenth century. The student of his writings finds in every page traces of some fundamental qualities of the real man. He was intensely egoistic. Insatiable family pride possessed him. His dull and prosaic mind delighted in the exercise of a weak imagination that ignored instead of mastering facts. He found great pleasure in grandiose planning. He shrank from the monotonous work of execution. These characteristics did not prevent him from being a most successful manager of the family interests of the Hapsburgs. They did prevent him from becoming a great statesman. And these characteristics which determined his career are written large in his literary work.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

## THE MANOR OF EAST GREENWICH IN THE COUNTY OF KENT

STUDENTS of the American colonial charters will remember that in the three charters of Virginia granted by James I. successively in 1606, 1609 and 1612, in the New England charter of 1620, in the Massachusetts Bay charter granted by Charles I. in 1629, and that to Sir Ferdinando Gorges for Maine in 1639, and in the grants of Charles II. for the Carolinas in 1663 and 1665, for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in 1663, and to the Duke of York for New York and New Jersey in 1664 and 1674, it is provided that the land is to be held of the king of England "as of the Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common soccage and not *in capite* or by knight's service". The question naturally arises whether there is any particular significance in this often repeated expression, and if so, what. Why should the land granted in the New World be held from some manor and not from the crown direct? Why was free and common soccage preferred to knight's service? And why should East Greenwich be chosen rather than any other royal manor as the one from which the colonial lands were in so many cases to be held? For among all the colonial charters the only variations in this respect are those of Maryland in 1632 and Pennsylvania in 1681, where the castle of Windsor in the county of Berks is substituted for the Manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, and that of Georgia in 1732, which refers to the honor of Hampton Court in the county of Surrey. The first two of the questions brought up are legal in their nature and have perhaps been sufficiently discussed by others. But the prominence of the Manor of East Greenwich in the formula still suggests the question whether there was anything peculiar about it that made it especially suited to serve the purposes of those who granted or those who received the colonial charters.

East Greenwich is the old name of the modern Greenwich, as distinguished from West Greenwich, the modern Deptford, and lies on the Thames four miles below London Bridge, extending back from the river far enough to include in its boundaries the waste extent of Blackheath. An examination of the customs of the manor does not disclose anything very characteristic or unusual. A careful survey and inquiry was made in 1695. The jurors sworn for this

inquiry, after describing the demesne lands, reported that there were some two hundred and sixty-eight free tenants holding land within the manor, but no copyhold tenants. Each of the freeholders owed suit and service to the manor courts, paid a small annual sum as quit-rent, and ought to pay an additional year's rent by way of relief when his lands changed hands by descent or sale. The tenants also had a right of common pasture on Blackheath. There was nominally a court leet and a court baron, but at the time of the survey neither had been held for a long time. Waifs, estrays, felons' goods, treasure trove and such regalities and profits belonged to the king, as lord of the manor.<sup>1</sup> This is a very narrow and commonplace group of manorial customs and certainly includes nothing specially applicable to vast tracts in distant lands.

The special importance of East Greenwich for the colonies is seen to be still less when it is noted that a great amount of land in England itself was granted from the crown to be held from the same manor, quite apart from the land of the two or three hundred tenants on the manor described in the survey. A memorial to Elizabeth in 1600 says that "Synce the death of king Henrye the Eighth all persons for the most part which have purchased any landes of the king or of her Majestie or els exchanged any landes with her Highness, do acostumably (for the ease of their tenures and services and for that they will avoide to be called by writte for respect of homage) desire to holde theire landes in free soccage as of her majesties manor of Estgrenewich, wherebye the number of them that holde of the said manor are at this daie becom infynite. . . . There are in England dyspersyd through all the partes of this Realme above ten thousand sundrie tenants that holde landes of the said manor. . . . The landes that are holden of Estgrenewich amounte farr above the sum of £30,000 per annum thugh the Realme of Englande".<sup>2</sup> The number of tenants and value of lands so granted were probably vastly exaggerated in this report, which was from some one seeking the office of steward for the purpose of shearing this large flock in the interest of the queen and himself. Nevertheless, a glance at the actual procedure in the disposal of crown lands shows the general truth of his statement of the custom. Taking a chance example, in May, 1590, Elizabeth's commissioners for the sale of lands sold for the sum of £1857 15s. 3d. to Robert Paddow and John Moldsworth a number of pieces of land situated

<sup>1</sup> A Survey of His Majesty's Lordship or Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, printed in full in John Kimbell, *Legacies and Charities of Greenwich*, pp. 183-226.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom., Eliz., CCLXXVI, 67.



in various counties. A long and detailed description of the lands on the patent roll closes by stating that all these lands are to be held "*de nobis, heredibus nostris et successoribus ut de manerio nostro de Estgrenewich in comitatu nostro de Kent, per fidelitatem tantum, in libero et communi soccagio et non in capite nec per servicium militum*".<sup>1</sup> This is only one of hundreds of deeds that use the same words. It is evident, therefore, that long before there were any grants of colonial lands this formula was in familiar use.

The facts of the case seem to be as follows. As a result of the confiscations of the possessions of the monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. and of other corporations in the reign of Edward VI. the extent of the crown lands was vastly increased. The Court of Augmentations which was formed to take charge of these lands became one of the most important of those half-administrative, half-judicial boards which were so active in the time of the Tudors and early Stuarts, and fifty years after its formation it still had a formidable organization of chancellor, surveyors, attorney, solicitor, etc., and officials in every county.<sup>2</sup> The amount of land at the disposal of the crown was kept up during the remainder of the sixteenth century by the numerous forfeitures for treason of the estates of great nobles.

Under Henry VIII. these lands were given or sold for nominal prices and with the most lavish profusion to personal favorites of the king and others who had court influence, and were generally granted to be held directly from the king for some small fractional part of a knight's fee, such as one-twentieth, one-thirtieth, or one-fortieth. A fair instance of this policy may be found in the grant on March 13, 1545, to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, of some seventy manors and properties in manors, for no purchase price, to be held from the king *in capite*, for one-twentieth of a knight's fee.<sup>3</sup> Yet before the end of Henry's reign there are evidences that a more business-like treatment of crown lands was being introduced. Many grants were made to speculators in land or to *bona fide* purchasers. For these lands a considerable initial payment was made, and although sometimes required to be held *in capite*, they were much more frequently granted in soccage, to be held on condition of some small payment in money or money's worth from some manor belonging to the crown. Different manors are named in the deeds of the latter years of Henry VIII. and the early years of Edward VI. Bardney,

<sup>1</sup> Patent Roll, 32 Eliz., pt. 8, m. 10.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom., Eliz., CCXXI.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office Cal. of Deeds, Henry VII. and Henry, VIII., Co. Lincoln, p. 46. See also Patent Rolls of Henry VIII.

Swynshedd, Louth, Shenstone, the honors of Bolingbroke and of Hampton Court, and many others are used more or less frequently, the manor chosen being in many cases located in the neighborhood of the estates conveyed. But about the third year of Edward VI., that is to say, 1550, East Greenwich begins to emerge as the most usually chosen manor, and within three or four years it had practically superseded all others. A grant is occasionally made to be held from some other royal manor, but very infrequently indeed. As the naming of a manor was only a form there was obviously a convenience in using always the same form. It was therefore but natural that the variety of manors named in the earlier grants should soon give way to some one regularly chosen. Lands continued also to be granted from time to time *in capite*, for a nominal amount of knight's service, but these instances also became less and less usual. In the vast proportion of cases after the year 1554 the formula "to be held in free and common soccage as of the manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent", expressed either in Latin or in English, had become as well established as any of the other legal forms in royal charters.<sup>1</sup>

Even the lands which Queen Mary restored to religious bodies were to be held on this tenure, and in Elizabeth's ordinary grants there seem to have been very few exceptions to it. It is true that occasionally estates were given away by her, as by her predecessors and successors, to royal favorites, but it was for the most part the financial needs of the crown that led to the successive sales of crown lands. These were therefore made purely on business principles, in such a way as to obtain for them the most ready money possible. To take again a chance instance, in November, 1589, Elizabeth instructed the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and various other commissioners to sell for the "expenses of the defense of the realme" crown lands to the value of £1000 a year, giving minute instructions as to what lands were and were not to be sold, and as to the terms of sale.<sup>2</sup> Purchasers were urged on patriotic grounds to pay a good price for the land, but at the same time every other inducement was given them to buy, and a well established form of tenure, without feudal burdens, from a definite and customary source, was no slight advantage, and may well have helped to perpetuate the custom.

Thus it appears that the formula "to be held from East Greenwich etc.", had been in use for fifty years and more before the first grants of King James to the colonies, and a further examination of

<sup>1</sup> Pub. Rec. Off. Cal. of Deeds, Edw. VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, Counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Oxford, and Essex.

<sup>2</sup> State Pap. Dom., Eliz., CCXXVIII, 3.

the records shows that it was being used in his time for crown grants in England as well as in America.<sup>1</sup>

There is no means of discovering with certainty the reason for the choice of East Greenwich by the commissioners for the sale of lands or the officers who drew up grants in the early years of Edward VI. No order of the Court of Augmentations or of any other authority has been found giving definite instructions on the point. But there can be little doubt that Greenwich was settled upon because it was the most usual dwelling-place of the king at that time. Where the king was the court was, and necessarily therefore the officials who had charge of the sale of lands. It might be anticipated that Westminster should have chosen, as it also was an occasional residence of the king, and the permanent location of the law-courts and of a considerable body of clerks; but apart from the less frequent stay of the court there, Westminster was not a manor, and therefore was not available.

The Tudor sovereigns were all partial to Greenwich. Lands and an ancient dwelling there had belonged to the crown at least from the early fifteenth century. Henry VII. rebuilt and extended the palace and spent much of his time there. Even in the most active years of his life he was apt to spend Sunday and almost certain to keep Christmas at Greenwich and here his two younger children, Henry and Mary, were born. Henry VIII. improved the palace and rounded out the grounds by acquiring land by exchange from the abbots of Shene and Westminster. He also bought lands in the vicinity and made a neighborly gift of them to Anne Boleyn when she was created Marchioness of Pembroke. Here he, like his father, spent much of his time, and especially seasons of festivity. The music, the shows, the jousts, the banquets, and all the semi-barbaric magnificence that characterized the court of the later Tudors grew up pre-eminently about the palace of Greenwich. It was connected equally closely with Henry's domestic life. It was here that he was married to Catherine in 1509; here that Anne Boleyn lived by preference both before and during her short life as queen, here that Mary and Elizabeth were born and baptized, and it was here that Henry brought his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, to spend her few weeks of married life. Chapters of the Order of the Garter, the visits of the Emperor Charles V. and afterwards of King Christian of Denmark, receptions of formal embassies, and important meetings of the privy council, intermingled with wed-

<sup>1</sup> Pub. Rec. Off. Cal. of Deeds, Vol. 28.

dings, mayings, tourneys, and masks gave it a political as well as a domestic and festive character as a royal court.<sup>1</sup>

The reign of Edward VI. was no exception to this family predilection for Greenwich. The court of the young king was established there promptly after the organization of the Protectorate, and although he was often at his other palaces, especially Westminster, it was at Greenwich that most of his short reign was spent. In 1552 he was there for his last Christmas, and there in the succeeding July he died. During the years 1550 and 1551, in which the custom of making land-grants to be held of the manor of East Greenwich was becoming established, the king and court were there more than at all other royal dwelling-places together.<sup>2</sup> Mary followed the same custom, and during the long reign of Elizabeth this was still the most favored of all the palaces and royal seats. However frequently she might visit Somerset House or Hampton Court or Oatlands or Richmond or Windsor, or however extended might be the "progresses," during which she was the guest successively of various noblemen, gentlemen, towns and colleges, she always returned to Greenwich. From the palace windows there she watched successive expeditions of discovery or enterprise float down the Thames and greeted a few successfully returning. Here more than one traveller from the Continent noted the magnificence and ceremony of her court, and more than one suitor and ambassador tried his skill against her astuteness and tergiversation.

James I. preferred other royal dwellings, and with his accession Greenwich, like much more that belonged to the sixteenth century, passed under a cloud. But this was no longer important from the point of view of the form of crown grants. Both at the time of the creation of the custom and during the period when it was becoming fixed, Greenwich was in every way the most natural place to be chosen as a source of tenure, and by the time of the Stuarts the custom had obtained the same rigidity as other legal formulas. Its use in the charters given to the colonies by James and his successors is thus quite explicable. But after all it had little if any real significance for the colonies. It was simply an adaptation to land beyond the sea of a form originally used in the grant of crown lands in England. Its use may be taken to represent the closeness of legal connection between the colony and the home government,—that America was, in the view of the king, simply an extension of the soil of England. Actual conditions and the logic of events brought about a very different relation between the colonies and the mother

<sup>1</sup> Hasted, *History of Kent*, I. 57-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, n. s., II. 424-433; III. 3-55, 181-460.

country from that which was anticipated in the forms used in the royal grants of land. Apart from such vague suggestions as these the result of inquiry into the meaning and significance of the familiar expression of the charters is negative rather than positive. East Greenwich was no different from any other manor; its customs were not peculiar, its tenure was not especially significant, its mention in the colonial charters did not bring the colonies into any relationship with it. So far as the colonial charters are concerned, East Greenwich was merely an empty name.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

## BURKE ON PARTY

BURKE was a great political teacher. He has had a great and good influence on public character in England. But he is not, like Hobbes, Montesquieu, Hume or Bentham, a calm inquirer meditating in his closet. He is always in the political arena. His works are pamphlets and speeches, called forth by the controversy of the hour, and require to be read with full allowance for the occasion which gave them birth. It is as an authority on finance and trade that he is least subject to qualification on this account. Called an adventurer, and being one in the literal sense of the term, he had, unlike the ordinary adventurer, taken the utmost pains to qualify himself for the public service by a profound study of all the subjects with which as a statesman he would have to deal. His knowledge of economical and commercial questions is wonderful considering that such knowledge was far less accessible to him in those days than it would be now; that he had never been practically engaged in commerce; and that he was thirty-seven years old when the *Wealth of Nations* appeared. In Burke's works and in the speeches of Daniel Webster before his change of line free traders will find some of the keenest shafts for their controversial quiver.

It is in a pamphlet eminently polemical that we read the well-known vindication of political party, so often cited by upholders of the party system of government.

"Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. For my part, I find it impossible to conceive that any one believes in his own politicks, or thinks them to be of any weight, who refuses to adopt the means of having them reduced into practice. It is the business of the speculative philosopher to mark the proper ends of government. It is the business of the politician, who is the philosopher in action, to find out proper means towards those ends, and to employ them with effect. Therefore, every honourable connexion will avow it is their first purpose to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution, with all the power and authority of the state. As this power is attached to certain situations, it is their duty to contend for these situations. Without a proscription of others, they

are bound to give to their own party the preference in all things; and by no means, for private considerations, to accept any offers of power in which the whole body is not included; nor to suffer themselves to be led, or to be controuled, or to be overbalanced, in office or in council, by those who contradict the very fundamental principles on which their party is formed, and even those upon which every fair connexion must stand. Such a generous contention for power, on such manly and honourable maxims, will easily be distinguished from the mean and interested struggle for place and emolument. The very style of such persons will serve to discriminate them from those numberless impostors, who have deluded the ignorant with professions incompatible with human practice, and have afterwards incensed them by practices below the level of vulgar rectitude."

Montesquieu or Bentham would not fail to tell us exactly what he means by "principle". Is it a general principle of political morality or expediency? About these we are all agreed; they are subjects of debate but can furnish no foundation for a party. Is it agreement on a particular question? A particular question, however momentous, even though it may be important enough to warrant a good citizen in temporary devotion to a party flag, will in time be settled. When it has been settled, what will then be left to warrant the continuance of the party tie? What will there be to bar the conversion of the party into a faction the leaders of which will fight for place with intrigue, calumny and corruption, while the followers will be held together by a shibboleth? This passage, which has been a frontlet between the eyes of devotees of the party system, requires, to be construed aright, the historical key.

Those who contend that party is a universal necessity of constitutional government are like the British footman who, seeing a French soldier in blue uniform, said that everybody knew that blue for a uniform was absurd except in the Artillery and the Horse Guards, Blue. Though there were forestallings of the party system under Charles II., the system really dates from the time when William III. found it necessary, as in his situation it certainly was, to compose his council entirely of men of the party who had set him on his throne. The Cabal in the time of Charles II. had been something like a Cabinet; but it was in reality what the name now imports; and it did not rest like the cabinet on the support of an organized party in Parliament. The constitutional executive of England was, and in the contemplation of law still is, the Privy Council, composed of men chosen as being highly qualified for the service of the crown and the state without reference to their gen-

eral opinions, in which they sometimes differed widely from each other. Under the monarchy, the members of the Privy Council were nominated by the king. The members of the Council of State, which under the Commonwealth took the place and assumed the functions of the Privy Council, were appointed by a process combining nomination with election. Should democracy with the party system ever break down, the Instrument of Government, in which the constitution of the Commonwealth was embodied, may deserve the attention of those to whose lot it may fall to conduct the necessary révolution.

So long as the struggle between the Hanoverians and the Stuarts, with their respective political creeds, continued, there was manifest ground for a division of parties in Parliament and at the polls, as well as on the fields of Sheriffmuir and Culloden. When that struggle closed in the collapse of the Stuarts, party broke into "connections", formed round the great houses, Pelham, Bedford, Rockingham, Granville, strong in their nomination boroughs and their territorial influence. The connections struggled against each other for power and place, while the tendency of all of them alike was to transfer the real control from the king to the minister with his train. George III., on the other hand, had imbibed the counsel of his mother, who was always bidding him "be a King". He was by no means inclined to be the puppet of his Mayor of the Palace. Personal government by prerogative, bare-faced, was no longer possible. In place of it was set on foot personal government by influence, the instruments of which were a regiment of sycophants styling themselves King's Friends, who held their votes in Parliament entirely at the disposal of the king, and when he gave the word thwarted the policy of his constitutional advisers. To put an end to the ascendancy of faction and restore the authority of the head of the whole nation was the professed object of the King's Friends. Chatham, on the other hand, standing apart in his towering popularity, wanted a parliamentary autocracy of Chatham. He refused to combine with the Rockingham connection, to which Burke belonged, and formed under himself a departmental ministry of men unconnected with each other, his leadership being the only bond of union, while he kept all the power in his own hands. The chief portion of the *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* is directed against "Influence" and the King's Friends; the concluding part is a satirical attack on the autocratic administration of Chatham with his set of departmental subordinates, political strangers to each other. No personal government by influence, no autocracy of Chatham, but constitutional government with the Rockingham



connection in power, is the moral of the pamphlet and the key to its interpretation.

Not much support, therefore, can be found in the arguments of Burke's pamphlet for a system which cuts a nation perpetually in two, and sets the halves to wage everlasting war with each other for possession of the government with the familiar weapons of faction. Upholders of the system, at a loss for a permanent ground of division, have been fain to have recourse to the comic opera, and to maintain that each of us is born a little Conservative or a little Liberal. It is needless to say that there is no such bisection of human character. Its shades melt indistinguishably into each other. What would Burke himself have said to the constitution of a country perpetually divided into two party organizations recognized by law, always remaining on foot and fighting periodically with a fury approaching that of civil war, while not only the special issues but the vital character of each party underwent from time to time complete change? Would he not have said that such a commonwealth was in a perilous condition? Would he in so saying have been far wrong? Looking not to organization, but to character, who would recognize the identity of the Republican party in the United States, as it is now, with the Republican party before or even during the war?

Chatham's autocracy was killed by the gout, combined with waywardness on the part of the autocrat. That in its headless state it brought on the American Revolution by taxing the colonies may be said to have been partly chargeable to the philosophy of Burke. Contempt for political theory, indifference to constitutional forms, regard solely to the practical policy and conduct of government, were not only the tendencies but the constant professions of Burke, who was the very opposite of Sieyès. Burke, no doubt, drew for the Rockinghams the Declaratory Act affirming the power of Parliament to legislate on all subjects for the colonies, under the shelter of which the British Government sought to withdraw with dignity when it was compelled to repeal the stamp tax. Burke thought the form was of no practical importance inasmuch as it was certain that no dangerous use if any use at all would ever be made of the power. The sequel is too well known.

Burke carried his disregard of theoretic perfection compared with practical expediency to an excessive length. He fought against any reform of Parliament with its petty Cornish constituencies, its unenfranchised Manchester and Birmingham, its Gatton and its Old Sarum, its nomination boroughs and open sale of seats. He even wished to reduce the extent of the franchise on the ground of the

disorders attending popular elections. That the institution worked well, at least in his opinion, was enough. But an institution which shocked common sense, though it might happen to be working well or not very ill, could not fail to be morally weak. An anomaly, even one harmless in itself, is an evil if it diminishes the citizens' respect for the institutions of the state. In the American Senate, where power now centres, New York has not more representatives than Nevada. We are assured that this theoretic imperfection is no practical evil. The future will probably show.

On the death of Chatham, "Influence" triumphed, with Lord North for its parliamentary agent, and put "faction", that is the independence of Parliament, under its feet. Yorktown was ruin to it for a moment, but it recovered itself by an intrigue for which the opportunity was given it through the reaction against the North and Fox coalition, and the unpopularity of the India Bill; though after all it found that it had given itself a master instead of a tool in the young Pitt.

A strange realization of Burke's ideal of party was that coalition of Fox and North, in which he held the office of paymaster of the forces, and signalized his own patriotism by renunciation of its irregular gains. The members of his ideal party were to be united not by political sympathy only but by personal esteem and confidence. The model was the group of Whig statesmen beloved and lauded by Addison. Between the two heads of the coalition there had been not only dissension the most violent on the great question of the day, but personal enmity of the bitterest kind. Fox had threatened North with impeachment and denounced him as a man lost to honor, connection with whom would be infamy. Their two sections had joined battle in the Wilkes case, on the issues of liberty of speech and publicity in the proceedings of Parliament. The saying that enmities were short but friendships were eternal had a fine sound, but hardly covered a sudden reversal, for the sake of place, of one man's opinion of the character of another. Burke had no business in the coalition government. But he had lost a worthy leader in Rockingham, and found one much less worthy, though far superior in ability, and as a political athlete, in Fox, a man brought up under the paternal roof of the most unscrupulous intriguer of the day, a debauchee, and a desperate gambler. In Fox Burke had the most attractive of companions and the worst of political guides.

The force which carried Pitt into power was not party but hatred of the coalition with its India Bill and feeling in favor of the son of Chatham, combined with the influence of the Crown. There were Radicals as well as Tories in Pitt's original majority.

When division was formed afresh by the outbreak of the French Revolution, Burke burst his party tie and broke violently with the leader of the Whigs.

There is a common impression that Burke was a great statesman destined by nature for the highest trust, but by the narrow jealousy of the Whig oligarchy kept out of his due. This notion was fostered by Disraeli, whom the Whigs had failed to appreciate, and who identified himself with Burke, taking his title of Beaconsfield from the great man's home. The impression derives some color from a passage in the *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* where the writer avows that the part of the constitution which he would be most content to resign is aristocracy, "that austere and insolent domination"; as well as from the encounter with the Duke of Bedford. But there could hardly be a greater type of Whig aristocracy than Rockingham, who introduced Burke into public life and seems to have treated his illustrious secretary as a colleague, though Burke somewhat compromised his position by the acceptance of pecuniary favors from Rockingham. We have perhaps rather over-rated the effect of aristocratic exclusiveness generally in shutting the gate at that period against political merit. Three prime ministers, Addington, Jenkinson and Canning, were distinctly plebeians. Sheridan fought under no cold shade. A number of names might be cited, not distinctly plebeian, yet not in the full sense aristocratic, the holders of which found their way to high place. The vehemence of Burke's temper, which was the Celtic part of his character, and the violence of his impulses, caused him, even when he was battling for the right, to commit errors of judgment and taste which cost him the confidence of the House of Commons and made those who witnessed them speak of him as insane. Insanity itself, indeed, could hardly have been less of a qualification for dealing with high matters of state than the fury which broke all bounds not only of good sense and moderation, but of the commonest decency, in Burke's conduct in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The *Reflections on the French Revolution*, recklessly inflaming public feeling at the most dangerous of all possible junctures, when it was the manifest object of statesmanship to keep it cool, is another proof of the unfitness of the author for the highest trust. Further proofs were the relations into which Burke got with the frenzied émigrés and his own passionate outcries for war.

Burke's works are a school of political wisdom as well as of noble sentiment, but it is always to be borne in mind that he is an orator and a pamphleteer.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

## THE CONFEDERATION AND THE SHAYS REBELLION

THE Shays Rebellion may be said to have begun at Northampton, Massachusetts, on August 29, 1786. There had been a considerable time of preliminary agitation, but on that occasion was seen the first forcible defiance to the government. A mob seized the court-house and prevented the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace. The purpose of the rioters was to put an end to legal proceedings for enforcing the payment of debts and taxes. The example set at Northampton was quickly followed throughout the greater portion of the state, and for months the course of justice was seriously obstructed or altogether stopped.<sup>1</sup> As was to be expected, these first steps in rebellion soon led much farther. The insurgents feared that in the Supreme Court indictments for treason would be returned against them. Consequently, they assembled in sufficient numbers completely to paralyze the proceedings of that court at Springfield in the last week of September.<sup>2</sup> Till the following March the Supreme Court was seen no more in western Massachusetts.

Such extensive opposition to the government could not be maintained without extensive organization. The insurgents therefore attempted to keep up considerable bodies of men, to organize some sort of leadership and co-operation, and to provide themselves with arms and ammunition. All this made the movement seem more far-reaching than it really was. Many conservative and influential persons believed that the insurgents desired to overthrow the state government, and to establish some purely democratic or even communistic system in its place. The present writer believes, for reasons which need not here be given, that this interpretation of the aims of the rebellion was unjust to most of the participants. Nevertheless, it was the accepted view of the political aristocracy of Massachusetts, and it was this view which finally roused them to the stroke by which the insurrection was crushed. In January, 1787, Governor

<sup>1</sup> On this subject there is in the Massachusetts Archives, at the State House in Boston, a wealth of unpublished correspondence between the governor and judges, sheriffs, militia officers, and interested citizens.

<sup>2</sup> Supreme Judicial Court Record, 1786, folio 405, Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, Court-House, Boston; Massachusetts Archives, CLXXXIX. 20-21; CXC. 265, 266, 289-292; *Boston Magazine*, III. 404.

Bowdoin, who charged the insurgents with "a contempt of all constitutional government, and a fixed determination to persevere in measures for subverting it,"<sup>1</sup> sent against them Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, who believed that their aim was to "sap the foundations of our constitution" in order that, "when an end should be put to public and private debts, the agrarian law might follow."<sup>2</sup> Lincoln with his strong force of trustworthy militia soon overpowered all opposition; but this force could not have been dispatched, had not the wealthy men of Boston and other towns made up a subscription of nearly twenty thousand dollars. Lincoln himself raised this fund, telling the contributors that it was simply a question of advancing part of their property in order to save the rest.<sup>3</sup>

Meantime, the Shays Rebellion attracted wide attention throughout the country. The attitude taken towards it by the leading politicians in other states closely reflected that of their brethren in Massachusetts. Not only were the insurgents believed to have subversive purposes, but suspicions were also expressed—quite without foundation, it appears—that they were instigated by British emissaries. Others feared, or hoped, that a monarchy might be established. It is, further, well known that the insurrection gave a strong impulse towards the assembling of the Federal Convention and to the labors of that body for the establishment of a strong national government. Especially is the mark of the Shays Rebellion seen in the constitutional guarantee to every state of a republican form of government and of protection, on application, against domestic violence.

Another matter, closely related to those just mentioned, is the action taken by the federal government with reference to the rebellion. This subject, which was for months a leading question of national politics, seems never to have been seriously investigated. The histories merely tell us that Congress voted to raise troops, pretending that they were needed against the Indians, but really purposing to assist the government of Massachusetts. But how this curious plan originated, whether the danger from the Indians was real

<sup>1</sup> Speech to the General Court, February 3, 1787, *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87*, 960.

<sup>2</sup> Lincoln to Washington, December 4, 1786. The original of this important account of the Shays Rebellion is in the Department of State at Washington. It is dated December 4, 1786, and February 22 and March 4, 1787. There is a copy among the manuscripts of Jared Sparks (Harvard University Library, Sparks MSS., LVII).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Stephen Higginson to Henry Knox, Boston, January 20, 1787, Letters of Stephen Higginson, *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1896, I. 743-745.

or fabricated, whether the Massachusetts authorities wished for federal intervention, what degree or lack of co-operation existed between the state and national governments, how many troops were actually raised, what purpose, if any, they ever served, and what became of them when the insurrection was over—these and other interesting questions have remained almost totally unanswered.

Two reasons prompted Congress to take serious heed of the rebellion. The first was the fear that the government of Massachusetts—perhaps the governments of all the states—might be overthrown. The other was the imminent danger that the insurgents might capture the national arsenal at Springfield. In 1777 Congress had selected Springfield as the most convenient place in New England for storing and distributing military supplies. Springfield had good water communication by the Connecticut river, and was at a safe distance from the sea. Ten acres of land had accordingly been leased from the town for ninety-nine years, and several large wooden buildings had been erected. These served as store-houses, workshops, and barracks. There had been added a foundry for casting brass cannon and a strongly built brick magazine. In 1786 there was at Springfield not less than four hundred and fifty tons of military stores, including some seven thousand new small-arms with bayonets, thirteen hundred barrels of powder, and a large quantity of shot and shell.<sup>1</sup> The seizure of all these munitions by the insurgents would have been a very serious matter. For the safety of the property General Henry Knox, the Secretary at War, was responsible. He was therefore in a position to play, as he did, the leading part in the episode under consideration—a part which has almost entirely escaped the notice of his biographers. A report from him, dated September 20, 1786, gave Congress its first official warning, so far as has been discovered, of the rising storm in Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup>

On a visit of inspection at Springfield about the middle of the month, Knox had seen that serious commotions were impending. He consulted various persons—among them Major-General William Shepard, who commanded the local militia—regarding possible danger to the federal property. It was clear that there was ground for anxiety. While the insurgents had apparently no matured designs upon the arsenal, they had talked of seizing it, if the government should attempt to punish them. A guard was needed, but how to

<sup>1</sup> Papers of the Old Congress, Library of Congress, Washington, No. 150, Letters of General Henry Knox, Secretary at War, I. 555-557 (Report to Congress, September 20, 1786); No. 151, Reports of Henry Knox, Secretary at War, 243-254 (Report to Congress, March 13, 1787). Cf. J. G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, I. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, I. 555-557.

provide it was a problem. Considering that Springfield was in the midst of a somewhat discontented population, Knox was afraid that a small guard might challenge attack rather than avert it. A large guard would involve large expense; and where was the money to be found? From this dilemma he sought escape by shifting the responsibility upon the government of the state. He wrote to Governor Bowdoin on September 16, setting forth his uneasiness about the Continental stores, and requesting such protection for them as the governor might think needful. The federal authorities, he took pains to explain, had refrained from setting a guard because they were confident of the fidelity of Massachusetts, and unwilling even to seem to call that fidelity in question. Moreover, it would have been expensive.<sup>1</sup>

Governor Bowdoin promptly handed the responsibility back to Knox. The Secretary at War, he replied, knew better than he how strong a guard was required. He had therefore issued orders to General Shepard to raise whatever number of the Hampshire militia Knox might request. The latter, meantime, had returned to New York and had submitted the report of September 20. On receiving the governor's letter, he again addressed Congress, on September 28, asking whether Shepard should be ordered to raise a guard at once, or be left to act upon his own judgment. The latter course was the one which, under the circumstances, he recommended. The best solution of all, he said, would of course be to send to Springfield a body of four or five hundred federal troops. He refrained, however, for financial reasons, from pressing such action upon Congress. In reply Congress passed on September 29 its first vote with reference to the Shays Rebellion. The Secretary at War was directed to proceed to Springfield and there take such measures as he should judge necessary for the protection of the arsenal. Armed thus with complete authority from both Congress and the government of Massachusetts, Knox started at once for Springfield.<sup>2</sup> Before he reached that place, however, the first crisis had already arrived and passed.

Tuesday, September 26, had been set for the opening of a term of the Supreme Court at Springfield. For reasons stated above the insurgents decided to intervene. General Shepard, however, not only ordered out the militia, but also issued a call for volunteers. In

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 551-553 (Knox to Bowdoin, September 16, 1786); 567-571 (Report of Knox to Congress, September 28, 1786).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 559 (Bowdoin to Knox, September 19, 1786); 567-571 (Report of Knox to Congress, September 28, 1786); 575 (Knox to the President of Congress, September 29, 1786); *Secret Journals of Congress*, I. (Domestic Affairs), 266-267.

response, eight or nine hundred men, including many of the leading citizens of the county, assembled to protect the court and guard the arsenal. They were so inadequately armed, however, that Shepard, though he had no permission from Knox, felt obliged to demand the key of the magazine, and take a field-piece and four hundred small-arms to supply his men. On the morning of the twenty-sixth the justices arrived. The insurgents were not far behind. Under the protection of Shepard's men the court was formally opened, but the justices seem to have been thoroughly frightened and transacted hardly any business. The insurgents, led by Daniel Shays, certainly made a threatening appearance. They marched past the court-house in military order with loaded pieces. They demanded that no indictments should be returned against their leaders, that judgments in civil cases should be suspended, and that the militia should disband. They even talked of attacking the troops and seizing the arsenal. One suspects, however, that all this was largely bravado, for, though the mob outnumbered General Shepard's force, they were so poorly armed that they would certainly have been worsted in a contest. Fortunately, by a curious device the danger of a collision was averted. At a conference between the insurgent leaders and the militia officers it was agreed that both parties should disband, and on Thursday afternoon this arrangement was faithfully carried out. On the same day the justices concluded their insignificant proceedings, adjourned *sine die*, and thankfully took their departure alive and safe. Quiet supervened, but three results were apparent—the session of the court had been a failure; the insurgents were elated by their success; the United States arsenal remained as defenceless as before.<sup>1</sup>

When Knox reached Springfield, probably on the following Monday, he was greatly impressed with the gravity of the situation. He was convinced that the prestige of the state government was severely shaken, and that the insurgents were planning a complete political and social revolution.<sup>2</sup> As to the arsenal he was in greater perplexity than ever. He was sure that the insurgents would before long attempt its capture, but General Shepard's bargain with them stood in the way of raising a guard large enough to be of any

<sup>1</sup> On these occurrences at Springfield see note 2, p. 42; also Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, I. 579-580 (Shepard to Knox, Springfield, September 29, 1786); 583-584 (Knox to the President of Congress, Hartford, October 1, 1786); 587-590 (Knox to the President of Congress, Springfield, October 3, 1786).

<sup>2</sup> Knox MSS., New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, XIX. 23 (Knox to John Jay, Springfield, October 3, 1786); Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 67-71 (Report of Knox to the President of Congress, October 18, 1786).



service. Since nothing could be done at Springfield, Knox decided to appeal once more to Governor Bôwdoin, and accordingly set out for Boston. Just what he wished the governor to do, he would probably have found it difficult to say. His reports show that he hoped to see at Springfield a strong body of militia recruited by the state government at state expense; but where this force was to be raised, and how it was to be brought to Springfield before the insurgents should have sacked the arsenal, his writings fail to explain.

On reaching Boston, Knox laid the matter before the governor, and the governor invited to confer with the Secretary and himself a number of his most confidential advisers. Among those present was Rufus King, at that time a member of Congress for Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup> At this meeting was developed the plan, which has always been ascribed to a committee of Congress, that the call for troops should originate with the national government. The first question discussed was whether the federal munitions should be protected at Springfield or removed. Every one present preferred the former course. To remove the stores would require as many men as to guard them, and the insurgents would think that they had frightened both the state and national governments. But how could the insurgents be kept quiet while the state was collecting its forces? The mere knowledge that the arsenal was to be protected might provoke an instant attack. To meet this difficulty the suggestion was made, and unanimously approved, that Congress, without referring to the insurrection, should request the state to furnish a quota of federal troops. It was hoped that in response to this call a force could be assembled without stirring up the insurgents. Having once secured

<sup>1</sup> The exact composition of this council is not certain. Knox described it in his letter of October 8 to the President of Congress as "Those gentlemen connected in the affairs of Government, with whom he consulted confidentially, on this occasion" (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 17-19). In the report of October 18 it is stated that "The gentlemen with whom he advised on my communications, were of the most respectable character in the state for their political knowledge" (*ibid.*, 67-71). Probably it was a gathering in which the three departments of the state government were all represented. Several such conferences had previously been held on the question of using troops to protect the courts. On September 7, for example, the governor had consulted the council, the justices of the Supreme Court, the attorney general, and such members of both houses of the General Court as were in Boston (Massachusetts Archives, CXC. 242-245).

The date of the meeting, also, is not exactly known. Since Knox, however, was in Springfield on October 3, and on the eighth wrote an account of the conference to the President of Congress, it was probably not earlier than the fifth nor later than the seventh of the month. There is, of course, no mention of the meeting in the files or minutes of the governor's council, for it could not be regarded as a meeting of that body.

these troops, the federal government might use them to protect its property.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to say who originated this device. It is known, however, that King talked with Gerry on this visit to Massachusetts about the probability of an Indian war. A few days later he took an active part in pushing the requisition for troops through Congress. A plausible conjecture—though no more than a conjecture—would be that the artifice was his.<sup>2</sup> From whatever source it came, the plan must have strongly appealed to Knox. It seemed to promise complete success to his mission. As has been said, what he most desired was a guard of federal troops at Springfield. It will be seen, moreover, that, for reasons quite apart from the rebellion in Massachusetts, he wished such troops to be raised.

It remained to secure the help of Congress in the stratagem which had been devised. This was a somewhat delicate undertaking. Governor Bowdoin could hardly venture a request to Congress without permission from the General Court; but to breathe the project to the General Court would both betray the secret and defeat the plan. That assembly was not yet ready for decisive action against the insurgents by the state government, much less for federal intervention. The only way, therefore, was to leave the matter informally to the management of the Secretary at War and the Massachusetts delegates in Congress. Knox and King accordingly returned to New York. On the way the former made such arrangements as he could—in which he admitted that he had little faith—for the temporary safety of the arsenal. He directed General Shepard to watch the situation closely, and to call out the militia, if he should see signs of trouble. He also wrote to several Revolutionary officers, urging them to volunteer their services, if help should be required at Springfield. Finally, he arranged with Governor Huntington, of Connecticut, that, in case of need, twelve or fifteen hundred of the Connecticut militia should march to Shepard's assistance.<sup>3</sup>

On October 18 Congress received from Knox a full report upon the situation in Massachusetts. He spared no emphasis in depicting the dangerous tendencies which he ascribed to the rebellion. He declared that "great numbers of people in Massachusetts and the neighbouring states . . . avow the principle of annihilating all debts

<sup>1</sup> Knox to Congress, October 3, 8, and 18 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, I. 587-590; II. 17-19, 67-71).

<sup>2</sup> King to Gerry, October 19, 1786, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, I. 191-192.

<sup>3</sup> Knox's report of October 18; also letters to several officers (Knox MSS., XIX. 20, 22, 26, 27).

public and private. . . . It is my firm conviction," he added, " unless the present commotions are checked with a strong hand, that an armed tyranny may be established on the ruins of the present constitution." Nothing, he continued, short of a guard of five hundred men would suffice to protect the arsenal at Springfield. He therefore recommended that the force of seven hundred men then in the service of the United States<sup>1</sup> should be increased to fifteen hundred. The new recruits would guard the arsenal during the coming winter, and, " if they should not be requisite for the same purpose the next spring, they might be marched to the frontier, or disbanded as Congress should think most proper."

The report was committed to Messrs. Pettit, Lee, Pinckney, Henry, and Smith. On October 20 this committee presented a report and accompanying resolutions, all of which Congress unanimously approved. These votes provided for an increase in the army of thirteen hundred and forty non-commissioned officers and privates. The total non-commissioned force would then be two thousand and forty strong. Furthermore, nearly all the new recruits were to come from New England, and scarcely less than half from Massachusetts. Of infantry and artillery Rhode Island was to furnish one hundred and twenty men, Connecticut one hundred and eighty, New Hampshire two hundred and sixty, and Massachusetts six hundred and sixty. Outside of New England only Virginia and Maryland were called upon—each to supply a cavalry troop of sixty men. It was further voted that all possible haste should be urged upon the governments of these states; that the governors should be asked to assemble the legislatures, if they were not in session, in order that the quota might be promptly granted. Means for the support and payment of the troops should be devised and reported to Congress by the Board of Treasury.<sup>2</sup>

Now it would seem obvious that this action of Congress was due to the recent statements of Knox about the insurrection. On the contrary, nothing of the sort can be gathered from the committee's report. That document made no reference whatever to the crisis in Massachusetts. It did give, however, a highly colored account of impending danger from the western Indians. Papers had come in

<sup>1</sup> Knox to Bowdoin, October 22, 1786 (*ibid.*, 29). Cf. *Journals of Congress*, April 1, 7, and 12, 1785.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of Congress*, XI. 186-188 (edition of 1801).

The resolution further provided that the recruits were to serve for three years, unless sooner disbanded. The Secretary at War was to call upon the governments of the states in which the troops were to be raised for such commissioned officers as their respective quotas required. Subject to order from the War Office, the Board of Treasury was to contract for clothing and rations.

from the War Office, according to the committee, filled with startling reports of the doings of several Indian nations. The Shawnees, Pottawattamies, Chippewas, Tawas, and Twightwees were mentioned in particular. These tribes were already gathering at the Shawnee towns; with them was a gang of desperados called Min-goos and Cherokees, outcasts from other tribes, who had banded together for war and plunder. A thousand warriors would soon be assembled; some had already started on the war-path. The southern Indians, as well as the northern, were discontented, and plans were afoot to unite all the tribes in a war against the United States. Nothing but the promptest measures could avert this dreadful calamity. This situation, said the committee, demanded that the army should be immediately increased. The western frontier and the settlements beyond towards the Mississippi river could then be defended. This protection would also hasten the surveying and sale of the western lands and the consequent reduction of the public debt.

Why did the committee say nothing about the insurrection in Massachusetts? The reason appeared in a secret report, presented on the following day by the same committee, and unanimously approved by Congress.<sup>1</sup> This paper dealt fully with affairs in Massachusetts. Referring for their facts to the report of General Knox "and other authentic information,"<sup>2</sup> the committee stated that a dangerous insurrection had broken out and was rapidly gaining ground in that state; that the legislature would not accept help from Congress, if it were offered openly, but that such help was none the less absolutely necessary.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, unless it should be quickly given, it was probable that the arsenal at Springfield would be seized, the state government overthrown, the commonwealth reduced to

<sup>1</sup> Papers of the Old Congress, No. 30, Reports of the Committees on Indian Affairs, etc., II. 405-407. Here is preserved the original report, indorsed "Private report . . . passed 21 Oct. 1786—." The draft has many corrections, which are all in the handwriting of Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress. It is probable that the changes represent amendments made by Congress during the consideration of the report. At any rate, they show the extreme caution with which the question was handled and the fear of disclosing, even in a secret report, the share of the Massachusetts politicians in the intrigue. The report as corrected and passed was copied by Thomson into the MS. Domestic Secret Journal, 227-229. It was not entered at all in the public journal. It is printed in *Secret Journals of Congress*, I. (Domestic Affairs), 268-270.

<sup>2</sup> The report as originally submitted told whence this information came. The passage read, "and the additional information derived from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Delegates from the State of Massachusetts Bay". Evidently the honorable delegates did not wish to go on record, but they must do so now.

<sup>3</sup> The unrevised report added, "such Aid is earnestly desired by the Governor and Council, tho' particular circumstances prevent its being applied for in a more formal manner".

anarchy, and the United States involved in civil war. In view of these things, the committee declared that Congress was "bound by the Confederation,"<sup>1</sup> by ties of friendship, and by good policy to make such arrangements as would enable it, if required, to assist the government of Massachusetts. In addition, the magazine at Springfield must be protected. It therefore followed, the report continued, that troops must be raised; but it also followed that the insurrection must not be mentioned as a reason for raising them. Fortunately, other matters in the hands of the committee furnished sufficient ground for ordering an increase of the army. Such action had therefore been advised in the report on the western country. In conclusion, it was pointed out that, since New England would furnish most of the troops, they could serve the desired purpose there before they were marched to the frontier.

Congress might call recruits, but would they come without some guarantee of pay and sustenance? To face this question was the cheerless task of the Board of Treasury. On the same day this Board recommended that a requisition for 530,000 dollars in specie be laid in due quotas on the states of the Union. On the credit of this requisition a loan of 500,000 dollars, bearing interest at six *per cent.*, might at once be opened. Congress unanimously adopted these proposals.<sup>2</sup> Finally, a curious resolution was passed to stimulate subscriptions to the loan. In obscure and involved phrases it warned the wealthy men of New England to contribute generously, unless they wished to see the new recruits mutiny for lack of pay and go over to the insurgents.<sup>3</sup>

It has always been assumed that the reports of danger on the frontier were simply used as a blind by the committee on Indian affairs. The truth is, on the contrary, that those reports were perfectly genuine and quite grave enough to call for active measures of defence. Ever since the conclusion of peace with Great Britain the United States had been drifting towards a serious Indian war. The greatest danger arose in the Northwest, and the policies of both the English and the Americans tended to increase it. The Indians, though justly angry with Great Britain for surrendering their country in the treaty of peace, realized that they must defend that country against the power to which it was surrendered. In

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the third of the Articles of Confederation.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of Congress*, XI. 188.

<sup>3</sup> The resolution is added to the report of October 21 in the MS. Reports of the Committees on Indian Affairs and the *Secret Journals*. It might seem curious that an appeal to constituents should be entered in the secret journal, but of course it was intended for only a few constituents of a special class. These could be easily reached by confidential letters.

the refusal of the British to give up the western posts they found powerful moral support. Moreover, British agents travelled among the tribes, were present at their councils, urged them not to part with their lands, gave them supplies, including arms and ammunition—in fact, furnished every encouragement short of a definite promise of alliance. Officially, it is true, the British government and its higher representatives in America advised the Indians not to attack the United States. Practically, they fostered among the savages a hatred of the Americans which could hardly fail to lead to war.

The United States, on the other hand, pursued a course which the Indians regarded as most unjust. The first mistake was the attempt to conclude treaties with separate groups of tribes. To the rest this seemed merely a device to conquer in detail. In the next place, the Indians were required to acknowledge the territorial sovereignty of the United States according to the terms of the treaty with Great Britain. Such acknowledgment was extorted from the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas at Fort McIntosh on January 21, 1785, and from the Shawnees at Fort Finney on January 31, 1786. The chief result of this acknowledgment was to accentuate the hostility of both the tribes which made it and those which refused to treat. In the third place, the Americans were steadily encroaching, without a shadow of right, in the Indians' opinion, on the country northwest of the Ohio river. By a treaty of October 22, 1784, the Iroquois gave up their western claims, and the Indians beyond the Ohio felt that they had been a second time betrayed. By the treaties at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney large tracts of land nominally passed into the exclusive control of the United States. It soon became clear, however, that not even the tribes which made these treaties intended that they should be carried out. None the less, the cessions of their western claims by several states to the national government, the land ordinance of 1785, the appointment of a geographer and surveyors, the beginning of surveys in the Seven Ranges, and the efforts to devise a government for the western country all showed that Congress would soon open the Ohio lands to settlement. But hardest of all for the Indians to bear was the unlawful intrusion of the frontiersman, with his fundamental tenet that the red man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. This intrusion, though forbidden by proclamations of Congress, was so continuous and extensive that it produced a chronic state of guerrilla warfare along the Ohio valley. Early in 1785 Congress ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar, the commanding officer on the frontier, to drive out all settlers north of the

Ohio, and during that year and the next Harmar expelled as many as he could, but the tide of immigration was by no means stopped.<sup>1</sup>

For all these reasons no moment of the year 1786 was free from danger of a general Indian war. The commissioners who treated with the Shawnees in January reported the hostile feeling and continued depredations of the other western tribes.<sup>2</sup> Various army officers on the frontier confirmed their view.<sup>3</sup> The Kentucky "long knives" regarded the situation apparently with more pleasure than alarm, and bombarded Governor Henry of Virginia with requests for permission to make the first attack.<sup>4</sup> In response the state government authorized the field officers of Kentucky to "concert some system for their own defence," and requested Congress to assist in protecting the Kentucky border.<sup>5</sup>

Congress directed Butler and Parsons, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, to report whether the settlers in Kentucky were really in danger. The reply of the commissioners, read in Congress on June 21, stated that distinct hostility, with active encouragement from the British, was the fixed attitude of the tribes beyond the Ohio. The only way to bring them to terms would be to march a strong body of troops into their country, overawe them with this show of force, expel the British agents, and then make a comprehensive treaty. Especially it was urged that an expedition should be sent to break up a marauding band of Cherokees and other Indians, which at that moment was the most serious menace to the people of Kentucky.<sup>6</sup> Now to carry out such a policy would of course require

<sup>1</sup> Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, Chapter XIII.; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, III. Chapter II.; C. C. Royce, "Cessions of Land by Indian Tribes to the United States", *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 249-262, and "Indian Land Cessions to the United States", *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part II., 648-651. Further valuable information on Indian affairs is found in the report, dated February 1, 1786, of Richard Butler and Samuel Holden Parsons, who made the treaty with the Shawnees. The feeling of the frontier settlers towards the Indians is illustrated by the statement that the Kentuckians could hardly be restrained from attacking the Indians who were negotiating the treaty (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 56, Indian Affairs, 377-384). In the same volume (pages 341-407) are numerous papers concerning the visit to Congress in the spring of 1786 of the Seneca chief best known as "Cornplanter". These throw much light on the situation in the Indian country.

<sup>2</sup> Papers of the Old Congress, No. 56, 377-384.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 150, I. 137-155, 293-294.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 56, 213, 268-269, 271-273.

<sup>5</sup> Resolves of the Virginia Council and letter of Governor Henry, Richmond, May 15-16, 1786 (*ibid.*, No. 150, II. 37-38).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 56, 283-285. The report was based on reliable statements from agents who had been sent out in a vain effort to gather the western tribes for a general treaty.

the raising of more troops. General Knox brought this point out clearly by reporting, on the same day, that the force then in the federal service was entirely insufficient to defend the whole Kentucky frontier. If war should break out, at least fifteen hundred men would be required. As an immediate measure he recommended that two companies should be sent to the falls of the Ohio.<sup>1</sup> On the next day Congress voted to send two companies to that point,<sup>2</sup> and soon afterwards instructed Knox to report on the expense of increasing the army as he had suggested.<sup>3</sup>

At this point, for a time, the movement towards strengthening the federal army paused. The summer passed without bringing much disquieting news from the frontier. There was a moment of peril when in June the Six Nations and certain western Indians met in council near Niagara. Joseph Brant, who had recently returned from England, tried to unite the tribes there represented against the United States, but was obliged to confess that the British government would promise no active help. The Shawnees, who came intent on hostilities, received no encouragement from the Iroquois, and the danger of war seemed for the moment to have passed.<sup>4</sup>

In reality, however, at this very time the war clouds were rapidly gathering in two distinct localities—Vincennes and the Shawnee towns along the Scioto and Miami rivers. At Vincennes the French inhabitants greatly outnumbered and cordially hated the Americans. The Indians, who complained of perfidious and brutal treatment from the Americans, sided entirely with the French. Threats and minor collisions finally produced a reign of terror, during which the Americans appealed to George Rogers Clark for help. Seizing this welcome opportunity, the Kentuckians on August 2 decided to send a strong expedition under Clark against the Indians. Nearly half of the Kentucky militia was called out, and it was expected that about the middle of September twelve hundred men or more would march from the falls of the Ohio. This was war, and it might be difficult for Congress to take no part.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the

<sup>1</sup> Papers of the Old Congress, No. 151, 187-189.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of Congress*, XI. 86-87.

<sup>3</sup> Indorsement in Charles Thomson's hand on the report of General Knox dated June 19 and read on June 21, 1786.

<sup>4</sup> "Cornplanter" was present at this council, labored for peace, and came to Pittsburg with a full report, which was forwarded to Congress (Col. William Butler to Gen. Richard Butler, Pittsburg, September 11, 1786, Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 1-13). Cf. Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, 273-274.

<sup>5</sup> Major William North to Knox, "Camp Rapids of the Ohio," August 23, 1786, and Muskingum, September 15, 1786 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 21-23, 25-26, 33-35). In his second report North enclosed a long letter from J. M. P. Legrace to General Clark, dated Post St. Vincent, July 22, 1786, and



Shawnee warriors returned from Niagara disappointed at the submissive temper of the Iroquois, but none the less determined upon war. They summoned the braves of the surrounding tribes to council at their towns. Several hundred warriors assembled—some estimates put the number as high as two thousand—and during July and August, while the war dance was in progress at the towns, small parties were raiding the settlements south of the Ohio and coming back with prisoners and scalps. Finally, at Lower Sandusky early in September several tribes made an offensive alliance against the United States. It was given out that upon Hutchins and his surveyors would fall the first blow in a great struggle for the boundary of the Ohio.<sup>1</sup>

Now to understand the attitude of Congress on the Indian question, one must ask just what news it had received by the twentieth of October. It is the failure to make this enquiry that has so long involved the subject in confusion. In 1786 news travelled slowly from the Ohio to New York. Major William North, inspector of the federal troops, who in the summer made a trip down the Ohio river, sent to General Knox, in letters of August 23 and September 15, the first explicit information about both Clark's intended expedition and the threatened Indian attack. He declared that "the greatest part of those tribes who treated with us are inclined for war and the British agents and traders are doing everything in their power to set them upon us. The Wabash indians are inimical as in fact are all the tribes who have any connexion with the British."<sup>2</sup> It was not till October 16 that these letters, with depositions and other accompanying papers, were submitted for the information of Congress.<sup>3</sup> On the nineteenth Knox sent in further papers of a similar tenor from Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar. Taken together, these communications contained practically everything concerning Indian affairs which appeared in the committee report of October 20.

From all these things several conclusions may be drawn. First, the statements of the committee, far from being fabricated, were amply supported by information from responsible officers on the frontier. When these officers wrote they could not possibly have

setting forth the French view of the situation there (*ibid.*, 41-62). North also sent the resolves of the Kentucky officers on August 2 (*ibid.*, 38-40). Cf. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, III. 78-83.

<sup>1</sup> Letters of North, cited above, with enclosures from persons who had recently been at the Shawnee towns; Harmar to Knox, September 17 and October 10, with similar enclosures (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 75-80, 91-101).

<sup>2</sup> North's letter of August 23, cited above.

<sup>3</sup> Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

foreseen any connection between their reports and civil commotions in Massachusetts. Second, if there had been no commotions whatever in Massachusetts, the danger in the West would have fully justified an increase in the federal army. Third, the news of this danger reached Congress just in time to serve conveniently as the sole reason publicly assigned for ordering the new enlistments. General Knox, who was accustomed to write very frankly to Washington, sent the latter on October 23 an account which may be accepted as stating the facts just as Knox saw them. "The Indians on our frontiers," he said, "are giving indisputable evidence of their hostile intentions. Congress anxiously desirous of meeting the evils on the frontiers have unanimously agreed to augment the troops now in service. . . . This measure is important and will tend to strengthen the principles of government if necessary as well as to defend the frontiers. I mention the idea of strengthening government as confidential. But the state of Massachusetts requires the greatest assistance and Congress are fully impressed with the importance of supporting her with great exertions."<sup>1</sup> It may be added that the present writer is in no wise trying to prove that the Indian question alone would have roused Congress to action. Probably nothing short of open Indian war could have effected that. But that question did supply a real, though less powerful, motive, in addition to the one arising from the Shays Rebellion.

We now come to the questions which have been, perhaps, the most obscure of all—how were the troops actually raised, what use was made of them, and what was the attitude of the Massachusetts legislature in regard to the federal intervention. On October 22 Knox notified Governor Bowdoin of the quota required of Massachusetts. He enlarged upon the Indian war and was discreetly silent about the insurrection.<sup>2</sup> The same line of argument was followed by the governor, when five days later he laid the matter before the General Court. "It is of great importance," he said, "that the United States should be prepared against so formidable a combination."<sup>3</sup> On the next day a bill passed both houses for the immediate raising of the troops.<sup>4</sup> Those concerned in the plot to conceal the more important reason for the enlistments made studied efforts to keep up appearances. Governor Bowdoin in a later message declared that the news from the West was still more alarming, and that

<sup>1</sup> Knox MSS., XIX. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87*, 948-949.

<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts Archives, Court Records, XLVII. 200-203.

the surveyors had fled to the Ohio and cast up intrenchments.<sup>1</sup> King sent to Gerry from New York a gloomy forecast of "a very dangerous and extensive Indian War." The quota asked of Massachusetts did seem large, he said, but on a former occasion, when that state had been drawn on for less than her share, her government had promised to make up the difference, whenever required to do so.<sup>2</sup> Gerry's reply, however, showed that the secret was out. "Some of the country members laugh," he said, "and say the Indian War is only a political one to obtain a standing army."<sup>3</sup> Major William North added with brutal frankness, "The people here smell a rat, that the Troops about to be raised are more for the Insurgents than the Indians."<sup>4</sup> Colonel James Swan wrote to Knox on October 26, "Being in Town at Concert, I am agreeably saluted with the news of War being declared against the Indians. I hope in this declaration 'Indians,'—is meant all who oppose the Dignity, honour, and happiness of the United States, or of either of the States."<sup>5</sup>

Major-General Henry Jackson of the Massachusetts militia was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel to raise and command the state's contingent of the federal troops.<sup>6</sup> He entered upon his duties with great zeal, but his task was that of making bricks without straw. No state except Virginia took any step towards paying the money requisition of October 21.<sup>7</sup> The loan opened by the Board of Treasury was consequently an utter failure. The Massachusetts legislature naturally enough felt that it could grant no money save for the immediate recruiting service. For this an appropriation of twenty-five hundred pounds was made,<sup>8</sup> but the loan which was opened as the only means of obtaining this money excited little enthusiasm among the wealthy men of Boston. "I have no Money as yet to commence recruiting," wrote Jackson on November 19, "and

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87*, 954-956 (Message of November 13).

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, I. 191-192.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Knox MSS., XIX. 36 (North to Knox, October 29, 1786). North had come to Boston with Knox's recommendation for a commission, which he received, as a major in the Massachusetts contingent.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>6</sup> Jackson's commission, dated April 2, 1787, and signed by St. Clair and Knox, is in the Boston Public Library.

<sup>7</sup> *The Papers of James Madison*, II. 581. Virginia laid an additional export duty of six shillings per hogshead on tobacco to meet the requisition; Hening, *Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia*, XII. 288.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87*, 374-376. One member remarked that it was unnecessary to pay the soldiers, for they would all get rich western lands (North to Knox, October 29, Knox MSS., XIX. 36).

I know not when I shall."<sup>1</sup> Christopher Gore in a letter to King burst out with the wish that "it was generally believed that an attack on property and a subversion of the Government was intended, for so great a languor, so little spirit I never knew. £500 only," he continued, "have yet been subscribed . . . though it is generally thought that those troops are to be raised to support the authority in Mass. . . . Is not this dreadful?"<sup>2</sup> Knox, who had predicted a hearty response to a loan, was keenly disappointed by these lean results.<sup>3</sup> The explanation is, apparently, that the government party in Massachusetts was now growing tired of temporizing with the insurgents, and was almost ready for a forcible exertion of the authority of the commonwealth. With this change of feeling, the artifice of raising federal troops lost much of the support which it had at first commanded.<sup>4</sup>

The requisition and the loans might languish, but contracts must meantime be let for the support, and, if possible, the payment of the troops. Knox and the Board of Treasury besought Robert Morris and Jeremiah Wadsworth to take up this task, but these gentlemen did not display unseemly eagerness. "Although," wrote Knox, "I found that they possessed the best disposition to render every reasonable service to their Country, yet at the same time it was in no degree their desire to undertake any public operations whatever." Morris finally agreed in general terms to enter upon the business, and this enabled Knox to drag in the unwilling Wadsworth. The latter complained, "where the Money is to come from Heaven knows," but Knox replied, "For Gods sake do not delay a single moment longer than is indispensably necessary." Delays did continue, however, and, after the recruiting had begun, it looked at times as if the men would freeze and starve. It is hard to see how Jackson could have made any progress with his enlistments, had not Stephen Bruce promptly advanced such supplies, except uniforms, as he required. In Connecticut recruits came into Hartford in the dead of winter without the slightest provision for their support. With much grumbling Wadsworth gave them food, fuel, and shelter, "but," he wrote to Knox, "the Treasury Board must . . . refund my present advances—or I shall immediately Stop." Finally, in February, the lack of response to either the requisition or the loan caused Morris and Wadsworth to throw up the whole negotiation with the govern-

<sup>1</sup> Knox MSS., XIX. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, I. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Knox MSS., XIX. 29, 75.

<sup>4</sup> The loss of interest is mentioned with regret by Stephen Higginson in a letter to Knox of November 25, 1786; *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1896, I. 743-745.

ment. No regular contracts were entered into for the subsistence of the recruits.<sup>1</sup>

All these difficulties delayed the recruiting till it seemed likely to become a jest. "The Deacons of Massachusetts," wrote Wadsworth to Knox on December 11, "hant raised a man yet as I am told and believe—what do you think of them—Shays has 7 or 800 in arms. Had you not better employ them than Wait for the Deacons. I begin to think he will govern the State, as I see no disposition in any body else to do it."<sup>2</sup> In reality Jackson, trusting to money pledged though not yet paid, had just begun enlisting men. He had enrolled seventy at the end of the month and twice as many before the last of January. On February 18 he reported one hundred and ninety recruits. It was slow work, however, and the total number enlisted in the state was not quite half of the allotted quota. A large number of the men, probably two-thirds or more, were Revolutionary veterans.<sup>3</sup> There was also difficulty in securing officers. The twenty Revolutionary captains who were offered commissions remembered how they had formerly been paid, and only three of them accepted. It was the middle of January before the list was complete.<sup>4</sup> For reasons easy to surmise, instead of attempting to draw arms and accoutrements from Springfield, Knox sent these supplies, by sea no doubt, from Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup>

To complete Jackson's discomfiture, the not too buoyant sails of his enterprise were almost completely blanketed by General Lincoln's expedition. The federal officers must have felt envious at the promptness with which thousands of militia responded and thousands of pounds were subscribed to prosecute this campaign. Jackson at first hoped that Lincoln's war-chest might overflow to the benefit of the recruiting service, but there is no indication that it did.<sup>6</sup> The crisis of the rebellion brought forward again the question of guarding and using the Continental stores at Springfield. In December

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence of Knox, Morris, Wadsworth, Bruce, Jackson, and the Board of Treasury, November 22, 1786—February 11, 1787 (Knox MSS., XIX. 28, 56, 62, 67, 70, 76, 78, 85, 87, 89, 92, 105, 121, 161, 163); Knox to Congress, February 12 and May 2, 1787 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 243-245, 327-329). Jackson paid Bruce as far as he could from the money subscribed in Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> Knox MSS.; XIX. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson to Knox, December 11 and 31, 1786, January 28 and February 18, 1787 (*ibid.*, 84, 111, 141, 170); Knox to Congress, May 2, 1787 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 327-329).

<sup>4</sup> Jackson to Knox, November 19, 1786, and January 17, 1787 (Knox MSS., XIX. 53, 120). Most of the appointments were made on the recommendation of Knox or Jackson.

<sup>5</sup> Knox to Jackson, December 3, 1786 (*ibid.*, 75); Jackson to Knox, December 11 (*ibid.*, 84).

<sup>6</sup> Jackson to Knox, January 10, 1787 (*ibid.*, 124).

General Shepard asked for permission to arm the Hampshire militia from the magazine. Knox, in spite of his ardent devotion to the government cause in Massachusetts, never dared to use national troops or property for other than strictly national purposes. He therefore informed Shepard that without a vote of Congress—and Congress could not find a quorum—he could not grant this permission.<sup>1</sup> In January, however, the insurgents once more threatened the arsenal. Shepard, who had been stationed at Springfield with a thousand men, deemed national interests sufficiently involved, and on the nineteenth wrote to Knox that he was about to draw supplies from the magazine. He took some five hundred small-arms, three field-pieces, a howitzer, the necessary ammunition, and some accoutrements for horsemen. He was probably relieved when word at last arrived from Knox that his action was approved. Shepard soon found himself besieged by a greatly superior force of insurgents. All approach to Springfield except from the south was cut off. Shays knew that his one hope was to scatter Shepard's force and seize the arsenal before Lincoln's arrival. On January 25 took place the famous attack and repulse. It was the federal artillery which turned the insurgent column to flight. A few days later General Lincoln dispersed the entire force under Shays, and the backbone of the rebellion was broken. The Hampshire militia continued for a time to guard the arsenal.<sup>2</sup>

From all these stirring scenes the federal recruits were conspicuously absent. Jackson had proposed to offer their services to General Lincoln, but was overruled by Knox. The truth is that Knox was disgusted at the failure of the state government to give financial support to the recruiting, and that government was equally dissatisfied with the inactivity of the recruits. Jackson was entirely right when he said that it was hopeless to expect help from the wealthy men, unless his command should do something which would at least appear to be of advantage to the state. His businesslike plan was that his force should be assigned without restrictions to the service of the commonwealth, provided the latter would assume the entire expense. This would save the state an equal expenditure on the militia, would give it credit to the same extent on its federal account, and would insure the speedy completion of the quota. The two governments would thus be working in harmony and no longer

<sup>1</sup> Knox MSS., XIX., 95, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Shepard to Knox, January 19 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 173); Knox to Shepard, January 21 (Knox MSS., XIX. 133); John Bryant to Knox, January 23 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 177-178); Shepard to Bowdoin, January 26 (Massachusetts Archives, CXC. 317-318); Abel Whitney to Knox, February 2 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 211-217).

at cross-purposes. Unfortunately, this sensible advice made no impression upon Knox.<sup>1</sup>

From the side of the state the first official protest was heard on February 5. The Senate passed a resolution, introduced, it is said, by Samuel Adams, requesting the governor to inform Congress that a rebellion existed, that the government, supported by the great majority of the people, was successfully suppressing it, but that, should any emergency arise, the state would count upon "such support from the United States as is expressly and solemnly stipulated by the Articles of Confederation." In the House the friends of the insurgents were by this time quite discredited and overridden. On this question, however, they were probably reinforced by members who, without favoring rebellion, disliked federal interference. At any rate, the resolution was recast by the House, though with what changes the records do not show. The Senate refused to concur and conferees were appointed. Then the Senate voted to add an amendment, requesting the governor to ask Congress to take its own measures for protecting its property at Springfield, "in order that the troops of this state now stationed there, may be employed on other service." On the seventh the House was whipped into line and accepted the Senate measure, amendment and all. Harmony thus seemed to be restored, but, for some reason, perhaps an informality in procedure, the Senate recalled the resolution, even after voting to send it to the governor, and passed it once more without alteration on the ninth. The House, meantime, had experienced another change of heart, and now voted the measure down. Again conferees were appointed, and then, on the same afternoon, the resolve once more passed the Senate, seemingly as new business, was sent down, and was promptly accepted by the House. To add a final touch of mystery to the affair, the resolution which at last prevailed has completely disappeared. It is known, however, that Governor Bowdoin wrote to Congress as the General Court desired, and that he added the request about the arsenal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jackson to Knox, December 31, January 21, February 11 and 18 (Knox MSS., XIX. 111, 132, 163, 170). Jackson pointed out that the decision of the state government early in February to raise a force of militia not to exceed 1500 men for four months was a menace to his recruiting, since the state offered a larger bounty than he did.

<sup>2</sup> The resolution which was finally passed does not appear in the Court Records or in the *Acts and Resolves*, and a diligent search in the files of the Massachusetts Archives has failed to unearth it. Its passage, however, is clearly recorded in the MS. Journal of the Senate, VII. 344, and the MS. Journal of the House of Representatives, VII. 397. It is also distinctly mentioned in the governor's message of March 2 (*Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87, 974-975*). The controversy between the houses can be traced in the Journal of the Senate, VII. 325-344; and

Before the General Court had discovered its own mind, the strenuous proceedings in Hampshire County had already convinced Knox that the federal troops should be at Springfield. On February 9 he ordered both Jackson and Lieutenant-Colonel David Humphreys of the Connecticut contingent to march their commands thither. He warned them, however, to engage in no service except that of protecting the arsenal. Jackson, moreover, was to march only in case he should receive from the state government the means to pay his officers and support his men. Knox wrote to Lincoln on the same day that, while he expected that Humphreys would proceed to Springfield, he did not anticipate that Jackson would. His forecast was entirely accurate. Jackson received no supplies, and his orders, conditional though they had been, were promptly countermanded. Humphreys with one hundred and twenty men reached Springfield on February 24, and relieved the militia at the arsenal. This—unless the loan of arms is counted—was the nearest approach of the national government to armed intervention in the Shays Rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

The countermanding of Jackson's orders may have had some influence on the Massachusetts legislature. It was followed up by a message from the governor, recalling to mind the long-neglected money requisition.<sup>2</sup> Then, on February 19, Congress took up the question of the enlistments, and, but for the determined opposition of the members from Massachusetts, would have voted to stop them then and there.<sup>3</sup> Finally, on March 2, Governor Bowdoin informed the legislature that he had word from Knox that the Massachusetts recruits would march to Springfield as soon as the state should enable them to do so and not before. Thereupon the General Court at last responded. On March 7 an appropriation not to exceed five thousand pounds was voted "for the pay, cloathing and subsistence" of the federal troops.<sup>4</sup> As an equivalent for this grant, the help of the United States forces was requested in the pursuit of insurgents beyond the borders of the state. Finally, a federal

the *Journal of the House*, VII. 380-397. In the Massachusetts Archives, CXK. 350-353, are also attested drafts giving nearly all the stages in the proceedings except the last. See also W. V. Wells, *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, III. 241-242. Last of all, a month later, the delegates in Congress took their turn in notifying that body concerning the rebellion. See below, p. 64, note 3.

<sup>1</sup> Knox to Jackson, February 9 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 239-241); to Lincoln, February 9 (Knox MSS., XIX. 160); to Congress, February 12 and March 13 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 243-245; No. 151, 243-254).

<sup>2</sup> February 14, 1787; *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87*, 970-972.

<sup>3</sup> *Journals of Congress*, XII. 11-12; *The Papers of James Madison*, II. 581-587.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1786-87*, 499.



commission was requested for General Lincoln, with authority to march the state militia to any place in the United States for the capture of insurgent refugees.<sup>1</sup> Congress paid no attention to these requests. Its only wish now was as soon as possible to abandon the enlistments. Its steps in this direction, which have never been correctly traced, must therefore be next considered.

Charles Pinckney moved in Congress, probably about the middle of February, that the enlistments be suspended until further directions should be given. On the nineteenth a committee to which his motion had been referred reported against it. In reply Pinckney contended that the rebellion in Massachusetts had been crushed, and that there was no money with which to pay and support the new recruits. A slight increase of the force stationed on the Ohio was the most he was willing to concede. King was on his feet as Pinckney sat down, with a "moving appeal" that the recruiting should go on. His chief argument was that, though the insurrection seemed to be quelled, the state would probably proceed not only to punish the chief offenders, but also to disarm and disfranchise the whole body of their followers. The success of this policy, he thought, was doubtful. A new crisis might result. To withdraw the support of Congress at this moment would look like disapproval, and might kindle the revolt afresh. Pinckney replied bluntly that he thought Congress ought to disapprove such measures as Massachusetts seemed likely to adopt; a state following such a course should be left to suffer the consequences. Then Madison, rising as mediator, contributed some remarkable observations. He first discussed the constitutionality of interference by Congress in the internal controversies of a state. It was a bit difficult, he admitted, to reconcile such a course with the Articles of Confederation. Those articles gave Congress only express powers, and this was not among them. Still, there was one circumstance which might justify such action. He referred to the danger of intervention by a foreign power. Now in this case direct evidence of such danger might be lacking; "yet there was sufficient ground for a general suspicion of readiness in Great Britain to take advantage of events in this country to warrant precautions against her." Such was the argument of the future author of the Virginia Resolutions. Coming to the question of stopping the enlistments, Madison seems almost to have used King's reasoning in support of Pinckney's conclusion. There might still be trouble, he said, in Massachusetts. The opinion of her delegates should have great weight. Every state might ask similar consideration in the future. In fact, this reflection had produced the enthu-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 496-499.

siasm with which Virginia had voted a tax on tobacco to pay the requisition. As a compromise, he advised that the enlistments be not flatly countermanded, but suspended for a time, with rather indefinite instructions. On the division five states supported Pinckney's motion and three opposed it. Virginia was divided. The motion was therefore lost, but the vote showed that the enlistments had almost no support further south than New York.<sup>1</sup>

On March 8 Grayson of Virginia moved that the stores at Springfield be transferred to some place of greater safety. Five days later Knox reported adversely upon this motion. Massachusetts, he said, had proved her ability to put down the rebellion and to defend the arsenal. Humphreys was now at Springfield with a sufficient guard. There was therefore no occasion to remove the stores. To do so, moreover, might hurt the reputation of the state government. He showed that Springfield was for various reasons an excellent place of deposit and as safe as any he could mention. Grayson's suggestion was accordingly dropped.<sup>2</sup>

On March 28 Congress appointed a committee "to consider the military establishment, and particularly to report a proper resolution for stopping the enlistments."<sup>3</sup> This committee recommended on April 4 the repeal of the resolutions of October 20, the retention of the troops so far enlisted, and the discharge with pay of all officers appointed but no longer required.<sup>4</sup> Even this moderate measure, which would have increased the army by about five hundred men, was more than Congress would adopt. As amended and passed on the ninth, the resolutions provided that from the troops raised in Massachusetts two artillery companies should be organized and stationed at Springfield. All other officers and men enrolled under the resolves of October 20 should be paid and discharged. This con-

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of Congress*, XII. 11-12; *The Papers of James Madison*, II. 581-587.

<sup>2</sup> Grayson's motion was not entered in the journal of Congress, but a memorandum of it is inserted between pages 242 and 243 of the *Papers of the Old Congress*, No. 151. Knox's report is in the same volume, 243-254. See also *The Papers of James Madison*, II. 590.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 598. Madison states that King had reminded Congress of the previous motion for discontinuing the enlistments, "and intimated that the state of things in Massachusetts was at present such that no opposition would now be made by the delegates of that State." This is hard to reconcile with the later opposition which those delegates did make. It may be, however, that they were ready for the stopping of enlistments, but not for the partial disbandment finally voted.

It may be added that on March 9 the Massachusetts delegates had, as instructed, laid before Congress a long account of the rebellion and the steps taken to suppress it. They expressed their assurance that, had need arisen, Congress would have given the effective help required by the Articles of Confederation (*Journals of Congress*, XII. 15-22).

<sup>4</sup> *Papers of the Old Congress*, No. 30, Reports on Indian Affairs, 409-412.

clusion was reached by a vote of seven states against two. Massachusetts and Rhode Island voted "no"; New York was divided.<sup>1</sup> "I have entertained many doubts," wrote King to Gerry, "relative to the policy of this measure considering the situation of Massachusetts and the condition of the confederacy. Our State voted agt. the measurè, but we were almost singular."<sup>2</sup>

The "condition of the confederacy" might well lead members to oppose the resolutions. Crises like the Shays Rebellion might occur in other states than Massachusetts, and men might again look to the federal army as a possible bulwark against anarchy. But the history of the recent enlistments proved that with such questions the existing federal government had neither the power nor the capacity to deal. The trouble was not that Congress had been indifferent. On the contrary, Congress had seen the danger clearly and had striven to meet it. But it could find no adequate material resources, and its secret method prevented it from exerting any moral influence. Shays and Lincoln went their ways without the least regard for Congress and its recruits. Rebellion completed the proof that a real national government must be established. It was reserved for the Whisky Insurrection of 1794 to show how a real national government would treat rebellion. So low, moreover, had the prestige of Congress sunk, that in abandoning the enlistments it seemed to be letting slip almost its last hold on actual power. William Pynchon wrote in his journal on April 19: "News that the Federal troops are discharged; that this is one of the last struggles of Congress. All grow uneasy, disaffected."<sup>3</sup> Unless some new cement could be found, would not the rope of sand fall utterly to pieces?

There had been raised in all about three hundred recruits in Massachusetts and one hundred and fifty in Connecticut. Virginia had completed her cavalry troop of sixty men. New Hampshire and Rhode Island had voted to raise their quotas and had appointed officers, but no money was appropriated, and nothing further was done. Maryland made no response whatever. The two Massachusetts companies of artillery, numbering seventy-three men each, were marched to Springfield during May and June. One of them was soon afterwards ordered to West Point. All the other recruits

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of Congress*, XII. 28-29. The money requisition of October 21, 1786, was repealed on May 3. Provision was made for crediting the states on their federal accounts for all expenses which they had incurred (*ibid.*, 41).

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, I. 218. King mentions to Gerry another motive for his opposition. "I am extremely mortified", he says, "with the Disappointments which this arrangement will produce with the worthy Gentlemen who have laid aside other concerns and engaged as Officers in this corps".

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of William Pynchon*, 275-276.

were quickly disbanded. They were paid off with orders on the receivers of Continental taxes.<sup>1</sup>

One question remains to be answered. What of the Indian hostilities? Why was there no appeal to them—so far as is recorded—as a reason for continuing the enlistments? This question has always been ignored, no doubt because of the assumption that, from the first, Congress had not taken the Indian question seriously. The real explanation, while not quite so easy as this, is still not difficult to find. It is simply that the Indian troubles had ceased for a time to be an insistent issue. George Rogers Clark's expedition to Vincennes in September, 1786, drew off the attention of the Shawnees and their allies from their intended attack on the surveyors and the settlements near the Ohio. Clark's raid has generally been called a failure, because many of his men mutinied, and he struck no decisive blow. It seems clear, however, that he contributed much, at a critical moment, towards averting an Indian war.<sup>2</sup> Equally important, perhaps, was an attack upon the Shawnees made in October by several hundred Kentucky militia under Colonel Benjamin Logan. The Indian warriors had gone to meet Clark. Logan therefore swept through the country almost unopposed, burned seven of the Shawnee villages and all of their corn, took scalps and prisoners, and seems quite to have broken the spirit of the tribe.<sup>3</sup> As a result of these expeditions<sup>4</sup> and of disagreements among the tribes,<sup>5</sup> the Indians made no concerted attack that year. In December Brant gathered a great council of the Iroquois and the western tribes near the mouth of the Detroit river. He labored to carry in this assembly a declaration of war against the Americans. Failing in this, he secured a united demand for peace, on the terms of the Ohio boundary and a common treaty between the whole Indian confederacy

<sup>1</sup> Reports of Knox to Congress, May 2, July 14, September 26, 1787 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 321-324, 327-329, 413-414). Virginia, Connecticut, and Rhode Island voted their quotas in October, 1786; New Hampshire on December 26. Hening, *Statutes . . . of Virginia*, XII. 255; *At the General Assembly . . . of . . . Rhode Island . . . begun on the last Monday in October*, etc., Providence, printed by John Carter, pp. 7-8; A. S. Batchellor, editor, *Early State Papers of New Hampshire*, XX. 723, 760; Humphreys to Washington, November 1, 1786, in Sparks, *Correspondence of the Revolution*, IV. 147-149.

<sup>2</sup> Harmar to Knox, November 15, 1786; Richard Butler (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) to Knox, December 13, 1786 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 115-118, 163-166); Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, III. 83-84; Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, 275, 345.

<sup>3</sup> Harmar's letter of November 15 gives a good account of Logan's raid.

<sup>4</sup> Butler to Knox, January 3, 1787 (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 257-258).

<sup>5</sup> Butler and Harmar both wrote that the Wyandots and Delawares opposed the warlike counsels of the Shawnees.

and the United States.<sup>1</sup> The message from this council to Congress was a high-spirited manifesto backed by great power. Nevertheless, it made possible for a time the substitution of diplomacy for war, and it was during the breathing space thus gained that the question of terminating the enlistments came up in Congress. It was true that small bands of frontiersmen and Indians continued their mutual depredations, and the Kentuckians still panted for war.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, General Butler could truthfully write on March 28: "Our prospects of peace with the Indian nations are much brighter than they have been, and I hope . . . they will daily increase." This letter was laid before Congress on the very day on which the disbandment was voted.<sup>3</sup> It thus came about that both of the reasons for increasing the federal army had lost most of their original force. Congress therefore needed little persuasion to reverse its policy. To General Knox, however, it was a great sorrow to lose the troops which he had so laboriously obtained. He felt sure, as he had a year before, that not less than fifteen hundred men were constantly needed on the frontier. Still, he admitted that the government had no resources with which to maintain so large a force.<sup>4</sup>

JOSEPH PARKER WARREN.

<sup>1</sup> "Extracts from the indian speeches at the Western council" (Papers of the Old Congress, No. 150, II. 267-277); Butler to Knox, March 28, 1787 (*ibid.*, 287-298); letter from the Indian council at the mouth of the Detroit river to Congress (*ibid.*, 381-387).

<sup>2</sup> Harmar to Knox, May 14; Knox to Congress, July 10; John Cleves Symmes to the President of Congress, Louisville, Kentucky, May 3, 1787 (*ibid.*, 359-365; No. 151, 259-270; No. 56, 197-200, 205-207).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 150, II. 287-299.

<sup>4</sup> Knox to Congress, July 10, 1787 (*ibid.*, No. 151, 259-270).

## THE NEGOTIATIONS AT GHENT IN 1814

THE government of the United States had been honestly loath to declare war in 1812, and had signalized its reluctance by immediate advances looking to a restoration of peace. These were made through Jonathan Russell, the *chargé d'affaires* in London when hostilities began. To use the expression of Monroe, then Secretary of State, "At the moment of the declaration of war, the President, regretting the necessity which produced it, looked to its termination, and provided for it."<sup>1</sup> The two concessions required as indispensable, in the overture thus referred to, dated June 26, 1812, were the revocation of the Orders in Council, and the abandonment of the practice of impressing from American merchant ships. Should these preliminary conditions be obtained, Russell was authorized to stipulate an armistice, during which the two countries should enter upon negotiations, to be conducted either at Washington or in London, for the settlement of all points of difference.

Russell made this communication to Castlereagh August 24, 1812. Before this date Admiral Warren had sailed from England for the American command, carrying with him the propositions of the British government for a suspension of hostilities, consequent upon the repeal of the Orders in Council. In view of Warren's mission, and of the fact that Russell had no powers to negotiate, but merely to conclude an arrangement upon terms which he could not alter, and which his government had laid down in ignorance of the revocation of the Orders, Castlereagh declined to discuss with him the American requirements. "I cannot, however," he wrote, "refrain on one single point from expressing my surprise, namely, that as a condition preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the Government of the United States should have thought fit to demand that the British Government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that state."<sup>2</sup> "The Government

<sup>1</sup> Monroe to Russell, August 21, 1812. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 587.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 590.

could not consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends," until fully convinced that the object would be assured by other means. To a subsequent modification of the American propositions, in form, though not in tenor, the British minister replied in the same spirit, throwing the weight of his objections upon the question of impressment, which indeed remained alone of the two causes of rupture.<sup>1</sup>

Commendable as was its desire for peace, the American government had made the mistake of being unwilling to insure it by due and timely preparation for war. In these advances, therefore, its adversary naturally saw not magnanimity, but apprehension. Russell, in reporting his final interview, wrote, "Lord Castlereagh once observed somewhat loftily, that if the American Government was so anxious *to get rid of the war*,<sup>2</sup> it would have an opportunity of doing so on learning the revocation of the Orders in Council." The American representative rejoined with proper spirit; but the remark betrayed the impression produced by this speedy offer, joined to the notorious military unreadiness of the United States. Such things do not make for peace. The British ministry, like a large part of the American people, saw in the declaration of war a mere variation upon the intermittent policy of commercial restrictions of the past five years; an attempt to frighten by bluster. In such spirit Monroe, in this very letter of June 26 to Russell, had dwelt upon the many advantages to be derived from peace with the United States, adding, "not to mention the injuries which cannot fail to result from a prosecution of the war." In transcribing his instructions, Russell discreetly omitted the latter phase; but the omission, like the words themselves, betrays consciousness that the administration was faithful to the tradition of its party, dealing in threats rather than in deeds. Through great part of the final negotiations the impression thus made remained with the British ministers.

On September 20, 1812, the chancellor of the Russian Empire requested a visit from the American minister resident at St. Petersburg, Mr. John Quincy Adams. In the consequent interview, the next evening, the chancellor said that the Czar, having recently made peace and re-established commercial intercourse with Great Britain, was much concerned that war should have arisen almost immediately between her and the United States. Hostilities between the two nations, which together nearly monopolized the carrying trade of the world, would prevent the economical benefits to Russia expected

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence between Russell and Castlereagh, September 12-18, 1812; and Russell to Monroe, September 17. *Ibid.*, 591-595.

<sup>2</sup> Russell's italics.

from the recent change in her political relations. The question was then asked, whether a proffer of Russian mediation would be regarded favorably by the United States. Adams had not yet received official intelligence even of the declaration of war, and was without information as to the views of his government on the point suggested; but he expressed certainty that such an advance would be cordially met, and he could foresee no obstacle to its entertainment. The proposal was accordingly made to the President, through the customary channels, and on March 11, 1813, was formally accepted by him. James A. Bayard and Albert Gallatin were nominated commissioners, conjointly with Mr. Adams, to act for the United States in forming a treaty of peace under the mediation of the Czar. They sailed soon afterwards.

The American acceptance reached St. Petersburg about June 15; but on that day Adams was informed by the chancellor that his despatches from London signified the rejection of the Russian proposition by the British government, on the ground that the differences with the United States involved principles of the internal government of Great Britain, which could not be submitted to the discussion of any mediation.<sup>1</sup> As the Russian court was then in campaign at the headquarters of the allied armies, in the tremendous operations of the summer of 1813 against Napoleon, much delay necessarily ensued. On September 1, however, the British ambassador, who was accompanying the court in the field, presented a formal letter reaffirming the unwillingness of his government to treat under mediation, but offering through the Czar, whose mediatorial advance was so far recognized, to nominate plenipotentiaries to meet those of the United States in direct consultation. In the backward and forward going of despatches in that preoccupied and unsettled moment, it was not till near November 1 that the British Foreign Office heard from the ambassador that the American commissioners were willing so to treat, and desirous to keep their business separate from that of the Continent of Europe; but that their powers were limited to action through the mediation of Russia. Castlereagh then, on November 4, addressed a note to the United States government, offering a direct negotiation. This was accepted formally January 5, 1814;<sup>2</sup> and Henry Clay with Jonathan Russell were added to the commission already constituted, raising the number of members to five. The representatives of Great Britain were three: Admiral Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams.

<sup>1</sup> The correspondence relating to the Russian proffer of mediation is to be found in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 623-627.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 621-622.



The instructions issued to the American commissioners were voluminous. They contained not only the requirements of the government, but arguments from every point of view, and alternatives of several descriptions, to meet anticipated objections. Such elaboration was perhaps necessary when negotiation was to take place so remote from communication with home. On one point, however, as originally issued in contemplation of Russian mediation, demand was peremptory. Impressment must cease, by stipulation. At that moment, April 15, 1813,<sup>1</sup> the flush of expectation was still strong. "Should improper impressions have been taken of the probable consequences of the war, you will have ample means to remove them. It is certain that from its prosecution Great Britain can promise to herself no advantage, while she exposes herself to great expenses and to the danger of still greater losses." Nine months later, looking to direct negotiation, the same confident tone is maintained. "On impressment, the sentiments of the President have undergone no change. This degrading practice must cease. . . . No concession is contemplated on any point in controversy;"<sup>2</sup> and three weeks afterwards, February 14, 1814, "Should peace be made in Europe, it is presumed that the British Government would have less objection to forbear impressment for a specified term, than it would have should the war continue. In concluding a peace, even in case of a previous general peace in Europe, it is important to obtain such a stipulation."<sup>3</sup> On June 27, this tone was lowered, "If found indispensably necessary to terminate the war, you may omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment." This was in pursuance of a Cabinet determination of June 27.<sup>4</sup> It abandoned the only ground for war that had existed since August, 1812, when the Orders in Council were known to have been repealed. The commissioners were indeed to do their best to obtain from the British government the demanded concessions, not in the matter of impressment only, but on the whole subject of irregular blockades;

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 695-700.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 701.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 703.

<sup>4</sup> "June 27, 1814. In consequence of letters from Bayard and Gallatin of May 6-7, and other accounts from Europe of the ascendancy and views of Great Britain, and the dispositions of the great Continental Powers, the question was put to the Cabinet: 'Shall a treaty of peace, silent on the subject of impressment, be authorized?' Agreed to by Monroe, Campbell, Armstrong, and Jones. Rush absent. Our minister to be instructed, besides trying other conditions, to make a previous trial to insert or annex some declaration, or protest, against any inference, from the silence of the Treaty on the subject of impressment, that the British claim was admitted or that of the United States abandoned." *Letters and Papers of Madison*, III. 408.

which underlay the Orders in Council, as well as on other maritime questions in dispute; but in pressing such demands they were under orders to fall back before resistance. From the opening of the colloquy they were on the defensive.

Quite different was the position assumed at first by the British government and people. The events of the critical year 1813, both in Europe and America, had changed the entire outlook. Alexander Baring, whose general attitude towards the United States was friendly, wrote to Gallatin, October 12, 1813, "We wish for peace, but the pressure of the war upon our commerce and manufactures is over. They have ample relief in other quarters; indeed, the dependence of the two countries on each other was overrated." He was positive that there would be no concession on impressment. Again, on December 14, "The pressure of the war is diminished. Commerce is now abundantly prosperous."<sup>1</sup> Gallatin himself had occasion to spend some time in London during the succeeding spring, —1814. In a letter of April 21,—after Napoleon's abdication,—he said, "The prosecution of war with the United States would afford a convenient pretext for preserving a more considerable standing force."<sup>2</sup> This would be a useful element in the troublesome diplomacy to be foreseen, in settling the disturbed affairs of Europe; and the government stood in need of reasons for maintaining the pressure of taxation, which was already eliciting, and later in the year still more elicited, symptoms of great discontent and dangerous parliamentary opposition. Yet in its conduct towards America the Cabinet had the people behind it. Two months later, Gallatin wrote to the Secretary of State, "You may rest assured of the general hostile spirit of this nation, and of its wish to inflict serious injury on the United States; that no assistance can be expected from Europe; and that no better terms will be obtained than the *status ante bellum*."<sup>3</sup>

At the time of this writing, June 13, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, returned from Paris, where he had been spending the two months succeeding the first abdication of Napoleon. During this period formal peace with France had been established, and the Bourbons reseated on her throne. His instructions to the British commissioners at Ghent, issued July 28, were framed on lines which showed consciousness of mastery.<sup>4</sup> The question of

<sup>1</sup> *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, edited by Henry Adams, I. 586, 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 603.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 629.

<sup>4</sup> A similar consciousness appears to the writer discernible in a letter of Wellington to Castlereagh, of May 25, 1814. To procure "the cession of Olivenza by Spain to Portugal, we could promise to bind North America, by a secret article

abandoning the practice of impressment would not be so much as entertained. The Rule of 1756 should "rest on its own clear and well established authority."<sup>1</sup> The commissioners were not even to discuss it. Equally decisive was the position taken with regard to questions of irregular blockades, and of compensation for seizures under the Orders in Council. When these were presented by the American commissioners, the first was waived aside, as one on which there was no difference of abstract principle; while as to the second, "you cannot be too peremptory in discouraging, at the outset, the smallest expectation of any restitution of captures made under the Orders in Council."<sup>2</sup>

Military and naval weakness, combined with the changed conditions in Europe, made the United States powerless when thus confronted with refusal. The British Secretary stood on far less sure ground, as to success, when he began to formulate his own demands. These were essentially two: suitable arrangements for the Indians, and a rectification of the frontiers. There was a third question, concerning the fisheries on the Great Banks of Newfoundland. As to these, the general right of all nations to frequent the Banks, being open sea, was explicitly admitted; but the subjects of a foreign state had no right to fish within the maritime jurisdiction of Great Britain, much less to land with their catch on coasts belonging to her. The provisions of the treaty of 1783 therefore would not be renewed, unless for an equivalent.

As regarded the Indians, an adequate arrangement of their interests was a *sine qua non* of peace; nor would a full and express recognition of present limits by itself alone fulfill this demand. There must be security for its future observance. The particular method by which this observance should be maintained was not made indispensable; but it was plainly stated in the instructions that the best means was "a mutual guarantee of the Indian possessions, as they shall be established upon the peace, against encroachment on the part of either State." The suggestion, in its logical consequence and in its intent, went to establishing the communities of Indians as a sovereign state, with boundaries guaranteed by Great Britain and the United States,—a most entangling alliance. In support of this, Castlereagh alleged that such a barrier of separation possessed a distinct advantage over a line of contact between the two guaranteeing states, such as now existed in their common boundary. The

in our treaty of peace, to give no encouragement, or *countenance*, or assistance, to the Spanish colonies" (then in revolt). *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh*, third series, II. 44. The italics are mine:

<sup>1</sup> Castlereagh to the British Commissioners, July 28, 1814. *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, August 14, 1814, pp. 88, 89.

collisions incident to intercourse between red and white men were easily transferred from side to side of such a conventional line, causing continual disputes. The advantages of a buffer state, to use the modern term, would be secured by the proposed arrangement. Writing to the prime minister, the Earl of Liverpool, he said, "The question is one of expediency; and not of principle, as the American commissioners have endeavored to make it. It does not follow, because, in the year 1783, the two States, not perhaps very justly, took a common boundary, thereby assuming a sort of sovereignty over the Indians, that they may not mutually recede from that boundary, if a frontier conterminous with that of the Indians is preferable to one with each other."<sup>1</sup>

However plausible reasoning based upon such premises might seem to the party advancing it, it could not qualify the fact that it required from the United States a large cession of territory, to be surrendered to the Indians under British guarantee. Such a demand was a dangerous diplomatic weapon to put within reach of a commission, of which Adams and Gallatin were members. In presenting it, also, the British representatives went beyond the letter of their instructions, issued by Castlereagh on July 28, and enlarged August 14. Not only was the inclusion of the Indians in the peace to be a *sine qua non*, but they wrote, "*It is equally necessary*" that a definite boundary be assigned, and the integrity of their possessions mutually guaranteed.<sup>2</sup> This paper was submitted to Castlereagh as he passed through Ghent to Paris, on his way to the Vienna Conference. "Had I been to prepare the note given in on our part, I should have been less peremptory;" but, like many superiors, he hesitated to fetter the men in immediate charge, and "acquiesced in the expression, '*It is equally necessary, etc.*,' which is very strong."<sup>3</sup> The prime minister, Lord Liverpool, was still more deprecatory. He wrote Castlereagh, "Our Commissioners had certainly taken a very erroneous view of our policy. If the negotiations had been allowed to break off upon the two notes already presented, . . . I am satisfied the war would have become popular in America."<sup>4</sup>

The American commissioners could see this also, and were quick to use the advantage given by the wording of the paper before

<sup>1</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, Paris, August 28, 1814. *Castlereagh Memoirs*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Note of the British Commissioners, August 19, 1814. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 710. My italics.

<sup>3</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, August 28, 1814. *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, September 2, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

them, to improve the status of the United States in the negotiation; for one of the great weaknesses, on which Great Britain reckoned, was the disunion of American sentiment on the subject of the war. Of their reply, dated August 24, Castlereagh wrote, "It is extremely material to answer the American note, as it is evidently intended to rouse the people upon the question of their independence."<sup>1</sup> Besides the Indian proposition, the British note of August 19 had conveyed also the explicit views of the British ministry as to rectification of frontier. Stated briefly, the chain of the Great Lakes was asserted to be a military barrier essential to the security of Canada, as the weaker community in North America. To assure it, no territorial cession was required; but the lakes should be in the sole military tenure of Great Britain. The United States might use them freely for commercial purposes, but should maintain on them no ship of war, nor build any fortification on their shores, or within a certain distance, to be fixed by agreement. In addition to this, on the side of the lower St. Lawrence, there was to be such a cession of the northern part of Maine as would establish a direct communication between Quebec and Halifax. The American reply of August 24<sup>2</sup> discussed these questions, patiently but instructively. The matters involved were made plain for the American reader, and the paper closed with the clear intimation that before such terms were accepted there must be a great deal more fighting. "It is not necessary to refer such demands to the American Government for instructions. They will only be a fit subject of deliberation when it becomes necessary to decide upon the expediency of an absolute surrender of national independence." So far as the British proposals went, the question was military, not diplomatic; for soldiers and seamen to decide, not for negotiators.

So it stood, and so in the solution it proved. The American commissioners held firm to this ground; while on the part of the British there was thenceforth a continual effort to escape from a false position, or to temporize until some favorable change of circumstances might enable them to insist. "The substance of the question," wrote Castlereagh to the prime minister, "is, are we prepared to continue the war for territorial arrangements. If not, is this the best time to make peace, or is it desirable to take the chances of the campaign and then to be governed by circumstances?"<sup>3</sup> "If our campaign in Canada should be as successful as our military preparations would lead us to expect," . . . replied

<sup>1</sup> *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 711-713.

<sup>3</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, August 28. *Memoirs*, third series, II. 102.

Liverpool, "if our commander does his duty, I am persuaded we shall have acquired by our arms every point on the Canadian frontier, which we ought to insist on keeping."<sup>1</sup>

By these considerations the next British note was dictated, and presented September 4.<sup>2</sup> It simply argued the question, with dilatory design, in a somewhat minatory tone. "I think it not unlikely," Liverpool had written with reference to it. "that the American commissioners will propose to refer the subject to their Government. In that case, the negotiation may be adjourned till the answer is received, and we shall know the result of the campaign before it can be resumed." But the Americans did not refer. They too needed time for their people to learn what now was the purpose of hostilities, which the British envoys had precipitately stated as an indispensable concession, and to manifest the national temper under the changed circumstances; but they did not choose that the matter should be stated as one open to discussion. They knew well enough the harassment of maintaining a land warfare three thousand miles from Great Britain, as well as the dangers threatening the European situation and embarrassing the British ministry. They in turn discussed at length, scrutinizing historically the several arguments of their opponents; but their conclusion was foregone. The two propositions—first, of assigning "a definite boundary to the Indians living within the limit of the United States, beyond which boundary they [the United States] should stipulate not to acquire any territory; secondly, of securing the exclusive military possession of the lakes to Great Britain—are both inadmissible. We cannot subscribe to; and would deem useless to refer to our Government, any arrangement containing either of these propositions." The British government was not permitted any subterfuge to escape from the premature insistence upon cession of territory made by their envoys, which would tend to unite the people in America; nor was it to be anticipated that prolonged hostilities for such an object would be acceptable in Great Britain.

The pre-eminence given to the Indian question by Great Britain in these negotiations was due to the importance attached by British local officials to the aid of the savages in war, and to a sensitive conviction that, when thus utilized, they should not be abandoned in peace. Their military value was probably over-estimated. It consisted chiefly in numbers, in which the British were inferior, and in the terror produced by their cruelties; doubtless, also, in some de-

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, September 2. Castlereagh MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 713.

gree to their skill in woodcraft; but they were not dependable. Such as it was, their support went usually to the weaker party; not because the Indian naturally sided with the weaker, but because he instinctively recognized that from the stronger he had most to fear. Therefore in colonial days France, in later days Great Britain, in both cases Canada, derived more apparent profit from their employment than did their opponent, whose more numerous white men enabled him to dispense with the fickle and feebler aid of the aborigines.

Before the firm attitude of the note of September 9, the British government again procrastinated, and receded from demands which sound policy should from the first have recognized as untenable, unless reposing upon decisive military success and occupation. On September 19, their commissioners replied<sup>1</sup> that while the exclusive military possession of the lakes would be conducive to a good understanding, without endangering the security of the United States, it had not been advanced as a *sine qua non*. A final proposition on the subject of the Canadian boundaries would be made when the Indian question was settled. Concerning this, they were "authorized distinctly to declare that they are instructed not to sign a treaty of peace, unless the Indian nations are included in it, and restored to all the rights, privileges, and territories, which they enjoyed in the year 1811," by treaties then existing. "From this point the British plenipotentiaries cannot depart." They were instructed further to *offer for discussion* an article establishing Indian boundaries, within which the two countries should bind themselves not to make acquisitions by purchase during a term of years. To the absence of Lord Castlereagh, and consequent private correspondence between him and his colleagues in London, we owe the knowledge that the question of purchasing Indian lands, and the guarantee, would no longer be insisted on; and that the military control of the lakes was now reduced in purpose to the retention of Forts Michilimackinac and Niagara.<sup>2</sup> The intention remained, however, to insist upon the Indian provisions as just stated.

On September 26, the American commission replied that, as thus presented, there was no apparent difference in the purposes of the two nations as regarded the substantial welfare of the Indians themselves. The United States meant toward them peace, and the placing them in the position in which they stood before the war. "The real difference was" in the methods proposed. Great Britain "insisted on including the Indians, as allies, in the treaty of peace between her and the United States." But the Indians concerned

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 717.

<sup>2</sup> Bathurst to Castlereagh, September 16, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

dwelt within the acknowledged bounds of the United States, and their political relations towards her were no concern of Great Britain; nor could any arrangement be admitted which would constitute them independent communities, in whose behalf Great Britain might hereafter claim a right to interfere. The error underlying the British demand was the assumption that the Indian tribes were independent; whereas, in their relation to foreign countries, they were merely dwellers in the United States, who had made war upon her in co-operation with Great Britain. The upshot was a mutual agreement, drawn up by the British plenipotentiaries, that upon the conclusion of peace each state would put an end to hostilities in which it might be engaged with the Indians, and would restore them to the rights enjoyed before 1811. The Americans accepted this, subject to ratification, on the ground that, while it included the Indians in the peace, it did not do so as parties to the treaty, and left the manner of settlement in the hands of each government interested. The agreement thus framed formed one of the articles of the treaty.

On September 27 the gazette account of the capture of Washington was published in London. Lord Bathurst despatched the news the same day to the commissioners at Ghent, instructing them to assure the Americans that it made no difference in the British desire for peace, nor would modify unfavorably the requirements as to frontier, as yet unstated.<sup>1</sup> Liverpool wrote coincidentally to Castlereagh, suggesting that he should communicate to the sovereigns and ministers at Vienna the moderation with which the government was acting, as well as the tone assumed by the American commissioners, "so very different from what their situation appears to warrant." "I fear the Emperor of Russia is half an American, and it would be very desirable to do away any prejudices which may exist in his mind, or in that of Count Nesselrode, on this subject."<sup>2</sup> The remark is illuminating as to the reciprocal influence of the American contest and the European negotiations, and also as to the reasons for declining the proposed Russian mediation of 1813. The Continent generally, and Russia conspicuously, held opinions on neutral maritime rights similar to those of the United States. Liverpool had already<sup>3</sup> expressed his wish to be well out of the war, although expecting decided military successes, and convinced that the terms as now reduced would be very unpopular in England; "but I feel too strongly the inconvenience of a continuance not to make me desirous of concluding it at the expense of some popularity."

<sup>1</sup> *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, September 27. Castlereagh MSS.

<sup>3</sup> September 23. *Ibid.*



It was in this spirit, doubtless, that Bathurst instructed the envoys that, if the Americans wished to refer the very modified proposals, or to sign them conditional upon ratification at home, either proposition would be accepted; an assurance repeated on October 5.<sup>1</sup> Were neither alternative embraced as to the Indian settlement, the negotiation should be closed and the commission return to England. British military anticipation then stood high. Not only was the capture of Washington over-estimated, but Ross and Cochrane had impressed their government with brilliant expectations. "They are very sanguine about the future operations. They intend, on account of the season, to proceed in the first instance to the northward, and to occupy Rhode Island, where they propose remaining and living upon the country until about the first of November. They will then proceed southward, destroy Baltimore, if they should find it practicable without too much risk, occupy several important points on the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas, take possession of Mobile in the Floridas, and close the campaign with an attack on New Orleans."<sup>2</sup> This was a large programme for a corps of the size of Ross's, after all allowance made for the ease with which Washington had fallen. It is probably to be read in connection with the project of sending to America very large re-enforcements; so numerous, indeed, that Lord Hill, Wellington's second in the Peninsula, had been designated for the command. This purpose had been communicated to Ross and Cochrane; and at the time of the capture of Washington they had not received the letters notifying them that "circumstances had induced his Majesty's Government to defer their intention of employing so considerable a force in that quarter."<sup>3</sup> For this change of mind America doubtless was indebted to European considerations. Besides the expectations mentioned, the British government had well-founded reasons to hope for control of Lake Ontario, and for substantial results from the handsome force placed at the disposal of Sir George Prevost, to which the triumphant expedition of Cochrane and Ross had been intended only as a diversion.

Under these flattering anticipations were formulated the bases upon which to treat, now that the Indian question was out of the way. On October 18 and 20 Bathurst instructed the commissioners to propose, as a starting-point, the principle that each party should hold what it had, subject to modifications for mutual accommodation. "Considering the relative situation of the two countries, the

<sup>1</sup> *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, September 27, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

<sup>3</sup> British Public Record Office. War Office, Vol. 39. This long paper, near the end of the volume, had to the writer the appearance of a brief, drawn up for the use of the ministry in parliamentary debate.

moderation evinced by his Majesty's Government in admitting this principle, (thereby surrendering claim to the future conquests), in the present state of the contest, must be manifest." When this was accepted, but not before, the mutual accommodations were to be suggested. The present captured possessions were stated to be: British, Fort Michilimackinac, Fort Niagara, and all the country east of the Penobscot; American, Fort Erie and Fort Malden. Upon the surrender of the two latter, Great Britain would restore the forts at Castine and Machias. She would retain Mackinac and Fort Niagara, the latter with a surrounding strip of five miles of territory; and in exchange (apparently) for "all the country east of the Penobscot," would accept that part of Maine which lies north of the Aroostook river, thus insuring between Quebec and Halifax a direct communication, wholly under British jurisdiction.

There were some further minor matters of detail, unnecessary to mention; the more so that they did not come formally before the American commissioners, who immediately rejected the proposed principle of *uti possidetis*, and, replied, October 24, that they were not empowered to yield any territory, and could treat only on the basis of entire mutual restitution. This Liverpool testily likened to the claim of the French revolutionary government<sup>1</sup> that territory could not be ceded because contrary to the fundamental law of the Republic. In the American case, however, it was substantially an affirmation that the military conditions did not warrant surrender. Meanwhile, on October 21, the news of Macdonough's victory reached London from American sources. Although the British official accounts did not arrive until some time later, Liverpool, writing to Castlereagh on that day, admitted that there could be no doubt of the defeat of the flotilla.<sup>2</sup> Despite this check, the Cabinet still cherished hopes of further successes, and were unwilling yet to abandon entirely the last inches of the ground heretofore assumed. "Had it not been for this unfortunate adventure on Lake Champlain," wrote Bathurst to Castlereagh, "I really believe we should have signed a peace by the end of this month. This will put the enemy in spirits. The campaign will end in our doing much where we thought we should have done little, and doing nothing where we expected everything."<sup>3</sup> He announced the intention to send Pakenham in Ross's place for the New Orleans expedition, and to increase his force in the spring, should the war last till then. Meanwhile, it might be well to let the Powers assembled at Vienna

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, October 28. Castlereagh MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, October 21, 1814. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Bathurst to Castlereagh, October 21, 1814. *Ibid.*

understand that, whatever the success in Louisiana, the inhabitants would be distinctly told that in no case would the country be taken under British protection. They might be granted independence, but preferably would be urged to place themselves again under the Spanish crown; but they must know that, in treating with the United States, neither of these solutions would be made by Great Britain a *sine qua non*. The government had probably taken a distaste to that peremptory formula by the unsatisfactory result of the proposition about the Indians.

This care concerning the effect produced upon the course of events at Vienna appears forcibly in the letters of Liverpool, the prime minister. After the receipt of the American commission's refusal to accept the basis of the *uti possidetis*, he wrote to Castlereagh, October 28, that he feared it put an end to any hopes of bringing the American war to a conclusion. The expectation of some favorable change in the aspect of affairs, however, decided the ministry to gain a little more time before bringing the negotiation to a close; and the envoys at Ghent were therefore to be instructed to demand a full *projet* of all the American conditions before entering on further discussion. The same day Liverpool sent a second letter,<sup>1</sup> in which he said distinctly that, in viewing the European settlement, it was material to consider that the war with America would probably be of some duration; that enemies should not be made in other quarters by holding out too long on the questions of Poland, Naples and Saxony, for he was apprehensive that "some of our European allies will not be indisposed to favor the Americans; and, if the Emperor of Russia should be desirous of taking up their cause, we are well aware from some of Lord Walpole's late communications that there is a most powerful party in Russia to support him. Looking to a continuance of the American war, our financial state is far from satisfactory. We shall want a loan for the ensuing year of £27,000,000 or £28,000,000. The American war will not cost us less than £10,000,000, in addition to our peace establishment and other expenses. We must expect, therefore, to have it said that the property tax is continued for the purpose of securing a better frontier for Canada." Castlereagh himself had already spoken of the financial conditions as "perfectly without precedent in our financial history."<sup>2</sup>

The renewal of the European war, avowedly dreaded by Liver-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Castlereagh to Sir H. Wellesley, September 9, 1814. *Memoirs*, third series, II. 112.

pool,<sup>1</sup> was thought not impossible by Castlereagh and Wellington; while conditions in France already threatened an explosion, such as Bonaparte occasioned in the succeeding March. "It is impossible," wrote Wellington, "to conceive the distress in which individuals of all descriptions are. The only remedy is the revival of Bonaparte's system of war and plunder; and it is evident that cannot be adopted during the reign of the Bourbons."<sup>2</sup> Neither he nor Castlereagh doubted the imminence of the danger. "It sounds incredible," wrote the latter, "that Talleyrand should treat the notion of any agitation at Paris as wholly unfounded."<sup>3</sup> A plot was believed to exist, which embraced as one of its features the seizing of the Duke, and holding him as a hostage. He himself thought it possible, and saw no means in the French government's hands adequate to resist. "You already know my opinion of the danger at Paris. . . . The event may occur any night, and if it should occur, I don't think I should be allowed to depart. My safety depends upon the King's;"<sup>4</sup> but he was characteristically unwilling to take any step which bore the appearance of precipitate withdrawal.

While the American negotiators were drawing up the *projet* which they had decided to present in response to the British demand, the combination of circumstances just stated led the British ministry to resolve on removing Wellington from Paris on some pretext, lest his services should be lost to them in the emergency now momentarily dreaded. The urgency for peace with America co-operated to determine the ostensible reason, which was almost a true one. The American command was offered to him. "The Duke of Wellington would restore confidence to the army, place the military operations on a proper footing, and give us the best chance of peace. I know he is very anxious for the restoration of peace with America, if it can be made upon terms at all honorable. It is a material consideration, likewise, that if we shall be disposed for the sake of peace to give up something of our just pretensions, we can do this more creditably through him than through any other person."<sup>5</sup> Liverpool voiced the conclusions of the Cabinet, and it would be difficult for words to manifest more forcibly anxiety to escape from a situation. Wellington himself drew attention to this. "Does it not occur to your lordship that, by appointing me to go to America at this moment, you give ground for belief, all over Europe, that

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, November 2, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Wellington to Liverpool, November 9, 1814. *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Castlereagh to Wellington, November 21, 1814. *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>4</sup> Wellington to Liverpool, November 7 and 9, 1814. *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 190.

<sup>5</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, November 4, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

your affairs there are in a much worse situation than they really are? and will not my nomination at this moment be a triumph to the Americans, and their friends here and elsewhere?"<sup>1</sup> Conditions were alarming, but the action resembled panic.

The offer, which was really a request, brought Wellington by a side wind into the American negotiations, and enabled him to give the government the weight of his name and authority in concluding a peace otherwise than on their "just pretensions." The war, he said, has been honorable to Great Britain; meaning doubtless that, considering the huge physical mass and the proximity of the United States, it was well done to have escaped injury, as it was militarily disgraceful to the American government, with such superiority, to have been so impotent. But, he continued, neither I nor any one else can achieve success, in the way of conquests, unless you have naval superiority on the lakes. That was what was needed; "not a general, nor general officers and troops. Till that superiority is acquired, it is impossible, according to my notion, to maintain an army in such a situation as to keep the enemy out of the whole frontier, much less to make any conquest from the enemy, which, with those superior means, might, with reasonable hopes of success, be undertaken. . . . The question is, whether we can obtain this naval superiority on the lakes. If we cannot, I shall do you but little good in America; and I shall go there only to prove the truth of Prevost's defence, and to sign a peace which might as well be signed now." This endorsed not only Prevost's retreat, but also the importance of Macdonough's victory. The Duke then added frankly that, in the state of the war, they had no right to demand any concession of territory. He brushed contemptuously aside the claim of occupying the country east of the Penobscot, on the ground of Sherbrooke's few companies at Castine, ready to retreat at a moment's notice. "If this reasoning be true, why stipulate for the *uti possidetis*?"<sup>2</sup>

Penned November 9, the day before the American negotiators at Ghent handed in their requested *projet*, this letter may be regarded as decisive. November 13, Liverpool replied that the ministry was waiting anxiously for the American *projet*, . . . and, "without entering into particulars, I can assure you that we shall be disposed to meet your views upon the points on which the negotiation appears to turn at present;" the points being the *uti possidetis*, with the several details of possession put forward by Bathurst.

<sup>1</sup> Wellington to Liverpool, November 18, 1814. *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Wellington to Liverpool, November 9, 1814. *Ibid.*, 189.

Before the 18th, the American paper was in London, and Liverpool wrote to Castlereagh, "I think we have determined, if all other points can be satisfactorily settled, not to continue the war for the purpose of obtaining, or securing, any acquisition of territory. We have been led to this determination by the consideration of the unsatisfactory state of the negotiations at Vienna, and by that of the alarming situation of the interior of France. . . . Under such circumstances, it has appeared to us desirable to bring the American war, if possible, to a conclusion." The basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, sustained all along by the American commission, was thus definitely accepted and so formally stated by Bathurst, acting as Secretary for Foreign Affairs.<sup>2</sup>

This fundamental agreement having been reached, the negotiations ran rapidly to a settlement without further serious hitch; a conclusion to which contributed powerfully the increasing anxiety of the British ministry over the menacing aspect of the Continent. The American *projet*,<sup>3</sup> besides the customary formal stipulations as to procedure for bringing hostilities to a close, consisted of articles embodying the American positions on the subjects of impressment and blockade, with claims for indemnity for losses sustained by irregular captures and seizures during the late hostilities between France and Great Britain; a provision aimed at the Orders in Council. These demands, which covered the motives of the war, and may be regarded as the offensive side of the American negotiation, were by the British at once pronounced inadmissible, and were immediately abandoned. Their presentation had been merely formal; the United States government, within its own council chamber, had already recognized that it could not enforce them. The *projet* included the agreement previously framed concerning the Indians; who were thus provided for in the treaty, though excluded from any recognition as parties to it, or as independent political communities. This was the only demand made by the commissioners which Great Britain can be said fairly to have carried, and it was so far a reduction from her original requirement as to be unrecognizable. An article, pledging each of the contracting parties not again to employ Indians in war, was rejected.

The remaining articles of the *projet*, although entirely suitable to a treaty of peace, were not essentially connected with the war. The treaty merely gave a suitable occasion for presenting them.

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, November 18, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Bathurst to the Commissioners, December 6, 1814. *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 735.

They provided for fixing, by mixed commissions, the boundary lines between the British possessions and the United States. These the Treaty of 1783 had stated in terms which had as yet received no proper topographical determination. From the mouth of the St. Croix river, and the islands within it and in the adjacent sea, around, north and west, as far as the head of Lake Superior, the precise course of the bounding line needed definition by surveyors. These propositions were agreed to; but when it came to similar provision for settling the boundary of the new territories acquired by the Louisiana purchase, as far as the Rocky Mountains, difficulties arose. In the result it was agreed that the determination of the boundary should be carried as far as the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, "in conformity with the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three." The treaty was silent on the subject of boundary westward of the Lake of the Woods, and this article of the *projet* was dropped. It differed indeed from its associates, in providing the settlement for a new question, and not the definition of an old settlement. In conclusion, the British commissioners obtained the adoption of an agreement that both parties "would use their best endeavors to promote the entire abolition of the slave trade." In Great Britain the agitation for this measure had reached proportions which were not the least among the embarrassments of the ministry; and at this critical juncture the practical politicians conducting affairs found themselves constrained by a popular demand to press the subject upon the less sympathetic statesmen of the Cabinet.

The American commissioners had made a good fight, and shown complete appreciation of the factors working continuously in their behalf. To the end, and even more evidently at the end, was apparent the increasing anxiety of the British government, the reasonable cause for it in European conditions, and the immense difficulty under such circumstances of accomplishing any substantial military successes in America. The Duke of Wellington wrote that "all the American armies of which I ever read would not beat out of a field of battle the troops that went from Bordeaux last summer;"<sup>1</sup> but still, "his opinion is that no military advantage can be expected if the war goes on, and he would have great reluctance in undertaking the command unless we made a serious effort first to obtain peace, without insisting upon keeping any part of our conquests."<sup>2</sup> On December 23, Liverpool sent a long and anxious

<sup>1</sup> *Castlereagh Memoirs*, third series, II. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, November 18, 1814. Castlereagh MSS.

letter to Castlereagh, in reply to his late letters and despatches. The fear of a renewal of war on the Continent is prominent in his consideration, and it was recognized that the size of the European armaments, combined with the pecuniary burden of maintaining them, tended of itself to precipitate an outbreak. Should that occur, France could scarcely fail to be drawn in; and France, if involved, might direct her efforts towards the Low Countries, "the only object on the Continent which would be regarded as a distinct British interest of sufficient magnitude to reconcile the country to war," with its renewed burden of taxation. "We are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that all your efforts should be directed to the continuance of peace. There is no mode in which the arrangements in Poland, Germany, and Italy, can be settled, consistently with the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, which is not to be preferred, under present circumstances, to a renewal of hostilities between the Continental Powers." Coincidentally with this, in another letter of the same day, he mentions the meetings which have taken place on account of the property tax, and the spirit which had arisen on the subject. "This, as well as other considerations, make us most anxious to get rid of the American war."<sup>1</sup>

The Treaty of Ghent was signed December 24, 1814, by the eight commissioners. The last article provided for its ratification, without alteration, at Washington, within four months from the signature. A *chargé d'affaires* to the United States was appointed, and directed to proceed at once in a British ship of war to America with the Prince Regent's ratification, to be exchanged against that of the President; but he was especially instructed that the exchange should not be made unless the President's was without alteration, addition, or exclusion, in any form whatsoever. Hostilities were not to cease until such ratification had taken place. The British government were apparently determined that concessions wrung from them, by considerations foreign to the immediate struggle, should not be subjected to further modification in the Senate.

Mr. Baker, the British *chargé*, sailed in the British sloop of war *Favorite*, accompanied by Mr. Carroll bearing the despatches of the American commissioners. The *Favorite* arrived in New York on Saturday, February 11. The treaty was ratified by the President, as it stood, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the 17th of February, 1815.

A year after the conclusion of peace, a weighty opinion as to the effect of the War of 1812 upon the national history was expressed by one of the commissioners, Mr. Albert Gallatin. For fifteen years

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, December 23, 1814. *Ibid.*



past, no man had been in closer touch with the springs of national life, national policy, and national action; as representative in Congress, and as intimate adviser of two consecutive Presidents, in his position as Secretary of the Treasury. His experience, the perspicuity of his intellect, and his lucidity of thought and expression, give particular value to his conclusions, the more so that to some extent they are the condemnation, regretfully uttered, of a scheme of political conduct with the main ideas of which he had been closely identified. He wrote:<sup>1</sup> "The war has been productive of evil and of good, but I think the good preponderates. Independent of the loss of lives, and of the property of individuals, the war has laid the foundations of permanent taxes and military establishments, which the Republicans had deemed unfavorable to the happiness and free institutions of the country. But under our former system we were becoming too selfish, too much attached exclusively to the acquisition of wealth, above all, too much confined in our political feelings to local and state objects. The war has renewed and reinstated the national feelings and character which the Revolution had given, and which were daily lessening. The people have now more general objects of attachment, with which their pride and political opinions are connected. They are more Americans; they feel and act more as a nation; and I hope that the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured."

A. T. MAHAN.

<sup>1</sup> May 7, 1816; *Writings of Gallatin*, I. 700.

## DOCUMENTS

### LETTERS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON EVERETT, 1811-1837

(First Installment.)

THE originals of the following letters are in the Library of Congress. They are here presented with the courteous permission of the librarian. They are written, with apparently only one exception—the letter of December 6, 1815—in Adams's own hand. They do not give us much definite or particular information concerning any important historical facts, but they help to bring into new and higher relief some of the qualities of the writer, and they possess moreover literary charm which gives them intrinsic interest. Alexander Hamilton Everett, to whom all the letters were addressed, is perhaps best known by his literary work, although he held various public positions of importance. Born in Boston in 1790, he was graduated at Harvard, commenced the study of law in Adams's office, and in 1809 accompanied Adams on his mission to Russia. In 1812 he returned to America and soon afterwards was appointed secretary of the legation to the Netherlands (1815). Again coming back to America he was in 1818 made *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague. In 1824 he gave up this position and in the following year was appointed by President Adams minister to Spain, a position which he retained for four years. Soon after his return to the United States he became editor of the *North American Review*, a journal to which he had already contributed a number of articles, and of which his brother, Edward Everett, had for a time been editor. This position he occupied for five years; and at the same time he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature. For a short period he served as president of Jefferson College, Louisiana, but in 1845 again entered the diplomatic service by accepting the mission to China. He died in Canton, June 29, 1847 (*Niles's Register*, LXXIII. 113, 116). The letters written to him by Adams indicate in some measure the extent of his literary and scholarly attainments. He was master of an unusually good, though we should now say a formal and somewhat stilted, style. He wrote clearly and forcibly on political, financial and economic subjects, as well as on purely literary matters.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.

I.

M<sup>r</sup> A. H. EVERETT —

S<sup>t</sup> PETERSBURG 2. September 1811.

Dear Sir.

M<sup>r</sup> Navarro<sup>1</sup> has already one letter from me for you ; but it has been so long written, and his departure has been so long postponed that I am afraid before it reaches your hands it will be quite out of date. Since I wrote it, we have received your favour of 13. August enclosing that of the 11<sup>th</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Adams.

If you had been travelling in Scotland instead of Sweden, we should certainly have concluded from a passage in the letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> that the gift of second sight had come upon you by sympathy. The second sight, I understand, beholds things as they happen, twenty-four hours before hand. Your letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> foresees the singular addition of a fair Russian in our family ; and behold on the 12<sup>th</sup> the fair Russian actually appeared. To judge from your extasies at the view of the Swedish ladies, and from certain inuendo's concerning the complexions of those you had left behind you, possibly a fair Russian is a marvel, which prophecy itself not even your own prophecy can make you believe.

I thank you much for the trouble you took to copy and send me the abstract from M<sup>r</sup> Smith's pamphlet.<sup>2</sup> I had barely heard before I received your letter that there was such a thing, and it had much excited my Curiosity. Since then I have seen the Aurora of 26. June into which the whole pamphlet is copied. I was very sorry to see it. But there are things for which the proverb tells us there is no help.

Our tide of Americans ebbs and flows here as usual. Since you left us there have been many arrivals and some departures. The stock of your acquaintance remains much the same.

Count Pahlen<sup>3</sup> is removed as Russian Minister, from the United States, and goes in the same capacity to the Court of Brazil. M<sup>r</sup> Daschkoff<sup>4</sup> is appointed Minister at Washington in his place. There are four Russian Gentlemen going out in the Dorothea an American vessel bound to Philadelphia — M<sup>r</sup> Swietchkoff as Secretary of Legation, M<sup>r</sup> Kosloff as Consul General, M<sup>r</sup> Swienin as adjoint Consul and M<sup>r</sup> Elidsen as private Secretary to M<sup>r</sup> Daschkoff.

The week before last an English sloop of War, commanded by Captain Fenshaw, arrived at Reval, escorting four or five English Store-ships laden with sulphur, Saltpetre, lead and gunpowder. Captain Fenshaw wrote to his father and brothers whom you know, requesting to see them. The Store-ships came, despatched from England by the British Govern-

<sup>1</sup> Chevalier Navarro d'Andrade, *chargé d'affaires* from Portugal, with whom Adams had formed a pleasant acquaintance.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Smith's *Address to the People of the United States*, (Baltimore, 1811), giving an "exposition" of the circumstances which caused his resignation of the Secretaryship of State.

<sup>3</sup> Count Theodore de Pahlen, minister to the United States from June 25, 1810, to November 14, 1811.

<sup>4</sup> André de Dashkov, minister from November 15, 1811, to March 6, 1819.

ment, and their warlike burden, according to the English Newspapers was for the use of the Russian armies, to be employed against the *Common Enemy*. Those Newspapers and the ships arriving here at the same time put us all here into such a fluster, as you, who know the ground will readily conceive. There was much chuckling in one quarter. Some long faces in another. On 'change the whispering, and the buzzing, and the asserting and the denying, and the head-shaking, and the mysterious look of *Wisdom*, lasted longer than usual — four or five days at least. At last it turns out that the Emperor gave permission to General Fenshaw and his Sons to visit their Relation, on board the Sloop of War — and then he and his store-ships received a notification to depart as they came, and that if they did not go with all due speed, their next notice would be that there was still *powder* and *Ball* to spare in Russia, as much as was needed to be employed against the *Common Enemy*.

You speak of having seen Baron Engeström's library at his town-house, but do not tell me whether you had seen the Baron himself. I rather infer that he was in the Country, and of course that you had not an opportunity of delivering to him my letter. I hope you received the packet I sent you by M<sup>r</sup> Hochschild.

We are all as well as can be expected, excepting Catherine, who has been three or four days confined to her chamber with a cough and fever; but being this day able to leave it, I hope in a day or two more she will be well again.

I am, Dear Sir, truly yours

A.

## II.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> — London.

S<sup>t</sup> PETERSBURG 28. October 1811.

Dear Sir.

I received only at the close of last week your letter of 20. September, dated at Gothenburg. We had previously heard by letters to others of your friends here, and by accounts of travellers that you had been unwell both at Stockholm and at Gothenburg, and were therefore more than usually anxious to learn from yourself of your entire recovery. Your letter was therefore peculiarly acceptable. I only marvelled that you should have thought an apology necessary for the frequency of your writing. I have been more apt to ask myself what your apology would be for not writing oftener.

I wrote you two letters by M<sup>r</sup> Nayarro, who we suppose must have overtaken you at Gothenburg. Soon after he took his departure M<sup>r</sup> Gray<sup>1</sup> and M<sup>r</sup> Jones<sup>2</sup> left us, and proceeded together for Paris. They will there be so much nearer to you than we are that I suppose you will hear directly from them before this reaches you. M<sup>r</sup> Jones expected to go himself to London in December. A few days after they went away there came a

<sup>1</sup> Francis C. Gray, who for a time was attached to the American legation in Russia. Adams's *Memoirs*, II. 3.

<sup>2</sup> T. K. Jones, a young man travelling in Europe for pleasure.

letter from you to M<sup>r</sup> Gray. I forwarded it very soon after by a Courier dispatched by the Ambassador, and as it probably travelled faster than M<sup>r</sup> Gray, I hope he will have found it ready for him at Paris. I have had one letter from him, dated at Berlin.

If you have met M<sup>r</sup> Navarro, he doubtless will have mentioned to you that he was present at the Christening of my daughter, whose name is Louisa-Catherine. She has hitherto been blessed with excellent health, and I think has much improved that of her mother.

We continued at the residence on the borders of the Nevka,<sup>1</sup> where you left us until the 8<sup>th</sup> of this Month, when we returned into the City, to a house in the near neighbourhood of that where we dwelt before. The Winter is setting in earlier than it did last year; or the year before; and at the moment when I am writing the Bridges are all displaced, and the river though not yet fixed is full of floating ice.

The report you heard at Gothenburg, of hostilities having already commenced, was, like the story of the Irishman's having been hanged, *premature*. It will be time enough for hostilities next Summer. But General Kutuzoff<sup>2</sup> has been beating the Turks; and we have had here almost ever since you left us, a Comet in full view, of such a bloody-minded appearance, that the *malignum vulgus* have been swearing the Peace against it without intermission. War or Pestilence you know has been shaken time immemorial from the horrid hair of Comets, and one of them will not be sufficient for this one which all the learned Astronomers tell us has got two tails.

I have not yet had the advantage of meeting either with Silliman's Travels,<sup>3</sup> or with the Itineraire.<sup>4</sup> If the importance of our Countryman's observations is to be measured by the specimen you have selected, I fear he will not be able to stand a contest with the Génie du Christianisme; but M<sup>r</sup> Prevost, who has promised me the Itineraire, and has read it himself says there are some important occurrences in that too. Such as a Turk's firing a pistol over his own head, to frighten the traveller; and the traveller's returning the fire in like manner, to shew his intrepidity. Also the history of sundry bastonades which he administered personally to certain other Turks or Jews or some such "circumcised dogs" by way of occasionally relieving his mind from the intensity of philosophical observation. Travellers must have the privilege of sleeping sometimes, but I know not why a Yankee traveller should require more slumber than another. After all, the anecdote told by the Yale Professor is at least more credible than the project of his rival to drain all the rivers of antient Greece, with one dash of his pen.

<sup>1</sup> Neva?

<sup>2</sup> Michel Ilarionovitch Kutuzov (1714-1813). From 1809-1811 he made successful war against the Turks. He is now remembered chiefly because of his struggle against Napoleon during the invasion of 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland and of two Passages over the Atlantic in the Years 1805 and 1806* (New York, 1810).

<sup>4</sup> *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem et de Jerusalem à Paris*, by Chateaubriand, the first edition of which appeared in 1811.

The most *important* Event of a public Nature, which this City has witnessed since you left it, is the consecration of the Kazan Church which took place about one month ago—and the next was the funeral service over the remains of Count Strogonoff<sup>1</sup> the “*Boyar*”, which was the first religious ceremony solemnized in the Church after its Consecration. It had been entirely built under the superintendence of the Count, as President of the Academy of Arts. He just lived to see the work completed, and died lamenting that as his funeral would be so magnificent, he could not be present to see it.

Among the Americans who have lately arrived here, is an acquaintance of yours, a young M<sup>r</sup> Ingraham of Boston. He was at Gothenburg, but on Board ship while you was in that City, and I believe on the very day of the date of your letter, was disappointed of a visit he was going to make you on shore, by a signal to sail.

I am with great regard and esteem, Dear Sir, your friend and h<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

### III.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup>—London.

S<sup>t</sup> PETERSBURG 26. January 1812.

Dear Sir.

On the cover of my last Letter to you, I minuted the receipt of your favour of 5. Dec<sup>r</sup> enclosing the message, which I had received after having closed the letter itself. But M<sup>r</sup> Williams, one of our Countrymen, who arrived last Summer at Archangel, being now on his way home goes with a Courier's Pass and my despatches, and I take the opportunity to thank you more particularly for this attention, and the others which you have had both in Sweden and in England of communicating to me important intelligence from our Country.

We are all in a state of convalescence from a certain distemper called the *grippe*. I know not why unless it be because it seizes people by the throat. I have it in express charge to ask you again for the *long* anecdote which you heard at Stockholm and which you did not relate, on the presumption that we had heard it before.

If you were a woman, I would tell you of all the marriages among the batchelors and virgins of this Court that are in a process of consummation or of negotiation. Marriage is to the ladies a topic so interesting per se, that they need no acquaintance, still less friendship with the parties to hear with some sort of feeling of every individual case in which it occurs. But why should I tell you of weddings between People for whom you and I have no other regard than as they belong to the Species.

The political rumours in Circulation are all of a pacific character. Peace with the Turks is supposed to be concluded, but has not yet come in official shape. Peace with France still subsists, and it is said is more

<sup>1</sup> Probably Alexander, Count Strogonov, 1734–1811, grand chamberlain and president of the Académie de Beaux Arts.

likely to subsist further than was expected last Summer. There is another Peace *de facto*, which will probably continue without the assistance of Treaties or Conventions.

I am, with great esteem and regard, Dear Sir, your friend and humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN. QUINCY ADAMS.

IV.

Mr A. H. EVERETT —

St PETERSBURG 10. April 1812.

Dear Sir.

I have received your favour of 3. Jan<sup>y</sup> from London, forwarded by Mr Navarro, and although uncertain whether this letter will find you still in England, I will not pass by the opportunity of thanking you for it.

Your representation of the state of things in England, though far from being drawn in dazzling or even in gay colours, has I am convinced the more substantial merit of truth. Almost all the English travellers who have for some years past favoured the public with their observations made in America have thought proper to represent our National character as vicious, upon no better foundation than that they had witnessed in America, individual instances of Vice. The Edinburgh Reviewers, with an eye of philosophical penetration worthy of Peter Pindar's magpie peeping into a marrow-bone, prophecy that the American character, which they pronounce positively bad now, will be greatly improved, when Wealth comes to be more generally *inherited* than *acquired*.<sup>1</sup> If for all the moral and political pollution that the whole manufactory of English dragnets has been able to gather from all the foul bottoms of the American Continent, our improvement from the prevalence of hereditary wealth, is to consist in a substitution of *innumerable* nightly assassinations, burglaries and larcenies — Lud's men<sup>2</sup> to break stocking weavers' frames, and Irishmen to knock down for sport people as they are coming out of Church — Catholics driven to rebellion by religious persecution, and a master sacrificing his friends, his friendships and his principles for "*Panem et Circenses*", I would put it as a problem to the arithmetical acuteness of the Edinburgh Philosophers, *how much* we shall be gainers by the exchange?

I have seen in some of the newspapers that the Attorney General, Sir Samuel Romilly, in speaking officially of some of those dreadful

<sup>1</sup> In a review of *Travels in America* (London, 1809) by Thomas Ashe. The reviewer is not unfriendly in his tone and does not approve Ashe's efforts to "have us believe that the Americans are universally and irreclaimably vicious." "When wealth comes to be more generally inherited than acquired, there will be more refinement, both in vice and in manners; and as the population becomes concentrated, and the spirit of adventure is deprived of its objects, the sense of honor will improve with the importance of character." *Edinburgh Review*, XV. 442.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is of course to the breaking of machinery in the Luddite riots of the time. As to origin of name see Traill and Mann, *Social England*, V. 841.

enormities mentioned in your letter, lamented them as indications of a character peculiarly vicious in the English Nation. The remark might be proper in a public officer whose duties are in some sort those of a *Censor Morum*, but it would not be liberal in a foreigner, to consider transactions of such a nature as evidences of National Character. I do not so consider them. But they may fairly be taken as presumptive proofs that the representations of unparalleled virtue, and superhuman felicity, which *American* Painters have drawn as characteristic attributes of the English Nation, are as wide from the real truth, as the *Smelfungus* colouring of the British Travellers in America. This contrast of falsehood between the English pictures of America, and the American pictures of England has struck me as peculiarly remarkable, and has in no small degree mortified my patriotic feelings as an American. Its effect in our own Country has been doubly mischievous, by exciting among many of our young minds a disgust and contempt of their Countrymen, and an extravagant and foolish admiration of another Nation. I am very glad that *you* have had an opportunity of observing for yourself the real condition of Nature, of Men and of Society in England. I will not say that its tendencies will be to produce a salutary review of some of your own prejudications; but I hope and believe it will tend to correct some of the prejudices of others. You have doubtless seen much to admire, and you have too much justice and good-sense to deprecate that which is estimable, for the place where it is found. But there is withal in England a Spirit of arrogant pretension, and a gloss of splendour, which may be seen through, without any great depth of penetration. I am well assured the persuasion gives me pleasure; that on your return to our native shores you will be able from the heart to say with Voltaire's *Tancrède* "Plus je vis d'Étrangers, plus j'aimai ma Patrie".

As it appears that the British Government, still deem an adhesion to their Orders in Council expedient, I see no prospect of an amicable or indeed of any other arrangement of their disputes with America. Their present professions of amity and conciliation appear to be borrowed from the practice of their own Gentlemen of the Road, who take a Traveller's purse with all possible amenity and decorum. I think however their present partiality to the Orders in Council proceeds from the belief, not without reason, that they will produce a rupture between France and Russia. A very few Months will discover to the World, though probably not to them on what foundations this reliance stands.

You know the only glimpses we can catch of English Literature, are an occasional pamphlet or Review, brought by a Traveller to amuse him on the road. Mr Patterson last Summer brought some of the then latest numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, in one of which I met that *oracular* sentence upon the National Character of the Americans, which I have just alluded to. There too I found a long, and much more amusing account of the *Curse of Kehama*;<sup>1</sup> it excited the wish to see the Book

<sup>1</sup> *The Curse of Kehama*, by Robert Southey (London, 1810).



itself. The mode of reviewing, practiced by the Edinburgh Critics is new, and they have made it fashionable. They give the title of a book, and then publish a Dissertation of their own upon the subject of which it treats. Their Essays are tinctured with strong prejudices, mingled up with a curious compound of scholastic dogmatism, and fine gentlemanliness. I remember reading an Account in one of their former numbers, of a voluminous edition or translation of Sallust, in which they said *they* had been accustomed to read Sallust in books *about the size of a hand at whist*. I read however almost all their Treatises; and many of them with entertainment and instruction. In the Review of the Lady of the Lake<sup>1</sup> there is a disquisition upon the sources of Walter Scott's popularity as a Poet, with which I was very much pleased. Some of its ideas are repeated in the review of Southey's *Curse*—and while they tell us here how M<sup>r</sup> Southey does not do so and so like M<sup>r</sup> Scott, they inform us on the other hand how M<sup>r</sup> Scott does not use the machinery of M<sup>r</sup> Southey. *Don Roderick*,<sup>2</sup> I have not yet seen, but among the readers of Poetry here there are some who have and who say it is the author's Master Piece. That I suppose, is because, as was said to account for the vogue of another book, it is Poetical, Political and Personal. If Don Roderick is a great admirer of Lord Wellington, he ought to give at the same time his candid opinion of the Duke of Albufera.

I condole with you upon the extinction of that illustrious luminary of letters and Science the monthly Anthology.<sup>3</sup> If the General Repository of Literature,<sup>4</sup> gives but once a quarter to the Public as much wit and as much Wisdom, as the Anthology was wont to emit every Month, it will deserve as long a life, and enjoy as fair a prospect of immortality.

It may awaken some of your most familiar, if not your warmest recollections of Russia, to tell you that hitherto, we have scarcely the slightest indication of the breaking up of Winter. In reference merely to the thermometer it has been the mildest of the three that we have overlived here; but the Neva has already been solid very little short of six Months, and the Snow is at this moment as deep or deeper than it has been at any part of the Season. To us it has been a Winter of sickness and affliction. My family remains as when you left us; excepting the addition of our daughter.

I have little to say about the political aspect of affairs, because wherever my letter may find you, it is probable the expected War will have had the start of it. From the manner in which France and Russia are holding the sword over each others head it would seem that both parties "no second stroke intended". All the regiments of Guards have already marched from St. Petersburg; the Minister at War, who is

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, XVI. 263-293.

<sup>2</sup> *The Vision of Don Roderick*, published July 15, 1811.

<sup>3</sup> *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, published from 1803 to 1811. Everett was himself a contributor. The paper was used by the Anthology Club of Boston as a vehicle of communication with the public.

<sup>4</sup> *The General Repository and Review*, which began to be published in Cambridge in 1812.

the Commander in Chief of the principal army, and the Grand Duke are gone, and the Master goes perhaps to-morrow. The Ambassador and the Ministers of the Confederation are still here, but on the wing. Two persons of high distinction have been dispatched very lately to Siberia, or — elsewhere.

I am, Dear Sir, ever truly your's

A.

V.

A. H. EVERETT Esq. Boston.

GHENT 16. July 1814.

*Dear Sir.*

The pleasure that I never fail to derive from your Communications has hitherto been attended by two Circumstances, the impression of which upon my mind has been to give them additional value, though in their own Nature such as I could not but regret. The first is the length of time that elapses between them; and the second the lapse of time after they are written, when I have the good Fortune to receive them. Since your return to the United States, this enjoyment has befallen me but twice — first by your letter of 12. February 1813. which I answered on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the ensuing June; and secondly by yours of 25 June 1813. which in little less than twelve Months from its date was received by me on the Road from Stockholm to Gothenburg, in the Night of the 2<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> of the last Month. I had myself written to you on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1812. in answer to your last Letter from England, forwarded by M<sup>r</sup> Poletica.<sup>1</sup> I am not without apprehension that you have never received this, for I know that a Letter to another of my friends in America, nearly of the same date, and sent by the same conveyance was not received by him so late as in January last. I gave them both to a M<sup>r</sup> Jackson of Newbury-Port, whom I furnished with a Courier's Passport, and who also took Dispatches for the Government. I have understood that he arrived in America in March 1813, and I believe that he transmitted to Washington the Dispatches. What disposal of the private letters he made, I am not informed. That for you, I was especially desirous that you should receive in due time, because it contained the Certificate which you had requested in your Letter from London. I would now send you a duplicate of both, but the Certificate would be useless to you, and the Letter has nothing in it to deserve that a second copy of it should be taken, particularly, as I have not here the aid of any Secretary.

I have also reason to fear that my Letter of 10 June 1813. had not been received by you so late as the 16<sup>th</sup> of March last. I gave it to M<sup>r</sup> J. W. Smith, who was going to London, and who died there in February. Other Letters which I sent at the same time by M<sup>r</sup> Tilden reached their destination in due Season, but I know that one of the Letters taken by M<sup>r</sup> Smith, and which was to my Mother had not been received by

<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Poletica, formerly secretary of legation under Count Pahlen in America.

her, and I have no reason to hope that the others which I committed to the same Gentleman were more fortunate.

If these conjectures are well founded you have not yet since your return to the United States, received one Letter from me, and you have cause to think me a Correspondent more neglectful, or at least deficient in punctuality, than I would willingly be thought by any person who takes the trouble of writing to me; and most especially by you to whom I should be peculiarly solicitous of appearing in the light the most opposite to that of negligence. I mentioned in my last Letter to you that I had received and read with *poetical* Pleasure your brother's *Φ. B. K.* poem,<sup>1</sup> though I had not been equally gratified by its *political* complexion. I have learnt since then, from my Mother, that he has assumed the arduous and honourable task of succeeding our lamented friend Buckminster; an occasion upon which he might emphatically say "who is sufficient for these things".<sup>2</sup> I have the satisfaction of being one of the Proprietors in that Church, and I look forward with pleasure to the period, when with my family, I shall be an habitual attendant upon his ministration. I will not promise to agree with him in Politics, nor even in religious doctrine; but there is one, and that the most essential point upon which I am confident we shall never disagree — I mean Christian Charity.

I regret that with your Letter I had not the pleasure of receiving the copy of your address to the Charitable Fire Society, and I have heard from other Quarters of certain political Speculations of yours, which I have more than one reason for wishing to see. As your design of entering upon the field of public discussion has been carried into Execution, and as American Principles are the foundation of the system to which you have pledged your exertions, you will not doubt the interest which I shall take in every step of your career. Notwithstanding the inauspicious appearances of the present moment, I humbly trust in God, that American Principles will ultimately prevail in our Country. But should it be otherwise; in the inscrutable decrees of Divine Providence, should the greatness and Prosperity, to which the continuance of the Union cannot possibly fail of exalting our Native Country, be deemed too great for mortal man to attain; should we be destined to crumble into the vile and miserable fragments of a great Power, petty, paltry principalities or Republics, the tools of a common Enemy's malice and Envy, and drenching ourselves age after age in one another's blood; far preferable should I deem it to fall in the Cause of Union and of Glory, than to triumph in that of Dismemberment, Disgrace and Impotence. As Christians, whatever befalls us or our fellow men we must submit to the Will of Heaven; but in *that* case I should be tempted to say with Lucan "Victrix Causa Dis placuit, Sed Victa Catoni."

<sup>1</sup> The subject was "American Poets". See "Tribute to Edward Everett" by George Ticknor, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1864-1865, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Everett, then not twenty years of age, succeeded Joseph Stephen Buckminster as minister of the Brattle Street Church in Boston.

The failure of the attempt at Negotiation under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, by the refusal of the English Government to treat with us under that mediation has long since been known to you; and before this Letter comes to your hands you will have learnt how and why the substituted Negotiation which was to have been held at Gothenburg has been transferred to this City. The Original proposal of Gothenburg, and the removal hither were both suggested on the British side, and merely assented to on our part. I have been here upwards of three weeks, waiting only for British Commissioners, who might at any time be here in three days, and who well know that all the members of the American Mission are here. From these Circumstances you may judge of the disposition of the British Government with regard to Peace, and probably you may have very shortly still more decisive evidence to the same point.

Of the late Revolutions on the Continent of Europe it is scarcely possible to speak without prejudice in reference to the past, or without presumption with regard to the future. The minds of men are still too much heated on all sides to form a deliberate judgment, either upon the nature and tendency of Events, or upon the character and conduct of persons. The only thing of which there can be no question is the overthrow of the Power of France, accomplished by the overthrow of Napoleon Buonaparte. France from the first can scarcely claim the fourth place in the Rank of European Nations. From the Mistress she has become the foot-ball of Europe. It is for the Bourbons to *restore* her to her place, as she, or rather England, has restored them to their's. I wish they may prove adequate to the task.

I am, Dear Sir, sincerely and faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

## VI.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> The Hague.

LONDON 27 July 1815.

*Dear Sir*

Your favours by M<sup>r</sup> Dana, by the two M<sup>r</sup> White's, and by your brother had been received by me, since my arrival here; and I had been apprehensive that your voyage would still be postponed; so that your's of the 17<sup>th</sup> from the Hague would have been an unexpected pleasure, but for the previous arrival at Liverpool of the Panther, one of whose Passengers informed me that she had sailed from Boston, the same day with the Congress.

I congratulate you upon your introduction to the regular diplomatic career. When M<sup>r</sup> Smith had concluded last Summer to return to the United States, I wrote to the Secretary of State, requesting that if I was to return to Russia, you might be appointed Secretary to that Legation. As there was then no prospect that the Negotiation at Ghent would terminate in Peace, and consequently none of a mission to this Country, I merely added that if such a mission had been the result of the Negotia-

tion, and confided to me, as I had received notice was the President's intention, I should still have requested that you might be the Secretary to the Legation. That my recommendation of you was earnest I now the more readily avow, because I gave by it a large pledge to the Government of our Country, which it is for you to redeem. I assured the Secretary of State, that in presenting you to the President's Consideration, I was governed more by motives of zeal for the public service, than of personal friendship for you. My Sentiments are still the same. For my own satisfaction, and for the pleasure of your Society I wish that you had received the appointment, as Secretary to this Legation. I shall write to the Secretary of State, and renew the request that you may be appointed to it. But for the public Service, and for your own advantage, you are for the present at least, perhaps as well, perhaps better situated than you would be here. My own residence here will very probably be short. Every American who has resided so long as five or six years in Europe, ought to go home to be *new-tempered*. I recommend this to your future practice, as during my whole life, I have found the benefit, and necessity of it for my own.

At an earlier and more perilous age, you have once passed unhurt through the ordeal of European Seductions and Corruptions. I have the confident hope that one victory will be the earnest of another. But you will not deem it impertinent if I intreat you to "keep your heart with all diligence". The fascinations of Europe, to Americans situated as you are and may hereafter be, present themselves in various and most dissimilar forms — Sensuality — Dissipation — Indolence — Pride, — and last, and most despicable, but not least — Avarice. This though not so common as the rest is not less dangerous and not less to be avoided. It appears in temptations to trading speculation or stock-jobbing, upon the basis of information to which your public station only gives you access. Perhaps you may not be exposed to this species of allurements. And if you should I am sure you will need no warning voice to preserve you from it.

I have many very pleasing recollections of the Country, and particularly of the spot where you reside. I inhabited the Hague, at several different, and always at interesting periods of my life. You will find it necessary to be particularly attentive to your health, as foreigners who reside some time in Holland are often subject to attacks of intermittent fevers. The Hague is however more favourably situated than Amsterdam.

You will oblige me, by enquiring if a family by the name of *Veerman, Saint Serf*, now reside at the Hague; and if they do, by calling upon them, with my compliments and kind remembrance. The Lady, is the daughter of a M<sup>r</sup> Dumas, who during the War of our Revolution was agent for the United States at the Hague, and after the War was for some time Chargé d'Affaires. When I was last at the Hague, from 1794 to 1797, she was married to this M<sup>r</sup> Veerman and had two or three children. I passed through the Hague last Summer on my way to Ghent, but could not stop even to alight from the Carriage. I have not heard

from this family for many years ; but it would give me great pleasure to be informed of them, and especially of their welfare.

Mr Buchanan does me the favour to take charge of this Letter. He is strongly recommended to me, by several highly respected friends, and I am persuaded you will find in him an agreeable associate. Let me hear often from you, and believe me truly your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

## VII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> — The Hague.

BOSTON HOUSE, EALING — NEAR LONDON 31. August 1815.

*Dear Sir.*

I find upon my files a friendly and very agreeable Letter from you, dated Boston 28. Oct<sup>r</sup> 1814. which I received on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March last at Paris. I did not then answer it, because I knew already of your destination to Europe, and I can now only acknowledge the receipt of it, because Mr Langdon, who is kind enough to take this Letter, goes immediately, and I have the receipt of two other favours from you to acknowledge. They are of the 3<sup>d</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> instants, the former by Mr Haven, with a Copy of the new Constitution of the Netherlands, for which I thank you.

Your project of occupying your leisure by a historical sketch of the Country where you reside, I have no doubt will prove useful to yourself and to others. The whole interest of the Dutch history is concentrated in the Period of its existence as a Republic ; which began at the separation of the Country from the dominion of Spain, and ended by the invasion of the French in 1794. There is now again an Independent Government — but it commences as a Monarchy, without any distinctive Characteristic. The Republic is no more ; and the Nation is no longer the same.

Among your occupations I would recommend to you that of making yourself completely master of the French language — to write it, as you do your own. It is the diplomatic language of the whole European Continent, and I wish you to possess it so as never to depend upon a translator. This is the only Country in Europe, where the French is of no use to a foreign legation.

Should I return the ensuing Spring to the United States, as is highly probable, it will be solely with the view of attending to my private concerns ; to see once more my aged Parents, and to devote my time to the education of my Children. I shall have no objects of a public Nature whatsoever ; and to be candid, the conclusive inducement to return will be the want of means to remain where I am.

Wherever I may be, there you will have a sincere and faithful friend.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VIII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> — The Hague.

LONDON 6<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1815.

Dear Sir

Since I wrote you last, I have had the pleasure of receiving four Letters from you. The first of June 25<sup>th</sup> 1813 was presented by M<sup>r</sup> Coffin; the second of 31<sup>st</sup> of July last by your elder Brother; and the others, of 31<sup>st</sup> August and 4 of Oct<sup>r</sup> the receipt of which I should not have been so long in acknowledging, but for an inflammation of the eyes; similar to that with which you may remember I was once afflicted at S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg; but much more severe and of much longer continuance. It has for nearly two months in a great measure deprived me of the use of the pen, and still obliges me to write by another hand.

I am very glad that you have made the acquaintance of my friend, (if I was not speaking of a Lady, I should say, my very old friend) Madame Veerman, and her family. True it is, that I have many times held both her daughters, respectable Matrons though now they be, upon my knees: but that was far from being my first acquaintance with her; I have seen her as fair a blossom as any of the Gardens of Harlem ever produced; and in the change of Features upon her countenance; between that period, and the time when I found her married and the Mother of two Children, I have some reason for supposing that the Grandmother of this day must retain few traces of the Virgin bloom which more than thirty years ago I saw upon her face. I pray you to present my best respects to her and to her daughters, who I am glad to hear are married and I hope are well settled in life.

I have been much edified by the philosophical and benevolent reflections which your visit to Bruxelles and the Inauguration or Coronation combined with the Field of Waterloo excited in your mind. They appear to me to be far preferable to the Poetical inspiration which M<sup>r</sup> Walter Scott found, or at least went to seek upon the aforesaid field. I have heard and read something before about a week at Bruxelles, and a famous Tree where the Hero who was then *bankrupting* a Nation's gratitude is said to have remained, though not to have reposed, during a part of the first day's action. The Ancient sage Philosopher in Hudibras could prove, you know, that the world was made of fighting and of love, and I cannot imagine any means so effectual for promoting your project of perpetual peace as an enactment of an universal law that the shelter of the Tree of Waterloo shall henceforth be exclusively reserved for the belle Alliance which was sheltered by the Tree of Nivelle.

There was nearly a century ago a poor French Abbé named S<sup>t</sup> Pierre,<sup>1</sup> who published in three Volumes a project for perpetual peace between the Powers of Europe which he sent to Cardinal Fleury, whose dear delight was Peace. The Cardinal's answer to him was "vous avez oublié Monsieur, pour Article preliminaire, de commencer par envoyer une

<sup>1</sup> Charles Irénée Castel de Saint Pierre (1658-1743), Abbé de Tiron. His *Projet de Paix Perpetuelle*, in three volumes, was published in 1713.

Troupe de Missionnaires, pour disposer le coeur et l'esprit des Princes''. This little difficulty suggested by the Cardinal still subsists; and if in the pursuit of your plan you should avoid committing the Abbé's error, and send your Troup of Missionaries there would still be the chance whether they might be all gifted with the power of persuasion sufficient to ensure their success; besides the possibility that the Missionaries themselves might require a second band of pacific Apostles, to keep them faithful to their duty.

But not to trifle upon so serious a subject; Peace on Earth and good will to Men, was proclaimed nearly two thousand years since, by one with whose authority no human power is to be compared. It was not only proclaimed, but the means of maintaining it were fully and most explicitly furnished to Mankind. This authority is acknowledged, and its precepts are recognized as obligatory, by all those who exhibited the practical comment upon it in the Field of Waterloo. It is most emphatically acknowledged, by the most Christian personages who are yet commenting upon it, in the Dungeon's of the Spanish Inquisition, and in the Butcheries at Nismes.

With these results of the holy War for the preservation of social order and of Religion yet glaring before me, I cannot promise you very speedy success in the laudable purpose of eradicating the seeds of discord from the human heart. But if in your disappointment you stand in need of consolation, I recommend to your meditations the Theory of the ingenious M<sup>r</sup> Malthus.<sup>1</sup> He perhaps may prove to your satisfaction that the real misfortune of Europe is to be overburthened with Population; or if he should fail in that, he may at least convince you that the population of Europe is neither more nor less for such Fields as that of Waterloo. The number of Officers who gloriously fell upon that memorable day, made no chasm in the Military establishment of the Conquerors. The London Gazette within ten days afterwards filled up all the vacancies which that day had made in the British Army and M<sup>r</sup> Malthus insists that it is precisely the same with the process of population: that wherever one mouth is removed, another will immediately be produced to take its place. If this theory be just, you might perhaps find occasion to re-consider the project of perpetual peace even if it should be practicable: for it would be necessary to take into the account, the mass of glory which you would deprive so many Heroes of acquiring, in exchange for their worthless lives, and also the immense multitudes of little candidates for existence, whom you would cruelly debar from the possibility of coming into life. It would be a sort of murder of the Innocents, that would out-Herod Herod.

I am informed that there is in this Letter a mixture of solidity and

<sup>1</sup> An interesting statement in light of the fact that Everett later devoted considerable attention to the theories of Malthus. See his *Europe: or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Principal Powers with Conjectures on their Future Prospects* (London and Boston, 1822); also *New Ideas on Population with Remarks on the Theories of Goodwin and Malthus* (Boston, 1823).



levity which makes it proper to bring it to a conclusion. I have as yet no answer from the Government to the proposal which I made for an exchange which would give me the benefit of your assistance, but I have intimations from a private source, that a different arrangement has been made. I shall regret the circumstance on my own account, though in the present condition of my Eyes, it will probably be an advantageous one to you. I wrote last Week to Mr Eustis, and beg to be remembered kindly to him now; being with the highest regard and esteem Dear Sir, your friend.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

IX.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Secretary of Legation of U. S. The Hague.

EALING NEAR LONDON 16. March 1816.

*Dear Sir.*

Since I had the pleasure of last writing you, three of your favours have come to my hands. The first dated 11. March 1815. at Boston, which you had given as a Letter of recommendation to Mr Copeland. By some accident he left it at the New-England Coffee-House in London, where it remained forgotten in a drawer, with several others from my family-relations, from April when Mr Copeland arrived in England, until the beginning of January, when the Master of the Coffee-house found it, and sent it to me. Your second Letter the receipt of which I am to acknowledge is of 13. December last, and was brought by Mr Aphthorp. The third of 21. Dec<sup>r</sup> introductory to Mr Chad, who is to go out as Secretary of the British Legation to the United States. I have hitherto missed of the pleasure of seeing this Gentleman, but hope to have it this day.

Your Letter of 11. March 1815. principally relates to two subjects, now obsolete enough; but one of which, the Victory at New-Orleans, will always be in Season, to the memory of Americans; and the other, the Peace of Ghent, will I hope prove to be likewise composed of durable materials. Judging, as the character of all political measures should be judged, from the existing Circumstances of the Time, the Peace was undoubtedly seasonable, and was probably as good a one as could then have been obtained; but all who like you, have devoted their lives to the honour and welfare of their Country, will remember that the Peace did not obtain the objects for which the war was waged. From which every mind not besotted by the Spirit of Faction, may draw two conclusions — one of caution against commencing War, without a fair prospect of attaining its objects, as well as a good cause. The other that the object of the last War, must perhaps, and not improbably be fought for again. In an enlarged point of View, the War was much more beneficial than injurious to our Country. It has raised our national character in the eyes of all Europe. It has demonstrated that the United States, are both a military and a naval Power, with capacities which may hereafter place them in both these respects on the first line among the Nations of the Earth. It has given us Generals and Admirals, and subordinate officers by land and sea, to whom we may hereafter look with

confidence for the support of our national rights and interests in War, if the necessity should recur. It has partly removed the prejudice against that best and safest of National defences, an efficient Navy. And it has shewn us many secrets of our own strength and weakness, until then, not sufficiently known to ourselves, and to which it is to be hoped we shall not hereafter wilfully shut our eyes. But some of the worst features in our composition that it has disclosed are deformities which, if not inherent in the very nature of our Constitution, will require great, anxious and unremitting care to enable us to outgrow them. The most disgusting of them all, are the rancorous spirit of faction, which drove one part of the Country headlong towards the dissolution of the Union, and towards a treacherous and servile adherence to the Enemies of the Country. This desertion from the standard of the Nation, weakened all its exertions to such a degree, that it required little less than a special interposition of Providence to save us from utter disgrace, and dismemberment, and although the projects of severing the Union were signally disconcerted by the unexpected conclusion of the Peace, they were too deeply seated in the political systems as well as in the views of personal Ambition, of the most leading men in our native State to be yet abandoned. They will require to be watched, exposed, and inflexibly resisted, probably for many years.

You have doubtless been informed that a few days after I last wrote you, Mr J. A. Smith arrived here, as Secretary of Legation to this Court and since the meeting of Congress his appointment has been confirmed by the Senate. Whether the Government inferred from his personal relation to me, that this appointment would of course be agreeable to me, or whether it was made upon distinct Considerations, and without reference to my wishes at all, I think it necessary, from what had previously passed between you and me to state, that your name is the only one that I ever recommended to the Government for the Office, and that although I knew he had been recommended for it by others, his appointment to it, was altogether unexpected by me, until I was informed it had actually taken place.

It is natural that you should entertain some solicitude, with regard to your future prospects, and your idea is just that the situation of Secretary to an American Legation in Europe is no permanent Prospect for a condition in Life. The Government of the United States have no system of diplomatic gradation, and the instances of Persons who have commenced as Secretaries of Legation, and afterwards received higher appointments have been very few. But the reason of this has been, because most of the Secretaries have been young men, who obtained the appointments by the influence and solicitations of their friends, and who after obtaining them think much more of their own pleasure than of the public service. They come to Europe not to toil, but to enjoy, To dangle about Courts, and solace themselves for the rest of their lives, with the delightful reflection that Kings or Princes have looked at them — to see sights — to frequent theatres, Balls, Masquerades and fashionable Society.

I speak not of those who have sunk into baser and more vicious pursuits. Nor of those who come to make themselves scientific, or virtuosi. Scarcely one in fifty ever came to do his duty, and nothing but his duty, Or to devote his leisure to the acquisition of the proper diplomatic knowledge. The habits of life into which they fall relax their industry into indolence and turn their activity to dissipation. They go home with heads as empty, and with hearts fuller of vanity than they came — generally with a hankering to return to Europe, and almost always with a distaste to the manners, and institutions of their own Country. Disdaining or disqualified to take a part in its public affairs, and incapable of making themselves necessary, either to the General Government, or to any of the political parties in the Country.

Nothing of all this applies to you. Had your station been assigned to the Mission here, you would have found that the mere drudgery of the Office would have absorbed all, and more than all your time. At the Hague you have much leisure, and I am quite sure you are making good use of it. You will never for an instant forget that you are responsible to your country for the employment of every hour. That every moment not devoted to the discharge of present duty, must be given to the acquisition of future capability. You will never adopt the fancy of the School-boy, who left School and went home, because he had *learnt out*. But as you have asked my advice, I cannot in candour recommend it to you, to remain long in your present station under the idea that it will lead to something better. After a suitable period, properly employed, I should say, return home, and resume your station at the Bar. Take an interest and exercise an influence in the public affairs. You must steel your heart, and prepare your mind to encounter multitudes of political enemies, and to endure all the buffetings, without which there is no rising to distinction in the American world. When the knaves and fools open upon you, in full pack, take little or no notice of them, and be careful not to lose your temper. Preserve your private character and reputation unsullied, and confine your speculations upon public concerns to objects of high and national importance. You will certainly be favoured with no Patronage, political or professional by the prevailing party at Boston, but you must make your way in opposition to and in defiance of them. Their system is rotten to the core, and you may render essential service to the Nation, by persevering exertions against it. I will give you one word, which you may lay down as the foundation of the whole political system, to which you may boldly and safely devote from this moment all the energies of your character, all your talents and all your Genius — that word is *Union*. Let that be the centre, from which all your future exertions emanate, and to which all your motives tend — let your conduct be at once bold, resolute, and wary — preserve inflexibly your personal independence, even while acting in concurrence with any party, and take my word for it, you will not need to go in search of public-Office, at home or abroad. For Public-Office, at home or abroad, at your option will soon come in search of you.

Be good enough to present my best remembrance to M<sup>r</sup> Eustis, to whom I am yet indebted for a letter, and propose shortly to write. M<sup>r</sup> Apthorp did not bring Turreau's book upon America.<sup>1</sup> That illustrious Vendean General told me last Spring that he intended to publish a Book against us. I did not think the worse of him or of ourselves for that. *Laudari a laudato* has a counterpart, which will easily reconcile me to his vituperation.

Our accounts from the United States, do not appear propitious to your projects of perpetual Peace. Onis the Spaniard,<sup>2</sup> they say, has sprung a mine at Washington and gone off. But I have not room to expatiate, and must remain ever faithfully yours.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

X.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston.

WASHINGTON 28. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1817.<sup>3</sup>

*Dear Sir.*

During the few days that I passed at Boston, I called several times both at your house and at your Office, for the purpose of having some conversation with you as well upon the subjects referred to in your Letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> which I received yesterday, as upon some others. My last visits were on the day before I left Boston to come here, when I found at your Office door a notice that you was out of town, and was informed at your house that you and your Lady were gone upon an excursion to Portsmouth. I seriously regretted the Circumstance, as I was desirous of communicating with you more fully and more confidentially, than either my time, or some other considerations will admit of in writing. This however is now the only remaining expedient of intercourse between us, and I take the hour before the dawn of the day of rest, for the purpose.

I arrived here on Saturday the 20<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> and saw the President the same evening. He was obliged to leave the City again on Monday Morning for his Seat in Virginia, and the only conversation that I had with him was upon objects concerning which he had instructions to leave with me. Upon his return I will not fail to mention your Letter to him, and ascertain if he received it.

If you will transmit to me your accounts with the United States, with the vouchers if there are any, I will deliver them over to the Auditor for the Department of State, and attend to their being passed through the various offices for settlement.

<sup>1</sup> *Aperçu sur la Situation Politique des États-Unis d'Amérique*, par le Général Turreau, ancien ministre plénipotentiaire de France aux États-Unis d'Amérique (Paris, 1815).

<sup>2</sup> Don Luis de Onis, minister from Spain. The allusion is probably to his efforts to bring about the prosecution of persons threatening the Spanish possessions. *American State Papers, For. Rel.*, IV. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Adams had now become Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Monroe.

With regard to your return to the diplomatic career, I consider the prospect of your services to the public in that line, as so favourable, that I shall not hesitate to recommend you to the President for employment, if any situation should present itself, in the class of those which would be acceptable to you.

From the Correspondence of M<sup>r</sup> Eustis,<sup>1</sup> it appears to be his intention to return next Spring, to the United States; unless in the meantime, a Minister of rank corresponding to his, should be appointed by the King of the Netherlands to reside here. Should he return, a Chargé d'Affaires will I presume be appointed to reside at that Court, and as the President in anticipation of such an Event had already offered you the situation, I suppose, and so far as I may expect to be consulted in the selection, intend that it shall be offered to you again. I am not inclined without a clear and obvious propriety to multiply the diplomatic agents of the United States in Europe, and probably the next Congress will be as little disposed as I am to aggravate unnecessarily the public expences in that department. But before I left England I was informed that the King of Prussia had appointed a Charge d'Affaires to the United States, and I was led to expect that he would before now have arrived in this Country. Should such an event take place, the appointment of a person with the same character may be judged advisable, and may perhaps meet the sanction of Congress. In that case, or in any other that may occur of a similar nature, in which I can with propriety present your name to the President, you may be assured I shall be neither backward nor cold in recommending you.

I have read all the numbers upon the present State of England, that have been published since I landed at New-York,<sup>2</sup> and am sure I shall take great pleasure in reading the remainder. That they have been received by the public with more attention than they deserve is by no means my opinion. That they should have been ascribed to me would have been one of the highest compliments that could have been paid me, if I could have recognized as mine, many of their sentiments. But the argument against the theory of the checks and balances, would scarcely have been decent from my pen, if I had even been convinced of its correctness, which I am not. It would have been inconsistent too with the opinions which I have always avowed; and particularly with a series of papers which in the year 1791. I published in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of *Publicola*. They encountered instead of flattering the prevailing prejudices of the time, and were very unpopular. They are now and have been long since forgotten by the Public, but I am not conscious of having changed any important opinion contained in them.

<sup>1</sup> William Eustis, 1753-1825, member of Congress 1801-1805 and 1820-1823; Secretary of War 1807-1813; minister to Holland 1814-1818; governor of Massachusetts 1823-1825.

<sup>2</sup> "Letters to a Friend on the Present State of England," published in the *Patriot and Chronicle* and reprinted in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* beginning June 17, 1817, and some of them at least in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* beginning June 17.

Their view of the British Constitution is altogether different from yours, and although I do ample Justice to the ingenuity of your argument against Montesquieu, I have not been convinced by it. I cannot compress into this short Letter an argument that would exhaust a volume, and probably leave you on your side "of your own opinion still," but to deal with you in perfect candour, your view of the British Constitution, of its operation, and I might perhaps add of the present State of England, is not impartial. If you and Walsh<sup>1</sup> were Painters and had to take the Portrait of a one-eyed man, you would both paint him in profile but your picture would shew the blind and his the seeing side. He would conceal the loss of the eye, and you would represent the man as blind. You know it is a trite maxim in natural philosophy that a mathematical truth is a physical falsehood. The practice of no machine ever corresponds precisely with its theory. What would you say to an Englishman who should aver that the Constitutions of the United States are all impostures, and that we have nothing but a Government of Caucuses? These are Engines unknown to our Constitutions and Laws, but not less operative upon the Administration of our Governments than what Cobbett calls the borough-mongering faction is upon that of England. As to the general state and condition of the Country, I must say that no Country or People that I have ever visited, present more solid, more numerous or more noble topics for panegyric than England. That she presents at the same time numerous topics for the severest and most indignant reprobation is equally true. Your papers are admirably calculated to eradicate from the minds of our Countrymen, every prejudice in her favour. To do her entire Justice would require another series of Essays, an eye more upon the search for the forms and a hand more ready for the delineation of beauty. The eye and the hand are your own; and why should the disposition be wanting? You have a heart, not insensible to beauty, physical, moral or intellectual—why should you hide its feelings from itself? You know that the Agriculture of England is superior to that of any other Country—That in most of the useful, and some of the ornamental Arts, she is surpassed by none—That her learning, literature and Science equal if they do not exceed those of any other Nation—That in arms she stands at least upon a level with the first military Nations of the age by land, and that she reigns but too triumphant and unrivalled upon the Ocean. Is all this the result of despicable or pernicious institutions? If England had no other claim to reverence than that of having founded the Colonies, which are now your Country and mine, her solid and unquestionable glory would transcend all Greek, transcend all Roman fame. France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, have founded Colonies as well as England;—look at them,

<sup>1</sup> Robert Walsh, 1784-1859, wrote *A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government, including a View of the Taxation of the French Empire* (1810, several editions). Its tone was favorable to England. His best known work is *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1819).

and look at the United States. And what is the cause of the difference between them? English Institutions, Principles and Manners. Milton tells us that the very Spirits reprobate lose not all their virtue, and has accordingly endowed his fallen Angels, with virtues of the highest order. He has given the Devil his due, and I think you should do the same with England.

I believe there is a little account between you and me to settle, for the two years that you was in my Office, before our departure for Europe. I mention it now, not for the sake of asking you for the settlement, for that shall be entirely at your convenience, but because never having been adjusted it may perhaps have escaped your recollection.

With my best Respects for your Lady, and the highest esteem and regard for yourself, I remain, dear Sir, ever faithfully yours

J. Q. ADAMS.

XI.

ALEX<sup>r</sup> H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

WASHINGTON 23. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1817.

Dear Sir.

I congratulate you very cordially upon your success at the Election. I certainly know not a man in our district more calculated to represent it with dignity to the Nation with honour to himself, and with advantage to his Constituents than M<sup>r</sup> Mason.<sup>1</sup> I am also highly gratified with the moderation, the conciliatory Spirit, and the good management, which the republican party at Boston have so remarkably manifested on this occasion, and am not a little amused with the anti-climax of address and temper with which the *Wise Men of the East*, have contrived to put themselves in a minority, at a place where they have for several years had majorities of two to one, for whatever and whomsoever they pleased. It has given me great pleasure to see the influence of your personal exertions in this affair, and I had already recognized your hand in the two pieces in the Patriot, and Chronicle before you sent them to me. The Editors of that paper have not many such Correspondents, and ought to be sensible of it. The decorum and moderation, the recurrence to sound principles and at the same time to popular topics of persuasion, in the neat, and easy Style, so well suited to the temper of the times, and to Newspaper discussion, are not very common in the "five hundred daily Newspapers" that our good-natured Countrymen are content to read. The view of parties has already been transplanted at least into one other Newspaper. A distinction rare indeed for political speculations written merely to bear upon a local election. It is succinct, in the main just, and peculiarly suited to produce the proper impression at the time. A Federalist might perhaps insist that with all the extravagances, and intolerances, and absurdities, and almost Treasons of his party, they have nevertheless rendered the most important and durable services to the Common Country — That if at one period they drove headlong to the

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Mason, 1750—1831. He had held public office on previous occasions. He served as Federalist Representative from Boston, 1817—1820.

dissolution of the Union, they saved it from the assaults of their opponents at another — That the Constitution of the United States, is peculiarly their's — That the Navy and its glories, are in a peculiar sense their's, and that if in the late Stages of the French Revolution, the horror of its excesses, and the terror of its gigantic despotism drove them into a delirium of subserviency to England, the delirium of their antagonists in favour of that same Revolution in its earlier stages, was equally extravagant, and of a tendency not less pernicious. A faithful and impartial, and philosophical history of our *Parties*, from the formation of our Union would be a most valuable and instructive work, and the time is now come when it might be written without danger to the author. Carey's *Olive Branch*<sup>1</sup> is an imperfect attempt at such a work, and is already at its tenth Edition. But one great defect of that Book, is that Carey, born an Irishman, has always been himself in this Country a violent partizan of the democratic party, and that all his acknowledgments of faults on that side are apologies; while all his enumerations of faults on the other side are charges. The essential Spirit of all confession is palliative; that of all accusation is aggravating. Carey's book would be a proof of this, if it were not in proof from almost every thing else. And as to philosophical speculation, reference to the general principles of human Nature, or comparison with the operations of party in other free Nations, or delineations of individual characters, no such thing is to be found in the book. It is an old joke that a good historian ought to have neither religion nor Country; but it is hardly to be expected that an impartial history of a struggle between two parties should be written by an actor in one of them.

I regret very much not having seen the printed vote of the Central Committee to which you allude; but after the secession of two such members as Gen<sup>l</sup> Welles and Major Russell, I can scarcely conceive the blindness of the rest in pushing their Candidate against M<sup>r</sup> Mason. This however appears to me clear — That it has *broken their line*, and if the republicans continue their party management in the same Spirit, they cannot fail to have the very next year the Majority in both branches of the Legislature; the selection of the Council; and with regard to the town of Boston, from henceforth the full weight to which they are entitled by their numbers, and by the respectability of character of those whom they recognize as their leaders.

I should think the second of the two plans, suggested by you as likely to be adopted at the next Spring Elections, as in every point of view the best; and particularly since this election of M<sup>r</sup> Mason to Congress. First because I trust he will be a very weighty and influential member of the House of Representatives, and should exceedingly regret the loss of his Services there so soon. I have understood that M<sup>r</sup> Brooks<sup>2</sup> serves with some reluctance in the Office of Governor, and would probably not chuse

<sup>1</sup> *The Olive Branch*, by Mathew Carey, a well-known book (1814 and many later editions).

<sup>2</sup> John Brooks, 1752–1825, governor 1816–1823.



to continue in service long. He could have no better successor than M<sup>r</sup> Mason, whose service in the meantime in Congress will I trust be as useful even to the State as it would be in the Governor's Chair. Secondly, I doubt whether the Republicans could split hairs of principle with sufficient accuracy to find a distinction, upon which they could justify themselves in turning out M<sup>r</sup> Brooks, to put M<sup>r</sup> Mason in his place. If during the late War, M<sup>r</sup> Brooks, was in some degree implicated in the misconduct of the Massachusetts State Government, by his official Situation, his Sentiments were undoubtedly the same as those of M<sup>r</sup> Mason. His situation may have prevented him from expressing them so freely; but what censure upon the policy of his predecessor could have been stronger, or more keenly felt, than his Silence, concerning it, and the totally different policy that he announced in his first Speech to the Legislature. Nor can I forget that in that very war, he had a son, who died in the Cause of the Country. Thirdly, I think you would still fail in carrying the Election against Brooks. By adopting him they the Republicans would make another and most effectual step towards conciliation, and harmony; and could scarcely fail to carry a majority into both branches of the Legislature. I can scarcely imagine how this should be more difficult to accomplish throughout the State; than it would be for the Republicans to set up another federalist, merely for the sake of displacing Brooks.

Enough upon a subject which as you observe is out of my Sphere. From a Conversation that I have had with the President, I am apprehensive that when Ebeling's Library comes, I shall have it left upon my hands.<sup>1</sup> I should be glad of this if I could afford either the prime cost of it, or a place where it could be safely kept, till I shall have leisure to make suitable use of it myself. But as my means are not adequate to this, I expect to be under the necessity of disposing of the Books or of the greatest part of them, upon the best terms that I can obtain. My determination to purchase them was founded upon the Confidence that I reposed in your brother's judgment, and a feeling of shame that such a Collection, so peculiarly interesting to this Country, in a National point of view, should be lost to it, and scattered over Europe for the want of a few thousand Dollars. But the President is of opinion that 150 Volumes would comprize all the books relating to America, worth having in the Library of Congress, and probably three fourths of them are already there. My deference to his judgment has very much staggered my Confidence in my own, and a little damped the sanguine temper with which I had entered into yours and your brother's feelings. I will yet however not countermand the order which I authorized you to give him for the purchase, but must request you in writing to him, to enjoin upon him, not upon any consideration to exceed the limits which I prescribed in regard to the cost, either by any addition to the sum, or by any deduction from the books. I shall find it hard enough to carry the thing through, as I have undertaken it, but I am still bent upon securing the whole collection to ourselves. Ask your brother also to have the good-

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, pp 114-115.

ness to forward to me as soon as possible, a Catalogue of the Library. I would write to him, but am uncertain where he now is. Can you inform me? I understood it was his intention to pass the next, or rather the present Winter, in England.

I am ever faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. I give you joy of the opponent that your Letters upon England have found — Such an antagonist is worth ten panegyrics.<sup>1</sup>

P. S. 2. Nov<sup>r</sup> 25. I have received your Letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> which was already answered by mine of the 16<sup>th</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Eustis has got a Secretary, and if there should be any mission to Prussia it will not be sooner than next Summer, and then — how many Candidates!

## XII.

ALEX<sup>r</sup> H. EVERETT. Esq<sup>r</sup>—Boston

WASHINGTON 29. December 1817.

*Dear Sir.*

Your Letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> has been a full week upon my unanswered file, and I am now obliged to answer it very imperfectly. The Newspapers mention that M<sup>r</sup> Eustis has gone to pass the Winter at Paris, and has left M<sup>r</sup> Appleton as Chargé d'Affaires at the Hague. I suppose this is true though we have no notice of it. My last Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Eustis, is of 4. October, from the Hague, and its symptoms instead of indicating an intention of speedy departure, rather disclose a willingness to be detained even beyond the period of the ensuing Spring. No necessity for any such detention is supposed here to be likely to arise; but if circumstances should occur to render the homeward voyage inconvenient next Spring, it may perhaps be postponed for another year. I have no particular reason for this surmise, other than that Gentlemen abroad who have projects of returning home do not like to be hurried.

I have not seen the Article upon Peace Societies in the North American Review; nor the Review itself.<sup>2</sup> But if our Peace Societies should fall into the fashion of corresponding upon the Objects of their Institution with foreign Emperors and Kings, they may at some future day find themselves under the necessity of corresponding with Attorney Generals and Grand and Petit Juries at home. Philip of Macedon

<sup>1</sup> Answers to Everett's articles appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. They were reprinted in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* beginning November 20, 1817.

<sup>2</sup> An article by Everett in the *North American Review*, VI. 25, is a review of *The Friend of Peace*, Nos. 1-8, by Philo Pacificus, one of a series of publications issued by a member of the Peace Society of Massachusetts. That Everett's early inclination to the acceptance and promulgation of peace plans and theories continued in later life may be judged from the article. "What can be more thoroughly and essentially *chimerical*, *absurd*, and ridiculous, than the pretence of settling a disputed boundary, or a doubtful passage in Grotius by arranging fifty or a hundred thousand men in two opposing lines, and compelling them to shoot each other down?" *N. Am. Rev.*, VI. 44.

was in very active correspondence with a Peace Society at Athens; and with their co-operation baffled and overpowered all the Eloquence of Demosthenes. Alexander of the Neva, is not so near nor so dangerous a neighbour to us, as Philip was to the Athenians, but I am afraid his love of Peace is of the same character as was that of the Man of Macedon. Absolute Princes, who can dispose of large masses of human force, must naturally in applying them, be aided by all the pacific dispositions that they can find or make among those whom they visit with the exercise of their power. In the intercourse between *Power* and *Weakness*, Peace, in the language of the former, means the submission of the latter to its will. While Alexander, and his Minister of Religious Worship, Prince Galitzin, are corresponding with the Rev.<sup>d</sup> Noah Worcester,<sup>1</sup> upon the blessedness of Peace, the venerable founder of the Holy League is sending five or six ships of the line, and several thousand promoters of peace armed with bayonets to Cadiz, and thence to propagate good will to man elsewhere — whether at Algiers, at Constantinople, or at Buenos Ayres we shall be informed hereafter.

The mention of Buenos-Ayres, brings to my mind an Article that I have lately seen in the Boston Patriot, and which I concluded was from your pen. Its tendency was to shew the inexpediency and injustice there would be in our taking side with the South-Americans in their present struggle against Spain. It was an excellent Article, and I should be glad to see the same train of thought further pursued. As for example by a discussion of the question in political morality by what *right* we could take side? and who, in this case of a civil War, has constituted us the *judges*, which of the parties has the righteous Cause? then by an enquiry, what the Cause of the South-Americans is, and whether it really be as their partizans here alledge, the same as our own Cause, in the war of our Revolution? Whether for instance if Buenos-Ayres, has formally offered to accept the Infant Don Carlos as their absolute Monarch, upon condition of being politically Independent of Spain, their cause is the same as ours was? Whether, if Bolivar, being at the head of the Republic of Venezuela, has solemnly proclaimed the absolute and total emancipation of the slaves, the cause of Venezuela is precisely the same as ours was? Whether in short there is any other feature of identity between their Cause and ours, than that they are as we were Colonies fighting for Independence. In our Revolution there were two distinct Stages, in the first of which we contended for our *civil rights*, and in the second for our *political Independence*. The second as we solemnly declared to the world was imposed upon us as a necessity, after every practicable effort had been made in vain to secure the first. In South-America, Civil Rights, if not entirely out of the question, appear to have been equally disregarded and trampled upon by all parties. Buenos Ayres has no Constitution; and its present ruling powers are established

<sup>1</sup> Noah Worcester, 1758-1837, secretary of the Peace Society 1816-1828, is credited not only with editing but with writing most of the *Friend of Peace*, issued periodically, 1815-1818.

only by the arbitrary banishment of their predecessors. Venezuela though it has emancipated all its slaves, has been constantly alternating between an absolute Military Government, a Capitulation to Spanish Authority, and Guerillas black and white, of which every petty chief has acted for purposes of War and Rapine as an Independent Sovereign. There is finally in South-America neither unity of cause, nor unity of effort as there was in our Revolution. Neither was our Revolution disgraced by that buccaneering and piratical Spirit which has lately appeared among the South-Americans, not of their own growth, but I am sorry to say, chiefly from the contamination of their intercourse with us. Their privateers have been for the most part fitted out and officered in our Ports, and manned from the sweepings of our Streets. It was more effectually to organize and promote this patriotic system, that the expeditions to Galveston and Amelia-Island were carried into effect, and that successive gangs of desperadoes Scotch, French, Creoles, and North-Americans, have been constituting the Republic of the Florida's. Yet such is the propensity of our people to sympathize with the South-Americans, that no feeble exertion is now making to rouse a party in this Country against the Government of the Union, and against the President for having issued orders to put down this Nest of freebooters at our doors.

Your preparations for the next Spring Elections in Massachusetts, appear to be judicious, and I hope they will be successful. I neither see or hear anything more of the Brighter Views, nor of Old North than what you tell me; and there is at present not much to be apprehended from the authors of either of them.

We have the prospect of a troublesome Indian War in the South; and its bearings upon our political affairs may be more extensive and important than is expected.

I am, Dear Sir, very sincerely your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XIII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq. — Boston

WASHINGTON 6. April 1818.

*Dear Sir.*

I have received your Letter, enclosing the draft upon Baltimore for 900 dollars, which when received shall be applied conformably to your desire. I have also your favour of 31. ult. A Letter from your brother, of 23 January at Paris has informed me, that while he was in treaty for the purchase of the Ebeling library for me, with a prospect of obtaining it, though the price demanded for the whole was something beyond the sum that I had limited, he received another order, to purchase it for Harvard University, without limitation of price. He therefore justly considered mine as superseded; as the only object which I could propose to myself was that the possession of the treasures, to this Country should at all Events be secured; while my limited means would neither admit of my keeping them myself, nor of my making a donation of them

to one of our Public Institutions. I rejoice that another person has undertaken to carry into effect, that which I could only have partially accomplished; and most especially that our dear Alma Mater will receive the precious deposit.<sup>1</sup>

A joint Resolution of the two Houses of Congress has passed for adjourning on the 20<sup>th</sup> of this Month; and they are to meet again on the first Monday of November. The present Session will stand remarkable in the Annals of our Union, for shewing how a Legislature can keep itself employed, when having nothing to do. It has been a Session of breaking ground; more distinguished as a seed-time than as a Harvest. The proposed appropriation for a Minister to Buenos Ayres, has gone the way of other things lost upon Earth — like the purchase of Oil, for Lighthouses in the Western Country.

From the Moment that the Massachusetts Republicans resolved to be in a minority upon the choice of Governor, there could be no hope of an effective Coalition for the choice of Senators. The complexion of the Legislature for the ensuing year, is of more importance to the interests of the Commonwealth, than to those of the Union. Perhaps at the end of the next *political* year, as it is the fashion in this Country to call it, the disposition of parties will be more favourable to harmony and good feelings than it is now.

Mr Eustis by the last accounts we had from him was at Marseilles. His health much improved. He was to return to the Hague in March, and to embark upon his return home in April or May.

Very faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XIV.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup>. Boston.

WASHINGTON 22. June 1818.

*Dear Sir.*

When I advised you never to solicit a public office for yourself, I did not mean to preclude you from the exercise of your influence in favour of your friends. It would have given me pleasure if your brother could have received one of the two new Appointments of Appraisers of goods at Boston; and your Letter recommending him was laid before the President. But the appointments were regularly made through the channel of the Treasury Department, and the choices had been fixed upon before your Letter was received.

My advice to you was founded upon the opinion that your talents and services would of themselves operate as a sufficient recommendation of you, for any office which may be a worthy object of your ambition.

<sup>1</sup> "In 1818 Colonel Israel Thorndike, of Boston, bought for \$6,500 the American library of Professor Ebeling, of Germany, estimated to contain over thirty-two hundred volumes, besides an extraordinary collection of ten thousand maps. The library was given by the purchaser to Harvard College, and its possession at once put the library of that institution at the head of all libraries in the United States for the illustration of American history." Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, I. iii.

When you re-enter the diplomatic career, the opportunity of rendering useful service, will be in your hands. Its judicious improvement will be the best of recommendations.

M<sup>r</sup> Eustis was expected at the Hague on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, and was to embark shortly afterwards for the United States. His arrival may now be daily expected. I have received a Letter from him, giving the explanations which I had requested of the passages in former Letters of his relating to you, of which you have had notice. They are entirely satisfactory, and honourable to you. It is of course very desirable that if you should meet him on his return home, you should not in any manner give him to understand that you have had notice of his remarks concerning you, which have given you uneasiness. They were on his part quite confidential, and as now appears, written without any unfriendly disposition or intention towards you. It was proper on the prospect of your re-appointment to an important public trust that their full import should be unequivocally ascertained, as they have been to the complete justification of your character.

M<sup>r</sup> Campbell<sup>1</sup> is to proceed in the course of a few days to Boston, to embark in the frigate *Guerriere*, for Russia. But the President does not think proper to make the appointment of a Charge d'Affaires to the Netherlands until after the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> Eustis in this Country, and it is probable that the frigate will go, not through the channel, but North about.

Since beginning this Letter, I have received one from M<sup>r</sup> Eustis, dated, at the Hague 21. April. He was making preparations for his departure, and still expected to embark, about the beginning of May.

I remain, very faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XV.

A. H. EVERETT. Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston.

WASHINGTON 4. Aug<sup>t</sup> 1818.

*Dear Sir.*

I shall in the course of a few days send you a Commission and Instructions as Chargé d'Affaires to the Netherlands. I give you this notice that you may be making your preparations for departure without delay. Your Salary will commence from the time of your leaving home to proceed on the Mission. For the whole or any part of the outfit you may draw immediately on the Department of State. Go as directly as possible to the place of your destination, and be very cautious not to absent yourself from it without permission, or unless upon motives of Public Service. And for the last time let me intreat you to observe the most rigorous punctuality with regard to your Accounts.

Faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, envoy to Russia 1818-1821.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*A History of All Nations from the Earliest Times.* General Editor, JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, LL.D., Professor in Harvard University. Volumes I. and II. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 353; ix, 370).

THE general title-page names as authors of the work Charles M. Andrews, John Fiske, Theodor Flathe, G. F. Hertzberg, F. Justi, J. von Pflugk-Harttung, M. Philippon, Hans Prutz, F. Wells Williams; the general editor is Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University. The work consists of twenty-four volumes: five on Antiquity, five on the Middle Ages, ten on the Modern History of the Old World, three on the two Americas, and one an index-volume to the whole. The preface states that Vols. I.-XIX. are a carefully edited translation of the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, slightly condensed, with additions; an additional volume, by American scholars, brings the history of the Old World down to the present century, and three other volumes, by Fiske and Stephens, deal with the Western Hemisphere. The title of Vol. I. is 'Egypt and Western Asia in Antiquity, by F. Justi, Sara Y. Stevenson, and Morris Jastrow,' that of Vol. II. is 'Central and Eastern Asia in Antiquity, by F. Justi, F. W. Williams, M. Jastrow, and A. V. Williams Jackson.' The form is royal octavo. The editor, aided by Mr. G. W. Robinson, has read and revised manuscript and proofs of all the translated volumes, and has prepared analytical tables of contents for all the volumes. The whole is profusely illustrated.

The plan of the work is to give not a collection of monographs on the various nations, but a picture of the social and intellectual progress of the civilized world viewed as a community of peoples; the history is regarded as a drama in which each nation comes on the stage and acts its part at the appropriate time. Thus in Vols. I. and II. we have first the early history of Egypt and Babylonia, then the relations of these nations with each other, with Syria, Assyria and Israel, and later with Persia; India and China, however, stand apart, and of the history of Japan at this time nothing is known. Special attention is paid in these volumes to the results of recent excavations and to art and religion. An excellent introductory chapter on "prehistoric Egypt" is contributed by Mrs. Stevenson, Curator of the Egyptian Section in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania; a brief account is given of the efforts to penetrate into the pre-dynastic period, and the opinion is expressed that

the historical development was continuous, that King Mena (now known to be an historical person), though he represents a new starting-point of organization, was preceded by a long period of civilization, there being no cultural break between him and the time before him. The view, here favored, that the Egyptian language and civilization were not derived from Asia is probably correct. Various reconstruction theories, set forth by Petrie and others, are mentioned; but none of these can be regarded as more than hypotheses to be tested by future discoveries. In the succeeding accounts of Egypt, Babylonia, Syria, Assyria, the Hittites, the Israelites, the early Persians, the Parthians, and the Sassanians, the narrative, though compressed, is clear, and historical verity is in general successfully kept apart from conjecture. In the early Hebrew history (down to the middle of the ninth century) there has been substituted for the German original a well-considered statement, in two chapters, by Professor Steenstra of the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School, a careful construction of the Biblical material in the light of sound modern investigation; and he has also contributed a chapter on the history of Hebrew literature, which is at the same time a sketch of the historical development of the Old Testament religion. It were greatly to be desired that the historical method might be employed more strictly in the description of the religions of Egypt and Babylonia, which in this work consist too largely of strings of names without a clear statement of the conditions that brought about successive modifications of the cults. The term "esoteric" used of the teaching of the Egyptian priests (I. 44, 50) may be misleading: it does not seem likely that they meant to conceal the higher religious thought from the people, since the hymns containing this thought were accessible to the public. The account of the Zoroastrian religion is good, though it is an exaggeration to say (II. 182) that it was superior to the religions of other ancient peoples. Two chapters, by Professor Williams of Yale, give brief sketches of China and Japan; he is disposed to put the beginnings of Chinese civilization as far back as the year 3000 B. C., though the early history is involved in obscurity. Japanese recognizable history begins, he thinks, hardly earlier than 1500 years ago. These two volumes constitute a much-needed guide in the study of ancient history that both the general reader and the specialist may consult with profit. A few slips are corrected by the editor in footnotes.

C. H. T.



*Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft: Fünf Vorträge.* Von KARL LAMPRECHT, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Hermann Heyfelder. 1905. Pp. 130.)

*What is History: Five Lectures on the Modern Science of History.* By KARL LAMPRECHT, Professor of History in the University of Leipzig. Translated from the German by E. A. Andrews. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 227.)

PROFESSOR LAMPRECHT has made his visit to America to lecture at St. Louis and at Columbia University the occasion of publishing the most interesting and most important of his works on historical method. His earlier productions in this field have been introductory in form. To be sure they deal with very fundamental questions of the scientific investigation and interpretation of history, and contain much that is new; but in the main they have been written from the standpoint of destructive criticism, or go to establish a general scientific basis for his distinctly original contributions to historical method. With the ground well cleared, and separated by the Atlantic from polemical environment, Professor Lamprecht could develop his method positively and constructively.

The lectures are before us in two editions, the German original and an English translation. Before considering their subject-matter it will be well to measure the accuracy and success of the translation. Anyone who has worked through Lamprecht's earlier essays on historical method does not need to be told that the difficulties which have confronted the translator are appalling. We have borrowed our historical method from Germany so utterly that an English terminology does not exist. He is confronted at once, for instance, by "*Kulturgeschichte*". How shall it be translated? "*Culture history*" is a barbarism, and "*history of civilization*" with its inheritance of bric-à-brac is an absurdity. What is the translator to do, then, with the indispensable adjective "*kulturge-schichtlich*",—to say nothing of more difficult terms?

The translation inevitably suffers from such conditions. In spite of them it gives us a rendering which is clear, readable, and reliable for sense, and which is a useful contribution toward an English terminology of the subject. Many inexcusable inaccuracies in detail occur, however. Thus: "because there is a pleasure which consists largely of pain, bitter-sweet feelings; e. g. the sensation of greenish-yellow, etc." (p. 124), is not a satisfactory translation of:—"denn es gibt eine Lust, die mit Unlust gemischt ist, ein Bitter-Süßes z. B. oder die Empfindung eines Grün-Gelben usw." (p. 70). The vacillation in choice of words, which is noticeable here and there, is usually due to the search for an equivalent which does not exist,—as when "*Reizsamkeit*" is translated "*excitability*" on p. 101, is given in the original on p. 102, and is translated "*sensitivity*" on p. 138. The most serious

error is the confusion, several times in the second lecture, of the terms symbolical and typical. These defects are not serious enough, however, to keep anyone from the translation. It will give a clear idea of the principles of Lamprecht's method; for thorough and detailed knowledge we must go,—rather more than usual,—to the original.

The first of the five lectures in the volume,—the one delivered at St. Louis,—begins with the sentence:—"The modern science of history is primarily a social-psychological science",—that is social in distinction to individual. The two schools of history which are thus indicated belong, really, to different stages of intellectual development. From its beginning in the imaginative epic and the realistic genealogy history has progressed with civilization. In the eighteenth century,—in accord with the prevailing mode of thought,—each series of events was considered to be the manifestation of an "idea" which was made effective by great individuals. Later these "ideas" were regarded as transcendental, as in Ranke's works:

Meanwhile, however, social-psychic phenomena were attracting attention. Herder introduced the concept of the "folk soul", and a new interpretation of history arose,—the descriptive history of civilization. This disappeared with the ending of the first period of subjectivism. When subjectivism began to dominate again, about 1870, psychology, economics, ethnology, etc. had established themselves, and with their help, and as a part of the same movement, a new and more penetrating social-psychic interpretation of history appeared, i. e., culture-history. Burckhardt began the analysis of psychic conditions by dividing the Middle Ages from modern times, a division generally recognized by the individualistic school, although, with that inconsistency which constitutes its chief charm for many minds, it generally denies the possibility of a systematic extension of the method. Lamprecht is the first who has worked out logically and applied systematically the principles of the social-psychic method.

The first three Columbia lectures deal with the system of culture-periods, Lamprecht's great contribution to historical method. In the first he gives a sketch of German history in order to describe the characteristics of the periods and the manner of transition from one to another. In the second he treats more fully the present, subjectivistic, period in order to show more clearly the character and mechanism of the transitions and periods. And in the third he makes a general application of the principles which have been brought out in the review of German history.

This description and analysis of the most essential part of the Lamprecht method is the most thorough and at the same time the most concrete that we have. It shows, moreover, a careful reworking of his scheme since it was first applied and some modification in consequence. The period of conventionalism, the later Middle Ages, he now regards as a subordinate transition-period, rather than as a fully independent period, like the preceding typical, or the succeeding individualistic.

Similarly, the subjectivistic period is divided into an earlier and a later, which are separated by a reaction.

The underlying principles of these periods may be briefly indicated. In every period there comes, eventually, a time when new stimuli appear, economic, intellectual, etc. No one can escape them, they rule the age with constantly increasing power. The result is a dissociation with the dominant of the existing period, which brings in its train great psychic confusion and even suffering. But gradually men come under the control of a new dominant, and finally a new period, different in quality and breadth, takes the place of the old. The transition and the period are both primarily social-psychic, and the dominant is an active force,—not a passive expression of individual acts. This determines at once the position of the individual. He is dominated by the transition and by the period. Within them he enjoys freedom; but he cannot pass their bounds. An illustration is furnished in the imperfect success of the constant effort of historians to free themselves from the dominant of their time in order to understand the past. The true task of history is to study these periods and their transitions in the important social groups,—especially the nations, the most fundamental of all.

The concluding lecture is devoted to the problem of universal history. Nations are not isolated, they are osmotic, to borrow a term from natural science. The relation may be a specific renaissance of the culture of a past nation, a specific reception of culture from a contemporary nation, or a more truly osmotic interchange from day to day. This foreign culture may furnish stimuli, etc.; but to be effective there must not be too great a difference in the psychic level of the nations concerned. The change of the dominant may thus be helped or hastened from without; but it can really come only from within the nation itself. To trace the culture-relations of nations is the problem of universal history.

The scientific principles of the culture-history method are but those which have given, not alone to natural science, but also to economics, ethnology, the history of art and literature, and the other sciences of man, their great success in the latter part of the nineteenth century. What is history? or, rather, Where is history?

ASA CURRIER TILTON.

*The Early History of India* from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great. By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1904. Pp. vi, 389.)

IN the brief space at my disposal it is difficult to speak in an adequate fashion of the merits of this book. The first point that should be emphasized is, that Mr. Smith is a pioneer and one attempting a task that has frequently been pronounced impossible. The second point is that

he has succeeded in this task, i. e., in establishing with general accuracy for the eighteen centuries indicated in the title a sound framework of dynastic annals, which he rightly considers the first need of India's historical studies. This result is due to the fact that Mr. Smith is unusually well qualified for the work he has undertaken. Indian geography, epigraphy, and numismatics are fields in which he is a prominent worker, while the present book gives proof also of an intimate acquaintance with the notices of India in classic writers and of an evidently careful study of the translations of the Chinese works bearing upon the history of India. This knowledge, combined with a high ideal of the office of the historian, ability in the sifting and criticism of evidence, and finally the power of presenting in remarkably clear and attractive form the fruits of his investigations has led to the production of a work of exceptional merit.

For the student of the literature of India, it gathers the results of epigraphical and numismatic studies (with abundant references to the literature of these subjects) and combines them into a connected whole that supplies the background of political history which the study of literature always needs and the study of Indian literature has lacked. On the other hand the book opens to the general reader a new field of history which, on account of the numerous ties between India and the Occident, and the merits of Mr. Smith's work, should prove both as profitable and as attractive as the study of other branches of ancient history.

The contents of the book may be briefly summarized as follows: In the first chapter, after an explanation of the plan and purpose of the work, Mr. Smith gives a description and valuation of the sources of Indian history. In the second chapter, pp. 22-41, he treats of the dynasties before Alexander, to whose campaign in India the two following chapters, pp. 42-107, are devoted. To the dynasty of the Māuryas, three chapters, pp. 108-174, are given. In the next chapter, pp. 175-193, the author disposes of the three dynasties of the Çuṅgas, Kāṇvas, and Andhras, while the two following chapters, pp. 194-243, deal with the Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian and Indo-Scythian dynasties. To the Gupta empire two chapters, pp. 244-281, are given. The thirteenth chapter, pp. 282-302, deals with the reign of Harṣa, while the last three chapters of the book, pp. 303-357, are devoted respectively to the medieval kingdoms of the North, the kingdoms of the Deccan, and the kingdoms of the South. For each period chronological tables are given at the close of its treatment, and there are besides appendices dealing with the Age of the Purāṇas, the Chinese pilgrims, the Inscriptions of Aṣoka, Aornos and Embolima, the position of Alexander's camp on the Hydaspes, and the extent of the cession of Ariana by Seleukos Nikator.

An important question of method is involved in one of the salient features of the book. In opposition to the general opinion of western scholars, Mr. Smith believes himself justified in accepting as a general principle the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas. This procedure I do not

consider justified by the evidence adduced in their favor, and consequently find the least pleasing portion of the book in the chapter on the Dynasties before Alexander, in which the dependence upon the Purāṇas is greatest. To my mind the study of this chapter shows how little weakened is the force of the first half of Elphinstone's assertion, that "no date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander", while the second half, "no connected relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahometan conquest," finds at last in the rest of the book a brilliant refutation.

On account of its interest to a wider circle of readers the treatment of Alexander's Indian campaign calls for separate mention. Here the most valuable contribution is the series of comments upon the identification of places mentioned by classic writers. Among these the most important is the convincing argument for the crossing of the Hydaspes at Jihlam. Besides these the brief, clear narrative and a generally sound interpretation of Alexander's political and military motives make the treatment of the subject most satisfactory, while the author's estimate of the effect of this campaign upon India is both sound and timely. The one serious defect in this portion of the work is the description of Koinos's manoeuvre at the battle of the Hydaspes. For lack of space I must refer to Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, p. 442, for a correct description of the battle, adding that while I am convinced that Arrian's idea of the battle coincided with Wheeler's interpretation, I consider that his account is far from being as clear as both Wheeler and Mr. Smith (whose interpretations are diametrically opposed) maintain, and that it is worth while to cite Polyainos, *Strat.* 4. 3. 22, as showing beyond question that Koinos was on the Greek right.

The typography of the book is generally careful, but some blunders are repeated so often that they cannot be charged to the printer; such are: Akēsines, Hēgēmon, and for "India's greatest poet" Kalidāsa, or Kalidāsa. In conclusion one must gratefully mention the numerous and well executed illustrations and maps and the liberal index.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

*Greek Thinkers.* A History of Ancient Philosophy. By THEODOR GOMPERZ, Professor Emeritus at the University of Vienna. Translated by G. G. Berry. Volumes II. and III. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. xii, 397; vii, 386.)

THESE two volumes of the English translation represent only Vol. II. of Professor Gomperz's *Griechische Denker*. They treat of Socrates, the Socratics, and Plato, giving to Plato alone more than four hundred pages, exclusive of the many notes.

The features which characterized the first volume of the work are maintained throughout the second. The author does not attempt a rigorous history of philosophy, but presents a vivid picture of the chief philosophers of Greece in the setting of the life of their age. This pic-

ture is enriched by a wide knowledge of Greek civilization; its literature, science, politics, and religion are all laid under tribute in the execution of the task. At its best, the work is admirable. But there is always danger that an account so delightful and easy to follow will lose sight of the deeper elements in the development of philosophical thought. This limitation, perhaps inherent in the very purpose of the work, determines its place and service in the literature of the history of philosophy. It will admirably serve the purpose of the general reader who is interested in philosophy as an element in the history of human culture. And for the technical student who has mastered some of the more rigorous treatises, it will be useful in completing and vivifying his picture of the great thinkers of Greece.

In the treatment of Socrates it will be noted that Professor Gomperz has emphasized the utilitarian aspect of his ethical thought. "Usefulness or expediency is the guiding star of his thought on political, social and ethical questions" (Vol. I., p. 80). Another point of interest in the discussion of Socrates is the author's summary rejection of Xenophon as an authority for the history of thought. That twenty pages in a book on Greek thinkers should be given to a writer so "poverty-stricken" in reflective power might appear to be a contradiction *in titulo*. But the space devoted to Xenophon is filled with interesting material, and will be justified by most readers, as it is by the author, "in view of the importance attaching to his accounts of the words and the teaching of Socrates" (p. 136).

The central point of interest for students of Greek philosophy will doubtless be the author's interpretation of Plato. His treatment may be described as consisting, in the main, of a series of essays which deal with the chief dialogues. Abandoning as impracticable the task of extracting "a Platonic system from the philosopher's writings", Professor Gomperz has rather sought to describe the progress of Plato's development and to lead the reader to a just estimate of his personality. He recognizes three periods in Plato's literary and philosophical career. The third period is "chronologically the best-authenticated of all". "It may be regarded as definitely established that the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*, the *Timaeus*, *Cratylus*, and *Philebus*, form, together with the *Laws*, a single group, and that the latest in the series" (p. 290). In this third period Plato is represented as subjecting all his earlier beliefs to searching criticism. "The sceptical utterances of the *Parmenides* are followed, in the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*, by attempts at revision and adaptation. Finally, Plato rescues his dearest possessions from the storms of dialectic, which latter he abandons together with toleration and freedom of thought" (Vol. II., p. 36). The question of the genuineness of the dialogues in which criticism of Plato's earlier views appears, is thus simplified for Professor Gomperz. As the doctrine of ideas had "acquired a kind of objective and historical character for its own author", in dealing with the "friends of the ideas" Plato could

afford "a stroke of humor". Such, in briefest statement possible, is the author's solution of this central problem of Platonic interpretation.

WALTER G. EVERETT.

*Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.* By SAMUEL DILL, A.M. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xxii, 639.)

THE author of this important work is already known through his book on Roman society in the last century of the Western Empire as one of those English scholars who are doing so much to bring the ancient world, as Mr. Bryce puts it in the preface to his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, into "definite and tangible relations with the modern time." Whether we share Mr. Bryce's opinion that the results of such work may be in a high degree "practically helpful" or not, no one surely can deny the actual interest and contemporary effect of such books as Mr. Tarver's *Tiberius*, Mr. Henderson's *Nero*, Mr. Oman's *Seven Roman Statesmen*, Mr. Greenidge's history of the Roman revolution, and this new book by Professor Dill. "We are very near the ancients," said Mr. Bryce in his preface just mentioned, and if this contemporary effect is more noticeable in recent studies of Roman politics and society than in the field of Greek history, it is evidently because we are, at the stage now reached in the course of human events, so much nearer the Romans than the Greeks. Was it not Bishop Potter who pointed out the resemblance between the typical physiognomy of the successful man of affairs and that of a Roman emperor or proconsul? Has not Professor Munro Smith declared that no one could so well understand the state of things at Rome under the triumvirates or the principate as those who are familiar with such phenomena as the "machine" and the "boss"?

In explaining the scope of this book, Professor Dill, while admitting that there must always be something arbitrary in the choice and isolation of a period of social history for special study, justifies his undertaking by a comparison with the drama, in which "there must be a beginning and an end, although the action can only be ideally severed from what has preceded and what is to follow in actual life". "But as in the case of the drama", he continues, "such a period should possess a certain unity and intensity of moral interest. It should be a crisis and turning point in the life of humanity, a period pregnant with momentous issues, a period in which the old order and the new are contending for mastery, or in which the old is melting into the new. Above all, it should be one in which the great social and spiritual movements are incarnate in some striking personalities, who may give a human interest to dim forces of spiritual evolution." Such an age was that to which this book is devoted, with its strange contrasts of light and shade, its vices and its charities, its great effort for reform of conduct and its passion for a higher spiritual life, in which the author finds

its main distinction. One suspects that perhaps the Antonine age may permanently claim a deeper interest on the part of the ideal impartial observer than our own period of transition.

Professor Dill divides his work into four books. Book I., to which he has given the motto "*Infesta virtutibus tempora*", consists of three chapters, one on "The Aristocracy under the Terror", a gloomy picture, drawn from Seneca and Tacitus, of the arbitrary despotism, from which Rome was freed by the assassination of Domitian; a second, on "The World of the Satirist", in which Juvenal and Martial are allowed to say their worst, subject to an even-handed criticism; and a third on "The Society of the Freedmen", as drawn by Petronius,—those makers of colossal fortunes, who were "entirely of Vespasian's opinion that gold, from any quarter, however unsavoury, 'never smells'" (p. 119) but who were, in Mr. Dill's opinion, the representatives of a movement that was not only inevitable but, on the whole, salutary (p. 102).

A very different set of pictures is offered in Book II., of which the motto is "*Rara temporum felicitas*". In Chapter I. we meet with "The Circle of the Younger Pliny", a society "in which the people are charmingly refined, and perhaps a little too good" (p. 143). Here are to be found, contemporary with the corrupt world of Juvenal, simple, pure homes, pleasure in the charms of country life, devotion to literary pursuits, and never-failing charity. We note in passing that on the evidence of the inscriptions Mr. Dill doubts whether private benefactions under the Antonines were less frequent and generous than in our own day (p. 191). In the chapter on "Municipal Life", he expresses the opinion that "there probably never was a time when the duties of wealth were so powerfully enforced by opinion, or so cheerfully, and even recklessly, performed" (p. 211). It is another feature of Roman life which our countrymen can understand better, perhaps, than the Europeans. The Antonine Carnegie was Herodes Atticus, who distributed aqueducts, race-courses, theatres, and baths, and who used to say that hoarded riches were only a "dead wealth" (p. 232). This chapter of Mr. Dill's on the municipalities is surely the best presentation, in English at least, of the results of the study of the inscriptions in this field; and the like may be said of the following chapter on "The Colleges and Plebeian Life", in which we get a glimpse of the life of the masses, again with the help of the inscriptions almost alone. "Probably no age, not even our own, ever felt a greater craving for some form of social life, wider than the family, and narrower than the state" (p. 267).

Book III. is devoted to the apostles of "the Gospel of Philosophy". Chapter I., on "The Philosophic Director", is chiefly a sympathetic study of Seneca's personality and ethical teachings. Seneca is for Mr. Dill a pagan monk, an idealist who, in spite of his vast fortune and splendid palace, would have been at home with St. Jerome or Thomas a Kempis, whose "apparent inconsistency has condemned him in the eyes of an age which professes to believe in the teaching of the Mount,



and idolises grandiose wealth and power" (p. 295). Chapter II. of this book, on "The Philosophic Missionary", is devoted, in large part, to Dion Chrysostom, Chapter III., on "The Philosophic Theologian", to Plutarch.

Book IV. deals with "The Revival of Paganism". Its first chapter, on "Superstition", is concerned with the influence of astrology, clairvoyance, dreams, and beliefs akin to those which we connect with the name of "Christian Science". Poor Aristides, who believed himself "to have been disordered in every organ, dropsical, asthmatical, dyspeptical, with a tumour of portentous size, and agonising pains which reduced him to the extremity of weakness" (p. 463), spent thirteen years in visiting the seats of sacred healing and following their sensible or their marvellous prescriptions, until he was cured. The Dowie of the age was Alexander of Abonoteichos, who set up a medical oracle, the income of which amounted to the then enormous sum of nearly thirty-five thousand dollars a year. The next chapter, on "Belief in Immortality", begins with Virgil and closes with Plutarch. A third, on "The Old Roman Religion", justifies incidentally the beautiful picture of traditional piety presented by Walter Pater in *Marius the Epicurean*. The concluding chapters of the book are concerned with three of the cults in which the religious needs of the age found satisfaction,—the worship of the Great Mother; the worship of Isis and Serapis, and the religion of Mithra. To explain how far these eastern systems, each with its hope of immortality and its sacramental system, succeeded, and where they failed, is one of the chief purposes which the author has had in view.

It is in this second half of his book, which is devoted to the philosophical and religious tendencies of the age, apart from Christianity, that Mr. Dill's lines run most nearly parallel with the work with which his will most naturally be compared, Friedländer's well known *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, but here as everywhere he walks on his own feet and goes his own way. His references throughout to the literary and epigraphical sources are well-nigh exhaustive and his notes refer constantly to many of the best secondary authorities and monographs. One misses, however, any mention of Liebenam's studies of the municipalities and the gilds, or of Hans von Arnim's very remarkable book on Dion Chrysostom, perhaps the most masterly piece of biographical criticism recently produced in Germany.

It would be undesirable to leave the impression that the book is designed, to any considerable extent, to display the analogies between its period and our own. They do not bulk so large in the book as in this review. It is generally left to the reader to make his own analogies. In one very impressive passage, however, at the close of the chapter on municipal life, the author gives expression to a foreboding which must have come upon every student of Roman life under the emperors. "In looking back", he observes, "we cannot help feeling that over all this scene of kindness and generosity and social goodwill, there broods a

shadow. . . . It is the swiftly stealing shadow of that mysterious eclipse which was to rest on intellect and literature till the end of the Western Empire. It is the burden of all religious philosophy from Seneca to Epictetus, which was one long warning against the perils of a materialised civilisation. The warning of the pagan preacher was little heeded; the lesson was not learnt in time. Is it possible that a loftier spiritual force may find itself equally helpless to avert a strangely similar decline?" How to make such conclusions "practically helpful" might tax all the resources which Mr. Bryce has at his command.

*The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, a Study in the Reform of 645 A. D. By K. ASAKAWA, Ph.D. (Tokyo: Shueisha; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1903. Pp. 355.)

THIS monograph, prepared in the first instance for the Graduate School of Yale University "as a partial fulfillment of the requirement for a degree", is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of early Japan. Indeed, next to Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki* with its invaluable introduction and notes, this volume by Dr. Asakawa is first in importance of works in English upon the period of which it treats.

The history of Japan has two great epochs, for which stand the dates 645 A.D. and 1868 A. D., the first representing the adoption of the Chinese civilization and the second the introduction of modern enlightenment. So alike are the epochs that the first reading of this account of the earlier reformation produces a curious sense of strangeness and acquaintance—as if one saw familiar scenes on a tiny scale, far away through a telescope reversed. Great differences, indeed, there are. In the earlier period there was no feudal system and in the second it was far gone to decay; moreover, in the first the movement while based on Chinese ideas; religious and political, was not hastened by the presence of aggressive and masterful foreigners; in the first, finally, all appears relatively simple and spontaneous, and the end is readily attained while in the second the struggle is complicated and prolonged.

Both centred in the restoration of the emperor to power, and our author clearly sets forth the source of his authority. He was the head of a conquering tribe which won the land by spear and sword, incorporated slowly the conquered people with itself and maintained warfare with the surrounding tribes. The isolated situation of the country and its sparse population permitted the process to go on for generations while there grew up the tradition of a divine commission for the family of the sovereign.

We cannot follow the story as Dr. Asakawa unfolds it, nor can we recommend his account to the merely curious reader. It is a book by a scholar and for scholars. Much of the work is here done for the first time and we are given the processes of history-making, with "textual

criticism and documentary analysis", instead of the smooth flow of a finished narrative. The work is the more valuable, for it is by no means the last word on the important topics of which it treats; in its own words it "is intended primarily for criticism and discussion, and only secondarily for direct information". Yet we are convinced that most of the positions taken will be maintained after the fullest criticism and discussion, while we are given information as direct and trustworthy as the sources at present available permit.

The emperor's power with the theory of the source of his authority, the nature of Shinto, the institutions of ancient Japan (say 500-645 A. D.), the struggle itself, and its results, are the chief topics treated. A long and deeply instructive chapter has to do with the political doctrine of China, a theme strictly pertinent to the main discussion, since the Reform of 645 A. D. was based upon it.

In conclusion we can but express our appreciation of the book by wishing its author a long life in which to give his high powers to the cultivation of this field of research, a field second to none in importance and in difficulty.

GEORGE WILLIAM KNOX.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Essentials in English History.* By ALBERT PERRY WALKER, A.M., Master in the English High School, Boston, in consultation with ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: American Book Company. 1905. Pp. xlii, 550.)

THIS new volume in the "Essentials in History" series under the editorship of Professor Hart is in many respects a model text-book of English history. Limiting himself to the presentation of only the more salient facts and features of national development, Mr. Walker has produced a most usable and teachable manual in line with the recommendations of the Committee of Seven's Report and abreast of the most recent scholarship. His practical experience as a high-school teacher has enabled him to arrange his material to the best advantage and to include only such pedagogical helps as will be of direct benefit to the teacher and pupil alike. The book has the further merit of conciseness combined with clearness, and pupils should find no difficulty in covering the five hundred and fifty pages of text in the course of one year. In fact, as the author suggests in his foreword to the teacher, an even more rapid survey might be made and be then followed up by review-work of a topical character.

Mr. Walker's arrangement of his material in the form of thirty-eight brief chapters, classified in groups under topical headings, and with continuously numbered marginal sectional headings, which avoid

breaking up the narrative, is much to be commended. The opening chapter presents the course and conditions of English history and is a clear exposition of the general features of English political and industrial development, of the influence of physical conditions, and of the early races inhabiting the British Isles. Then follows a good, clear account of the Roman occupation, which is succeeded by a series of excellent chapters on the Anglo-Saxon period. Like praise is due the two following groups of chapters entitled "Norman Feudalism" and "Culmination of Feudalism", save that both the early part of the Hundred Years' War and the great rising of 1381 receive somewhat summary treatment at the hands of the author. The weakest part of the whole history is undoubtedly that portion devoted to "The Tudor Monarchy", Chs. XVII.-XX., in which the author seems to lose much of his historical perspective and judgment. Space forbids any detailed criticism of this portion of the work, but in general it may be said that many of the author's generalizations are not borne out by the facts, his treatment of the reigns of Henry VII. and of Edward VI. is entirely too summary, the enclosure movement is not sufficiently emphasized, Ket's rebellion is not mentioned even in the Search Topics, where matters that should be in the text are sometimes found, and in the reviewer's judgment a wrong impression is given of many important persons and episodes. The treatment of the Stuarts and Parliament is much better and the chapters on the modern period from 1688 to the present are admirable, culminating in a really strong and original discussion of "England's Contribution to Civilization" which cannot fail to drive home certain great truths and important facts in connection with representative government and free institutions.

Almost perfect in the matter of arrangement and in regard to pedagogical apparatus, for nothing but praise can be given to the maps, illustrations, and bibliographies, Mr. Walker's book is open to a certain degree of criticism in matters of detail and questions of judgment. The author is inclined to be somewhat dogmatic and sweeping in his statements, especially in the summaries appended to the different chapters and at times seemingly contradicts himself as for example when at the close of Ch. IV. he says in connection with the year 827 that "political institutions . . . now appeared on a scale truly national through the union of these kingdoms under Egbert" and a little further on (p. 71) that under Dunstan "the West Saxon monarchs were led to attempt a policy national rather than local". Again his own account would seem to qualify the statement in regard to the witenagemot (p. 58) that after the union of the kingdoms (827) it "rapidly became a mere agency for the king's will" and support the truer view that the power of the witan varied inversely with the power of the king. In regard to the Anglo-Saxon laws, also, there seems to be a misapprehension as to their scope and character and a tendency to confuse them with the common or "customary" law, whereas they are almost entirely made up of criminal enactments. The Anglo-Saxon boroughs hardly receive

just treatment and in the chapter on "Early English Institutions" there is a rather sudden transition from government and law to religion. In dealing with the Norman Conquest and the feudalization of English institutions Mr. Walker is hardly up to date in his information as is indicated by his views of the granting of fiefs in different parts of the country and his discussion of the manorial system, especially the lord's courts. There is also throughout the volume a lack of emphasis on the personal element and a partial failure to do justice to the individual work and influence of men like Lanfranc, Richard de Lucy, Hubert Walter and other great advisers of royalty, while the early life of Becket and his change of view receive scant attention. In his characterizations of historical personages Mr. Walker is also occasionally unfortunate and shows a tendency to either over-state or under-state the truth. Few would recognize the Earl of Bothwell, whom a contemporary described as "despiteful out of measure, false and untrue as a devil" in the "man of great wealth and influence" referred to on p. 278. Justice is hardly done to Mary Stuart in Scotland and it is doubtful, to say the least, if Elizabeth should get the credit for statesmanship "more clear-brained if not more far-sighted than her ablest ministers". Too favorable a view, indeed, is taken of Elizabeth and too much credit assigned to her. Of mistakes of fact and textual errors there is a noticeable lack, the following being the only ones of importance that have been noted in the course of a careful reading: "gesith" (p. 38) should be translated "companion" as the equivalent of the Latin "comes"; Alfred did not fight "nine pitched battles" with the Danes in the first year of his reign (p. 67) and his military career and efforts, while important, are certainly exaggerated; Leofric and Siward (p. 80) both held large earldoms before Edward the Confessor came to the throne and there is a tendency to confuse Canute's policy in regard to earldoms with that of his predecessors and successors; is it quite safe to explain the title "Bretwalda" (p. 46) as equivalent to "Duke of the Britains"?; the Earl of Manchester, whom Mr. Walker calls General Manchester, and not Oliver Cromwell, was at the head of the Eastern Association (p. 327); in view of the numerous curious survivals of feudal land-tenure in England, particularly of tenure by serjeantry, is it safe to say that in 1660 "all land-tenures except freehold and copyhold were abolished"; while "three important acts" against nonconformists are referred to (pp. 357-358) four are actually given; the resignation of the Aberdeen Ministry took place during the course of the Crimean War (p. 503) and not before its outbreak, as Mr. Walker would imply; and the date 1853 (p. 504) should, of course, be 1854; and, finally, how many will agree with the dictum that in the whole field of Victorian art "Burne Jones and Watts stand supreme"? (p. 533).

Taken all in all the merits of Mr. Walker's new history far outweigh its faults and shortcomings and it is sure to commend itself to teachers and pupils. The appendixes containing well selected lists of refer-

ence-books and extracts from all of the more important constitutional documents are of great value and form a useful addition to one of the best text-books of English history yet published.

NORMAN MACLAREN TRENHOLME.

*A Short History of Venice.* By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 355.)

THERE has been a great deal of moralizing and of argument regarding the history and institutions of Venice, mostly by the fervent advocates and opponents of these institutions, but there has been very little impartial and thorough investigation of the sources of that history. Venice has left elaborate memorials, but they have not been carefully analyzed, and until we have more scholarly criticism we cannot know definitely what the history of the Republic is. Romanin's work, which Mr. Thayer considers an "invaluable quarry", was a great advance upon its predecessors (except perhaps Filiasi for the early period) but its statements are often unreliable. The authoritative history of Venice is yet to be written, and it can hardly be written during the present generation. There is too much preliminary work still to be done.

Let us illustrate by examining Mr. Thayer's first chapter. In this he follows the commonly accepted tradition. Speaking of the alleged founding of the city on March 25, A. D. 421, he says that this date "doubtless refers to an actual event, the sending from Padua of maritime tribunes to govern the settlers on the islands of Rialto". The document on which this story rests is a manifest forgery, which has been long discredited (see Filiasi, V. 173: *Le Origini di Venezia*, Manfrin, 20 and 21), and it is hard to see how the truth of an event of the fifth century can be inferred from a forged document of a much later period. There is no credible evidence that any city was founded at Rialto until centuries after 421.

Equally unfounded is the statement that Attila's invasion in 452 was the occasion of the foundation of an independent Venetian commonwealth. Doubtless when Attila destroyed the cities of the mainland there were many fugitives to the islands, but that these then organized a permanent commonwealth "which never submitted to domination abroad nor suffered a tyrant at home" is utterly unproved. Nay, it is contradicted by the only contemporary and reliable authorities, Cassiodorus and Procopius. During the Ostrogothic domination in Italy Cassiodorus was pretorian prefect at Ravenna and as such he addressed to the "maritime tribunes" of these islands the letter mentioned by Mr. Thayer (p. 9). In this he says: "We have determined in a letter of *command* already given, that Istria should send to the palace of Ravenna merchandise of wine and oil of which it enjoys this year an unusual abundance, but *do you* who possess numerous ships in the neighborhood, look out with *equal favor of devotion* that what it is prepared to deliver you may study to convey with speed. *Similar indeed will be the favor of each of the two accomplishments*". Cassiodorus uses the same im-

perative in his letter to the Venetian tribunes as to the Istrians, from whom he demands the tribute. In his other letter (22, Bk. 12) he calls Istria a *devoted province*. In his letter to the tribunes he asks them to transport the goods with *equal favor of devotion*. The same word was thus applied to the lagoons and to the subject province of Istria, and it seems idle to contend that it did not include the idea of obedience for the Venetians. It has been said that he speaks in such flattering language as is not consistent with command, but he flatters the Istrians as well, and there is no doubt of *their* subjection.

The lagoon islands were undoubtedly subject to the Ostrogothic kingdom. But that kingdom was soon overthrown by Belisarius; Ravenna was taken and Vitiges sent to Constantinople; then the lagoons with most of the Italian territory passed to the empire of Justinian. Later, the Goths, after Belisarius' departure, recaptured much of the Italian territory but not the lagoon islands, for Procopius tells us (Bk. IV, ch. 24) that "In Venetia few cities remained to the Goths *and the places by the sea to the Romans*, but the Franks made all the rest subject to themselves". Then Justinian sent Narses to reconquer Italy; he came to the head of the Adriatic with his army but was greatly embarrassed to reach Ravennà, since a strong Gothic army barred the way on the mainland, whereupon one John, a relative of Vitalian, who had great experience there, (see Procopius, Bk. IV., ch. 26) suggested to him "to go with all his army along the coast, *the men there being subject to them*, as has been said". This they did, passing over the lagoon territory and aided by the barks of the Venetians in crossing the mouths of the rivers, and they reached Ravenna. Thus Procopius explicitly declares that the Venetians were acting as subjects and therefore the beginnings of their independence must be traced to a later period. It is highly probable that the first great chronicler of Venice, John the Deacon (whom Mr. Thayer incorrectly refers to as Sagorninus) is more nearly correct than subsequent historians and that it is to the period following the invasion of the Langobards in 568 that we must trace the origin of the Venetian commonwealth. Attila's invasion led to the foundation of Venice only in the sense that it increased the population of the islands that long afterwards became the Venetian state.

Mr. Thayer says (p. 6) that in 466 representatives met at Grado and chose tribunes or *gastaldi* to govern each community. There seems to be a confusion here between the "tribunes", ancient Roman officials (whose duties, however, had by this time been greatly modified) and the "gastaldi", a word unknown in Italy at that date but borrowed long afterwards from the name of certain Langobard officials (see DuCange; Pabst, *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, II. 442; Hodgkin, VI. 575). Equally unfounded is the statement that Venice was never dependent upon Constantinople. Mr. Thayer himself shows (p. 22) that in the treaty of Aix, Charlemagne acknowledged that the Venetians belonged to the Eastern Empire. Other contestable propositions follow in great number which it is impossible here to examine in detail.

Mr. Thayer's account of the growth of the Venetian state gives us little that is new, and there is a lack of distinction in bringing out the perspective of the great events. The author does not explain as clearly as we should wish how the degenerate Romans who fled to the lagoons became transformed into the brave, energetic, resourceful and masterful Venetians.

His explanation of the machinery by which the oligarchy was established (pp. 100-105) is indefinite. It is not clear how the hereditary principle he speaks of proceeds from the provisions he quotes. Perhaps the best summary of the Venetian constitution is given in the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1886, p. 308, where Mr. Thayer's simile of the pyramid is introduced. But much that is necessary for the understanding of the account has been omitted in this book and the description of the Council of Ten as "the supreme executive branch of the state" (p. 115) or "the Venetian cabinet" (p. 116) is quite misleading. The political activity of that council was called forth (like the dictatorship in Rome) in emergencies and it was not the council itself, but an independent body which determined when its interference was demanded. It does not closely resemble anything in modern governments. The statement (p. 116) that the large number of the Council of Ten made real secrecy impossible reveals rather our own point of view than that of Venice, where that secrecy was on the whole admirably maintained until a later period.

The author following many others attacks the Venetian policy of expansion on the mainland, though he wisely directs his criticism not to the original Italian acquisitions, which were necessary to supply the city and to protect Venetian commerce, but to the more questionable expansion of later years. It is hard to say whether the problem then confronting the Venetians was decided right or wrong. If they had refused to succor Florence and the Visconti had spread over all northern Italy, the end of Venice might have come sooner than it did. Mr. Thayer declares that Venice died from sheer old age. If so, how did her mainland acquisitions lead to her fall?

But it is not fair to judge Mr. Thayer's book solely by these rather microscopic criticisms. He has given us on the whole a much better estimate than those who have made the Republic a mere text for the denunciation of oligarchy. During nearly her whole career Venice was more highly civilized than her neighbors and her people were far happier. Her superior intelligence appears in her sound currency, her national loan and banking system, her admirable provisions regarding her merchant marine (p. 91); her highly developed judiciary; her splendid administration of her colonies and dependencies (pp. 165-208); her ecclesiastical independence; the admirable political education she gave to her own patricians (pp. 223, 224); and her reliance upon expert direction in her affairs. All these things are well set forth, and they justify much of Mr. Thayer's panegyric.

The admirable part of Mr. Thayer's book, however, begins with the



eleventh chapter, which describes the life and art of the Venetian people. His description of Venetian architecture and painting is something unique, and entitles him to the position of an art-critic of the very first order.

Some of the following chapters too are of a high character, particularly the biography of Sarpi. Mr. Thayer concludes that Venice died from old age (pp. 316, 317); that like a species born in one geologic period, it survived into another to which it was not adapted. In one sense this is probably true. Doubtless a nation, like a man, is mortal, but there is no normal number of years for its existence, like the three-score and ten of human life. The Vandal empire in Africa became decrepit in a century while Rome required many centuries to attain even its growth. In another place Mr. Thayer had said very admirably of the creation of Venice (p. 28) "that it put forth the attributes of permanence, which implies not the changelessness of stagnation but adaptability". It is a corollary to this that old age is a condition where the rigidity of ancient custom forbids adaptation to new conditions, so we would like to go a little beyond his diagnosis and find out what it was in Venice that led to this rigidity. The problem is too complicated to be decided by a single guess, but it can safely be said that the oligarchy in failing to prescribe any adequate means for eliminating its own unworthy constituents and for constantly admitting to their places the best and most energetic elements of the lower orders of citizens, failed to provide for an infusion of that fresh blood, which was necessary to keep the state abreast of new conditions. This was at least one cause of the decline. An oligarchy which is itself well-nigh immutable cannot meet the changing requirements of new times.

The first chapters of this history leave much to be desired but the final portion of the book is, on the whole, just, admirable and inspiring.

*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions.* By H. MUNRO CHADWICK.  
(Cambridge: University Press. 1905. Pp. xiv, 422.)

In his preface to these *Studies* the author notes the fact that philologists usually have an eye for their own field of work only. To Mr. Chadwick, however, this rule does not seem to apply. Though primarily a linguist, he brings to his work, in addition to a thorough knowledge of the Saxon speech, an evident enthusiasm for historic research. His *Studies* is a series of essays dealing with some of the more important problems of institutional history. The first half of the work is devoted to the Old English social system and is principally a discussion of wergelds and kindred topics. This is prefaced by a study of the Anglo-Saxon monetary system in which the author reaches conclusions widely differing from those recently put forth by Mr. Seebohm. The second part is a study of the administrative system, and deals with local government, the national council, the origin of nobility and related matters.

Mr. Chadwick is a firm believer in the absolute authority of the Anglo-Saxon king. The witan formed a council merely, whose advice

the king might disregard at pleasure. Scattered all over the kingdoms were the king's estates, each controlled by a reeve who also exercised authority over the adjacent territory. This was the earliest form of local rule. There existed in those early days a reckoning in hundreds of hides, but these did not become administrative units before the tenth century.

To avoid having to share his authority with his relatives (the kingship may have been the property of the whole royal family), the king might assign them certain parts of the realm to administer. Such was the origin of the shire, at least in Wessex. In Alfred's day each shire had its own earl; but in the tenth century, when the large earldoms were being formed, the shire system declined and the borough (a Danish institution perhaps) took its place. But the burghal system proving burdensome, the shire was revived and a new official, the shire-reeve, was placed in control.

It will be readily seen from what has been cited that, if Mr. Chadwick's views are accepted, large sections of Old English constitutional history will have to be rewritten. There can be no doubt that on many points the author's conclusions are correct. To cite an instance, his argument against the old view of a dual shire-government by sheriff and ealdorman seems quite convincing. He very properly emphasizes the fact that periods and places have had their own peculiar forms of development and must be studied accordingly. He also appreciates the difficulties of terminology and the fact that words are not always bound to one meaning. At times, however, his interpretation of terms seems decidedly forced. It requires more than a plausible conjecture or a faint analogy to convince the reader that *land-agende*, 'land-owning', means possessing five hides, that the Danish *here*, 'host', of the tenth century was a political as well as a military organization, or that *geceosan to cyninge*, 'to choose for king', means merely to swear allegiance to a king.

In his use of documents, especially of doubtful charters, the author is hardly as cautious as we should expect such a painstaking student to be. Too many of his conclusions are based on very little or very questionable evidence; some are probabilities merely. He draws many interesting facts from the burghal, county and tribal hidages; but his belief that the shire at one time was reckoned at twelve thousand hides is scarcely well founded. His suggestion that the high-reeve may have presided over the borough is at best a probability based on the supposition that the borough at one time displaced the shire. In his opinion that the hundred had a Danish origin, he believes he has Steenstrup's support; such, however, is not the case.

But Mr. Chadwick's work is a remarkably suggestive study: new interpretations are proposed and the possibilities of certain neglected materials are clearly indicated. The results go far to show that the Anglo-Saxon field may not be so barren as many have thought.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*Magna Carta: A Commentary on the Great Charter of King John*, with an Historical Introduction. By WILLIAM SHARP McKECHNIE. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1905. Pp. xix, 607.)

WHEN one first opens this book he notes its excellent presswork, the professional position of the author as lecturer on constitutional law and history in the University of Glasgow, the indication in the table of contents of some two hundred pages of "Historical Introduction" and of some three hundred and fifty pages of "Magna Carta: Text, Translation, Commentary", followed by an appendix of documents, select bibliography and list of authorities referred to, index to statutes, and general index. All this promises well and Dr. McKechnie's object, as described in the preface is thoroughly laudable, for he recognizes that all previous works on this subject are hopelessly out of date and therefore aims to bring the knowledge gained by modern historical research to bear upon the elucidation of Magna Carta. He attempts this in a style which is dignified, sincere, and readable; and it is evident that he has worked with industry and zeal to produce a commentary worthy of its subject.

A closer examination of his work, however, discloses certain fundamental limitations which will greatly impair its usefulness. In the first place, the book is distinctively a commentary upon Magna Carta made from the point of view of the constitutional lawyer, so that the historical treatment of the influence of Magna Carta closes with the reign of Edward I., although Bémont has correctly written: "*L'histoire de la Grande Charte n'est pas finie avec le règne d'Édouard I<sup>er</sup>. . .*", and even Dicey, a constitutional lawyer like the author, has pointedly objected to this very tendency.

Next, by failing to examine similar phenomena upon the Continent he has exposed himself to the just reproof of Dicey who wrote: "One reason why the law of the constitution is imperfectly understood is, that we too rarely put it side by side with the constitutional provisions of other countries. Here, as elsewhere, comparison is essential to recognition."

And finally, the third and most serious limitation upon the usefulness of the book is that the author has confined himself almost exclusively to works published in English (or Latin), and has not even noted the important contributions bearing upon his subject which have appeared in America. Apart from Bémont, about half a dozen Continental authors are referred to throughout the work, once or twice apiece, and it looks very much as though even this has been done at second-hand. Articles in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* bearing directly upon the commentator's work have been entirely passed aside. The result is that Dr. McKechnie can have no firm grasp of his subject, and this is apparent in his book. In discussing the origin of trial by jury he omits mention of Brunner and of Professor Haskins's article (p. 159, n. 1). He

considers the "contract, pact, or private agreement" theory of Magna Carta as making it comparable with an instrument relating to "the hire of a waggon" (p. 126), and doubtfully concludes: "Magna Carta may perhaps be described as a treaty or a contract which enacts or proclaims a number of rules and customs as binding in England, and reduces them to writing in the unsuitable form of a feudal charter granted by King John to the freemen of England and their heirs" (p. 129). When it comes to an estimate of the true value of Magna Carta the author lacks again that clear view of its fundamental importance in preserving the "definite contract-idea of the feudal system" as "the corner-stone of the English limited monarchy" which he could have gained from Professor G. B. Adams's articles. Other fundamental questions, such as the logic of the arrangement of the document (cf. pp. 129-144), receive like unsatisfactory treatment.

The first limitation mentioned could readily be justified by the author though to be deplored by the historical student; the second limitation is both deplorable and unscientific, but might have its excuses; the third limitation is fatal to sound scholarship.

Further mention of the Commentaries may be omitted, except possibly a note upon the frequent use made of Coke and Blackstone; but the appendix, consisting of eight documents, calls for attention. Liebermann's description and collation of the texts of the Coronation Charter of Henry I. is ignored; the Unknown Charter of Liberties is "perhaps" identified with the Schedule of 27 April, 1215, rather than assigned to Prince Louis's expedition in accordance with the preferences of Hubert Hall and Bémont; the definitive edition of Magna Carta of 1225 is omitted. As for the "Select Bibliography and List of Authorities referred to", of the eleven works named especially relating to Magna Carta, B. C. Barrington's "curiosity" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, V. 387) is one, and as far as the bibliography or index is concerned an unsuspecting reader might suppose it a book to be used, unless perchance he should stumble upon note 3, page 212. Two more of the eleven, Lau and Hantos, are mentioned nowhere else in the book so far as can be discovered. It would be idle to undertake to name the important works that have been omitted from the bibliography. The Index to Statutes contains no explanatory headings, the eight-page Index omits important characters, as e. g., Richard d'Anesty (pp. 309-310).

In conclusion, one feels compelled to state that although for want of something better this work will undoubtedly be consulted, nevertheless taken as a whole it cannot be regarded as of more than mediocre value.

HENRY LEWIN CANNON.

*The Story of Ferrara.* By ELLA NOYES. Illustrated by Dora Noyes. ["Mediaeval Towns"]. (London: J. M. Dent and Company. 1904. Pp. xiv, 422.)

OF all the Italian cities, over which silence and desolation brood, none has made of death so noble a thing as Ferrara. The respect and

awe inspired by the grassy streets and empty squares possess the present author and account for the pleasant element of sympathy which pervades her book. Following the requirements of the series of which her volume is one, the historical account of Ferrara is supplemented by a detailed description of the city's monuments. This second part, as of least importance, we may dispose of first. It is a piece of work carefully done, and with as much vivacity as is consistent with the profession of authorized guide. Rising above the level and showing evidence of original study, is the chapter on the Ferrarese painters, who comprise a powerful and undeservedly neglected school, rising in Cossa and Dosso to heights of real distinction.

The historical section, embracing the bulkier half of her book, evidently placed the author in a predicament. A history with all the various information which one may reasonably expect under that head, could not easily be crammed within the allotted pages. Consequently she deliberately confined her attention to the ruling house of Este, to the accidents by field and flood of that much agitated family, and to the crown of poets and fair women with which its story is wreathed. Considering that Ferrara as a community of free men had but a meagre history, and further, that no sooner recognized as independent, it surrendered to a tyrant, winning thereby the sorry distinction of leading the way in that disastrous rush of the Italian communes into slavery, it is not difficult to approve, at least up to a certain point, the judgment of the author. Let it be admitted that in La Casa d'Este, that remarkable line of tyrants, who were among the few to legitimize their usurpation, lies the *nodus* of the historian's problem. But from a too rigid adherence to this view have resulted a number of painful omissions. Though eclipsed by the glory of their rulers, there lived in the shadow of the castle the people of Ferrara. They experimented with magistrates, they traded, dug canals, raised crops, in any case lived and died; further, the state prospered, spread toward the Apennines and the sea, was in complicated relations with its two feudal lords, pope and emperor. What, since there can be no question of law, was the practice of succession? A student opening a history of Ferrara may fairly hope to find a little more information on these matters than is afforded by Miss Noyes's volume, and may be led to suspect that the limitation of her interest to personalities is due not entirely to choice, but in part to her inability to do justice to the social, economic, and political forces, which are the real makers of a state's destiny.

Taken for what it is and is alone, a portrait gallery of distinguished men and women, this book has both worth and charm. In that long line of rulers from Azzo and Obizzo, whom Dante saw swimming in the torrent of blood, to decadent Alfonso, persecutor of the unhappy Tasso, a writer with a knack of portrait-painting will find matter enough for his pen. Add the princesses, poets, and painters, and the heaped riches become embarrassing. The author's romantic temperament informs all her presentations, but though one and all show an honest

attempt at an immediate vision of the prince or artist in hand, they leave the impression that she has not been able to free herself from the trammels of tradition. To treat the later Estes, the Ercoles and Alfonsos, other than as the giants with feet of clay which they were, is to fail to grasp political values. It is time too to give a new estimate of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. Does not Carducci's *Ode to Ferrara* weigh more than all their wares? To conclude, Miss Noyes gives us a readable book and a faithful guide to the city's antiquities, but not a history, in the large sense, admitting us to the council of the fates.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

*Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes.* Les Origines de sa Famille, Les deux Colombo, ses prétendus Parents, La vraie Date de sa Naissance, Les Études et les premières Campagnes qu'il aurait faites, Son Arrivée en Portugal et le Combat Naval de 1476, Son Voyage au Nord, Son Établissement en Portugal, son Mariage, sa Famille Portugaise. Par HENRY VIGNAUD, Premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Américaine, Vice-Président de la Société des Américanistes. (Paris: H. Welter. 1905. Pp. 543.)

MR. VIGNAUD is well known by his earlier work on Columbus and Toscanelli, in which he showed that the former was not a correspondent of the latter, and could not have learned from the Florentine astronomer and geographer anything to put him on the lookout for a new world or a passage to the old one of Asia. In the present volume he gives a series of critical studies of successive periods and events in the youth of Columbus, in each of which he disproves one or other of the legends that have made the Columbus of history very unlike the real man. His main thesis is that Columbus told his son Ferdinand and Las Casas the stories made known after his death by that son and by Herrera and Oviedo and later chroniclers. He acquits Washington Irving, whose *Life of Columbus* was published in 1828, and Humboldt and later biographers and writers, of any blame for following these legends, for they had no access to other sources. He does, however, dismiss with short shrift Mr. John Boyd Thacher, who in our own day has written a life of Columbus, with too little reference to the great mass of material made public in the last few years. Mr. Vignaud pays due tribute to the researches of Henry Harrisse, but complains that he had no sense of historical perspective and did not appreciate the value of the facts he had unearthed. To Winsor he pays tribute for his clear historical vision that enabled him to make good use of the work of Harrisse and other students of the Columbian period. It was not until the numerous and important publications, in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, by Spain and Italy, to celebrate their great hero, revealed a mass of hitherto unknown or inaccessible material, that the theories of Gonzalez de la Rosa and Ruge

and other doubters of the legends of Columbus, could be fully established. Mr. Vignaud does this with exhaustive bibliographical references, and among other things characteristic of his work, gives the legendary and the true pedigree and family tree of Columbus, the former of the Lombard family claimed as ancestors, dating back to 960, the other beginning with the father of Columbus, and ending with the living Duke of Veragua. Mr. Vignaud maintains that Columbus told the stories of his great ancestors, of his noble birth, of his education at the University of Pavia, of his voyages to Iceland and England, of his sea-battles, to his son and Las Casas, that they might embody these statements in their accounts of his life and achievements, and thus justify his claims to high office and other marks of distinction from the Spanish king, and this they did in the works that have embodied these legends in history. Mr. Vignaud undertakes to show that Columbus was born in 1451, in Genoa, son of a silk-weaver, of a family which belonged to that gild, and that all his little education was obtained at a school maintained by that gild for the children of its members in Pavia Street in Genoa; that he never was a student at the University of Pavia, that the little he knew of Latin, geography, astronomy and kindred sciences, he acquired in Portugal, that his only sea-voyages were trading excursions to islands near Genoa, until he started for England and some northern ports, in a merchantman that was attacked at sea, driven back to Portugal, then started afresh and touched at Bristol and Galway, but never reached Iceland; returning to Portugal, he settled and married and had a son and lived there until he went to Spain. Of his later and greater life, Mr. Vignaud proposes to tell the real story in a future volume. He pays tribute to the qualities that made Columbus great, his boldness, daring, spirit of adventure, energy, tenacity, strong will, but points to the high authority of Humboldt for the want of technical knowledge on the part of Columbus, his blunders and mistakes in scientific matters that were in his day matters of common knowledge, taught at every good school, and to which Columbus made pretence in vain. He shows that much real knowledge of facts, in spite of want of method, is supplied in the Spanish publications in honor of Columbus, on the fourth centennial of 1492, and much useful information opened to the world for the first time in the great work issued by the Italian government in 1892-1894, containing facsimiles of all the autograph writings of Columbus still extant, and, of still more value and importance, one hundred and thirty-eight authentic documents from the archives of the notaries of Genoa and Savona, between 1428 and 1578, all relating to Columbus and his family, with a critical memoir and a genealogical tree, of the best kind and of absolute verity. He points out the discrepancies in the dates assigned to the birth of Columbus, 1435 or 1436, 1441 or 1447, and in the places claimed for it, and that neither Columbus nor his son Ferdinand, his chosen and designated biographer, ever give date or place, both of which must have been known to them. He shows that at the age of

twenty-one, when it is claimed that he commanded a ship for King René, he was still a weaver, helping his father keep a little tavern, that he did not go to Portugal in 1474, but in 1476, that many of the facts stated by his son and by Las Casas and Herrera and Oviedo, were invented by Columbus, to be used in bolstering up his claim to hereditary greatness. Only in our own day the *History* of Las Casas was printed for the first time by the Academy of History of Madrid, and while Ferdinand Columbus and Herrera drew most of their material from it, there are incongruities suggesting that Columbus varied in his story and tried to improve it at each retelling, yet made positive statements that are at variance with contemporary documents only lately published. It is not necessary to accept all of Mr. Vignaud's hypotheses and inferences, but it is impossible not to admire and respect his bibliographical fulness, his exact references, his painful search after the truth, and his faith in the value and importance of modern canons of historical criticism. To solve the doubts as to the time and place of birth of Columbus, he gives references to over a hundred volumes, from the contemporary sources, Navarrete, Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, to the monumental work of the Italian scholars, with its wealth of original materials, to works specially devoted to the question of the date and place of the birth of Columbus, and then the authorities for each of the dates claimed from 1434 to 1456. Mr. Vignaud has dedicated his book to Professor Alcée Fortier of Tulane University, New Orleans,—a grateful tribute to a scholarly historian, and to their common mother state, Louisiana. He promises further volumes on the later years and greater deeds of Columbus, so that we may yet hope to know all the truth as he sees it. Until his work is completed, it is too soon to criticize his reasoning, but even in this first part, he shows a desire to get at the truth. How far his method may be found the best for his purpose can only be decided when he gives the world his whole story of the real Columbus.

*Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

By GEORGE UNWIN. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1904. Pp. viii, 277.)

UNWIN announces as the chief purpose of his book the bridging of the chasm that separates medieval from modern industrial history, the discovery of the links between the gild and the trade-union. There is here a certain external similarity with the subject of Brentano's brilliant essay of 1870 on the history of gilds and the origin of trade-unionism. There is an added resemblance in the gift for generalization possessed by the two writers; both dwell upon analogies and parallels rather than upon distinctions and differences, and in both, therefore, the predilection for the comparative method is marked. But on the special theme in question, Unwin goes farther than his forerunner, in the amount of evidence adduced and in his conclusions. Brentano, it will be remembered, expressly denied any direct connection between the



trade-union and the craft-gild or even the journeymen-fraternities, and asserted that the modern organization of labor was the successor of the older form only in so far as both had arisen in periods of stress to meet the aggressions of a class economically dominant. Unwin, however, while recognizing that the descendants of the craft-gild comprise many diverse elements in modern economic life, does not hesitate to draw up a pedigree in which the trade-union is directly affiliated with the mediæval gild.

This affiliation is traced in the earlier period from the printed sources, but there is some use of manuscript material and less resort to Continental parallels in the sections dealing with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The course of development follows no straight line, but is devious, involving shiftings, amalgamations and divisions of economic interests and social classes. From the later fourteenth century onward, the growth of capital, of the trading element and of monopolistic exclusiveness in the gilds, which depressed the economic and social position of the poorer industrial members, rendered the status of master constantly more inaccessible to the journeyman, with a consequent growth of journeyman-organization and class-feeling. Ashley saw in the yeomanry of the London gilds a journeyman-association; the Webbs, using the same evidence, pointed out the existence within the yeomanry of a number of masters and traders. Both views, according to Unwin, are correct. The yeomanry was originally composed of journeymen alone, but the development of the domestic form of industry tended to bring increasing numbers of the depressed small masters and of the journeymen under similar conditions of employment and to the same economic level. It was natural, therefore, that both classes coalesced and sought to use their combined strength against the aggressions of the merchant employers dominating the gild. In the yeomanry organization of the Elizabethan livery company, the small masters, recruited from the submerged masters of the gild and from the more energetic of the journeymen, had become the leaders of the rank and file of the journeymen members. It is in the efforts toward independent association on the part of this newly amalgamated class that Unwin finds the chief link between the gild and the trade-union. The favorable opportunity offered by the fiscal necessities and the interested encouragement of the Stuart government was utilized by some of the small-master-journeyman combinations to secure independence through separate incorporation. A little later, under the impulse of the democratic movement of the Commonwealth, others of these associations in the older companies unsuccessfully demanded their "primitive rights" of participation in the control of the company, at least in so far as to elect the wardens of their own yeomanry. But with this outburst, the attempts of the associated small masters and journeymen to constitute themselves an independent organization within the framework of the obsolescent industrial order came practically to an end. Though the associations already incorporated attempted to safeguard their economic position by

joint-stock industrial experiments, their privileges had fallen into the hands of speculative capitalists. And the few feeble petitions for incorporation after the Restoration came to nothing. The tide was already setting in another direction, toward the formation of new industrial classes out of the elements temporarily associated. This is exemplified in the yeomanry of the Clothworkers' Company which had split, on the one side, into a class of larger employers, the forerunners of the modern captains of industry, on the other into the mass of journeymen without capital who by the end of the seventeenth century were initiating that permanent organization of wage-earners which later developed into the trade-union.

In the course of the discussion of his principal theme, Unwin touches suggestively a number of other related topics. Following the lead of Ashley and Mrs. Green, he holds that the struggle of the craftsmen with the merchant oligarchy of the medieval town was not lacking in England, but he adds that this conflict between industrial and trading capital was prevented from finding a constitutional expression, analogous to the political rise of the craft-gild in many Continental towns, by the readiness of the English town-oligarchy to absorb the successful members of the handicrafts. The later antagonism of interests within the towns and between town and country, in the Tudor period, concurrently with that projection of the older town-monopoly on a wider scale which followed the expansion of commerce and the enlargement of the economic area, is viewed at a new angle, by applying the conception, above mentioned, of the conflict of industrial and trading capital. In this connection, however, it may well be questioned whether the sixteenth century, as Unwin asserts, "brought to completion" the national economy. And the suggestion may be ventured that the idea of the "conflict of trading and industrial capital" may easily be overworked. This formula, so frequently employed in the book, is convenient and doubtless often true, but the fact which Unwin himself incidentally mentions, that the functions of the trading and of the industrial capitalists down to a comparatively late date were frequently combined in the same individual, should have served as a more efficient check to the fascinating flow of generalization.

An interesting chapter is devoted to protectionism under James I. Unwin opposes the widely held opinion that England owed her start in international competition to the successful adoption of an energetic mercantilist policy of protection, intimately associated with the development of monopoly. On the contrary, the attempt of the Stuarts to uphold a strongly protectionist régime broke down under the pressure for internal freedom of trade. The ultimate triumph of free trade in England was but the logical outcome of the movement toward commercial freedom, tacitly disregarding or expressly abrogating statutory restrictions, which was initiated by the Parliament of 1624. This view seems to be suggested by Unwin as a subject for further investigation rather

than as the matured result of research; he brings, at any rate, little evidence in support of his position.

Deficiency of evidence, however, becomes of more moment when associated with the chief thesis of the work, the pedigree of the trade-union. This thesis is defended with acuteness and vigor and illustrated with knowledge both of the English sources and of German and French industrial history, but it is unfortunate that at vital points of the argument inference takes the place of fact. The central position as to the relations of classes within the Elizabethan yeomanry rests almost entirely upon the interpretation of exiguous entries from the records of one London company, the Clothworkers. Again, for his assertion of the continuity of development from the journeyman-organization of the seventeenth to the trade-union of the nineteenth century, Unwin adduces but one instance, that of the London hatters. And at the critical period there is here a sad gap in the evidence. From the time of the journeymen's wage-disputes at the close of the seventeenth to the emergence of the hatters' union in the latter part of the eighteenth century there is a total absence of information as to the organization of the workmen. The continuity is only an assumption; it is not as yet a certainty. It may prove impossible to obtain full and satisfactory evidence of the plausible hypotheses which Unwin advances, but it is to be hoped that the study so auspiciously begun may be further prosecuted, preferably by Unwin himself, and that he may extend his researches in the archives of the London companies beyond the two he has already explored.

But aside from the necessary criticism called forth in part by the inadequacy of the evidence, in part by the defects of the author's own excellent qualities, there is much to praise in this, Unwin's first book. In temper and spirit it is admirable. The presentation is in general clear, though the mazes of detail he has explored might well have bewildered a guide of less competence and verve. With all due respect to the work which has prepared the way and with full recognition of the work still to be done, of the questions still to be answered,—questions which it is part of Unwin's service to have assisted in formulating,—his essay must be regarded, in my opinion, as one of the most stimulating contributions of recent years to English economic history.

EDWIN F. GAY.

*The Cambridge Modern History.* Planned by the late Lord ACTON, LL.D.; edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume III., *The Wars of Religion.* (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. xxvi, 914.)

THE field covered by the present installment of this monumental work does not exactly correspond to the idea conveyed by its title. It stops short of the last and greatest of the "Wars of Religion", the Thirty Years' War, which is reserved for consideration in a later vol-

ume; yet on the other hand it passes considerably beyond the natural halting-place afforded by the close of the religious wars in France, the peace of Vervins, and the death of Philip II. in 1598. Its general starting-point (save for the chapters on the Ottoman Power and on Ireland) is indeed, as one would expect, the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559; but it is impossible to find an equally convenient date to mark its termination, for the story breaks off, if one may be allowed so to express it, at a variety of points all included in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the precise year in each country being determined by the close of a reign. Thus in England we are brought to the death of James I. in 1625, in France to that of Henry IV. in 1610, in Spain to that of Philip III. in 1621, in the Empire to that of Rudolph II. in 1612 and in the Netherlands to that of Maurice of Nassau in 1625. The result of this arrangement is that the present volume has considerably less unity in itself than any of its predecessors, and much less than the fifth volume of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale*, which is entitled *Guerres de Religion*, and covers the entire period from 1559 to 1648. The exigencies of space are doubtless largely responsible for the limits that have been chosen; but even as it stands the present volume is somewhat bulkier than those which have appeared before, and it is an open question whether the editors would not have done better to reserve those chapters which deal with the first quarter of the seventeenth century for an introduction to the Thirty Years' War. It must also be remarked in this connection that it is a matter of great surprise to find a chapter on "the Height of the Ottoman Power," which we naturally associate, as does its author, with the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, 1520-1566, inserted in a volume the rest of which deals chiefly with the period 1560 to 1625, when the Turks were notoriously on the decline.

The same distinguishing features which have characterized the earlier volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* have been preserved also in the present. The object which the great majority of the collaborators have constantly sought, and for the most part successfully attained, is compressed accuracy, the piling up of many facts without too much regard to digestibility of presentation. In some few cases, notably the chapters on the Netherlands, by Rev. G. Edmundson, compactness is combined with a style and manner of narration which makes reading attractive as well as instructive; these chapters, in fact, are likely to be among the very most useful of the whole book, since before their appearance there was no satisfactory scientific and impartial account in English of the period with which they deal, save for Miss Ruth Putnam's translation of the earlier volumes of Professor Blok's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*. Occasionally too we come to a chapter which offers a welcome respite from the overcrowded pages of the bulk of the work. Such, especially, is the very brilliant, though relatively overlengthy essay by Count Ugo Balzani on Rome under Sixtus V. The author gives us a novel and very illuminating view

of this pontiff, whom he regards as one of those strong personalities who "sum up the tendencies of the time and stamp them with their own character". Count Balzani's description of Sixtus' complicated and important dealings with France during the crucial years 1588 to 1590 is particularly valuable, while his local knowledge of Rome has enabled him to give us a most delightful picture of the city as it was in the time of Sixtus, and of the changes wrought in it by him.

Several other chapters call for special mention. Rev. J. Neville Figgis's "Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century" bristles with learning and throws into clear relief the effects of the development of Protestantism on the growth of royal power. Mr. R. A. Dunlop has made the history of Ireland under the Tudors considerably less dreary than does Bagwell; his field is very difficult and he has had distinct success in dealing with it. To Mr. Edward Armstrong we are indebted for a sane and thorough estimate of the work of the much neglected Cosimo de' Medici and Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy. Mr. Sidney Lee's "Last Years of Elizabeth" is not what its title implies, a summary of the history of England from 1588 to 1603, but rather a résumé of the internal affairs of the entire reign; it is none the less welcome for that reason, however, and bears every evidence of having been written by a thorough master of the period. It would be almost impertinent to add that the latter statement holds doubly true concerning the late Professor Gardiner's chapter on "Britain under James I."; it contains the quintessence of those vast stores of ripened learning, which a life of unremitting industry and zeal enabled the author to acquire.

The length of some of the chapters and paragraphs is somewhat disproportionate to the importance of the matters of which they treat. The Empire from 1555 to 1576 is certainly not worth forty-two pages if France from 1562 to 1593 is dismissed in fifty-two. Nor are Tuscany and Savoy in the second half of the sixteenth century worth thirty-nine pages, when the other independent Italian states and Spanish dependencies in Italy are left practically untouched, and Spain itself gets but fifty-one. Shakespeare surely deserves more than two pages if Montaigne has four, Cervantes more than twelve lines if Henri Estienne has thirty. And there are some rather startling omissions. There is, for example, no account of the great siege of Antwerp in 1584-1585. We look in vain throughout the volume for a clear statement of the important though not familiar fact that Franche Comté shared the lot of the Belgic provinces in 1598 in being handed over to the Archdukes. Major Hume gives no hint of the terms on which Philip II. was accepted in 1581 as King of Portugal, nor of the changes in the constitution of Aragon after the Perez episode in 1593. Some account of the political and ecclesiastical organization of the Huguenots from Mr. A. J. Butler would have been very welcome. After the limitations announced in the preface to the first installment of this work, we are

surprised to find that the present volume contains no less than three chapters exclusively devoted to literature; but this makes all the more striking the absence of any adequate account of the development of painting, sculpture and science in this period.

There are moreover a considerable number of misprints and minor errors. "Murder of Henry II." should be "Murder of Henry III." in the headline of page 47. Dr. Brosch's use of the title "Solyman II." to indicate Solyman the Magnificent is not according to the best usage; it should be Solyman I. (The Solyman who conquered Gallipoli in 1356 died before his father Orkhan and was therefore not a real sultan, while the Solyman who disputed the throne with Mohammed I. is always reckoned as a mere pretender.) If Professor Laughton persists in his contention that the English fleet never got further than Ushant on the quest for the Armada detained at Corunna, he should show cause for the rejection of Mr. Corbett's assertion that it crossed the Bay of Biscay and nearly reached the coast of Spain. Henry II. of France did not die in June, 1559, as Major Hume asserts (p. 483) but in July. When the preamble of the edict of Nantes expressly states that it is "perpetual and irrevocable", it is very surprising to find Mr. Leathes announcing that it "bears the stamp of a temporary measure" (p. 676). The death of the Duke of Anjou occurred in 1584 and not in 1585 as Mr. Figgis has it (p. 764). It is perhaps unfair to criticize the spelling of proper names, but one certainly has a right to demand uniformity. But we find "Jagiello" on page 73 and "Jagello" on page 170, "Ruy Gomes" on page 190 and "Ruy Gomez" on page 241, "Medina Coeli" on page 234, and "Medina Celi" on page 486. Most extraordinary of all, we are expected to recognize the commander of the Turkish left at Lepanto under the names of "Ochiali Pasha" on page 135 and "Luch Ali" on page 497.

The bibliographies in this as in the preceding volumes are likely to be the most useful portion of the work. They have evidently been compiled in most cases with extreme care and industry, and those which deal with the more remote countries where historical study is still in a somewhat backward state will doubtless prove indispensable to students of all nationalities. Yet on the other hand they show the danger of trusting to any list of books that is not practically complete. Even allowing for the limitations which the editors have announced it would be difficult to justify the omission of such well-known monographs as Willert's *Henry of Navarre*, Méaly's *Origines des Idées Politiques Libérales en France*, Schäfer's *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus* and Gounon-Loubens' *Essai sur L'Administration de la Castille au Seizième Siècle*. In fact it must be confessed that the bibliography for Chapters XV. and XVI. reveals a great lack of knowledge of the recent mass of French and German works on Spanish history. Worst of all is the absence of any reference to the late Professor Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*, which contains by all odds the most illuminating and suggestive account of England's foreign affairs in

this period that now exists; and the omission is particularly inexplicable in a *Cambridge Modern History*.

Despite all these minor defects, however, there can be no doubt that the third volume of this great work is in every way worthy of the high standard set by the earlier ones. The period it covers is exceptionally complicated and difficult—with a multitude of isolated details and a paucity of central events about which to group them, while the mass of polemical writings by Catholic and Protestant has served to obscure rather than to illuminate the truth. Over all these difficulties the editors of the *Cambridge Modern History* have gained a decisive victory. They have furnished us with a general guide to a most perplexing epoch, the value of which is unrivalled by that of any other work save possibly the fifth volume of Lavis and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale*. Comparisons between these two great collaborate histories have been so often made that it is happily unnecessary for the present reviewer to add another, but they certainly differ so widely in conception, arrangement and execution that there is no danger that either will ever render the other superfluous.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

*Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary.* By P. HUME BROWN, LL.D.  
(London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 243.)

THESE six lectures before the Scottish Society of Antiquaries describe the physical, social and economic aspects of Scotland during a period second to none in its contributions to national development. The work is not exhaustive—the author purposely omits biographical, religious and political topics, and does not mention legal procedure or purely intellectual developments—but within the limits selected the book contains the most adequate description with which the reviewer is acquainted of the conditions of Scottish life in the sixteenth century. By the constant employment of the comparative method, conditions which Scotland enjoys in common with England and the Continent are described, differentiations noted, and, so far as may be, accounted for. The value of the work lies rather in the *ensemble* than in novelty of detail; while its remarkable lucidity, precision and vigor of exposition make it a notable addition to Scottish historical literature.

The first two lectures—based largely upon travellers' accounts—treat chiefly of the physical aspects of Scotland, intercommunication, and the external appearance of villages and towns. The next three lectures deal with subjects of supreme importance—the various phases of town-life. The drift of population from country to town had already begun, and at this time, according to Professor Brown, the towns contained perhaps one-half of the total population. There the most intense life of the nation was concentrated; they were the main agents in effecting the change in the national religion; the power of the nobility was soon to wane before their power; and it was chiefly in the towns that those symptoms of economic change were manifested “which mark the reign

of Mary as a period of transition from the Middle Age to the modern time". The third lecture describes the *mise en scène* of this activity: the extent and character of town-property; communal rights and how they were used; the functions of the church-yard and the cross, the toll-booth and the tron. Lecture IV. discusses the fundamental conditions which determined the form of municipal organization and burghal rights, describes the various sources of income, and exhibits with remarkable vividness the actual processes by which public utilities were converted into means of payment of town-obligations and the conditions thereby established under which home and foreign trade existed. Noteworthy is Professor Brown's publication *in extenso* of a document of 1614 which contains a "precise enumeration of all exports and imports with the respective values of each" and thus affords a complete view both of the industries and of the foreign trade of the country. The fifth lecture deals with a subject second in importance, as a feature of Mary's reign, to the religious revolution only—the rivalry between the merchants and the craftsmen. This controversy of a century's duration now reached an acute stage and involved the question of town-control at the very time when the towns were becoming the determining factor in national life. The chapter is one of remarkable lucidity and force, exhibiting the dynamics of the question in a manner unexcelled.

The last lecture discusses the extent to which Scotland participated in those movements which resulted in the establishment of modern life in England and on the Continent. Nowhere was the religious breach more complete than in Scotland; economic change, however, was less rapid and radical than elsewhere—largely because Scotland had a smaller volume of trade and commerce, and was consequently less under the pressure of necessity. This was true of the transition from a municipal to a national basis in trade and commerce; of the destruction of the power of the gilds and liberation of industry; and of the poor laws. Yet to a limited extent Scotland shared the great European tendencies to social and economic change, and presents the spectacle of a nation awake to improved foreign methods, but of resources too limited for their complete adoption.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

*A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation.* By ANDREW LANG. Vol. III. (London: Blackwood and Son; New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 424.)

IN the course of his exposition of Scottish history Mr. Lang has reached the great crisis of the seventeenth century, and to this he devotes the whole of his third volume. The period, beginning with the accession of Charles I. and closing with the recognition of William and Mary, has a manifest unity, for it saw the trial and failure of two momentous experiments. On the one hand and on the other it was attempted to govern Scotland by a divinely sanctioned monarchy (in the sense understood by the Stuarts) and by a theocracy managed by the



covenanted Kirk. The army's treatment of Charles I. at Newcastle and Cromwell's treatment of the army at Dunbar, mark the inadequacy of both systems. Mr. Lang has provided what he has accustomed us to expect from him, an account of a troubled period that is clear and interesting, informed with humor and never without that seriousness which underlies all true humor. But if the present volume maintains the standard of excellence set by its predecessors it does not escape the shortcomings that characterized them. We have had occasion before to comment on Mr. Lang's neglect of constitutional matters and *Kulturgeschichte* and we shall only remark in passing that in this respect the present volume is open to the same objections as the earlier ones.

The historian who deals with seventeenth-century Scotland undertakes a task of peculiar difficulty, for although his authorities are abundant they are very insufficiently criticized; the partisanship of the time has scarcely abated to-day and most modern writers have only darkened counsel by words. Scottish historians, it would seem, do not command the services of such Gibeonites as the perpetually recruited seminarium places at the disposal of a Continental professor, and have not themselves hitherto been content to hew wood and draw water in a purely disinterested spirit. These remarks may be illustrated by a reference to the problem stated and discussed in the footnote on p. 158.

Again, although Mr. Lang shows a grasp of actuality that can only be the result of a careful interpretation and combination of his authorities, he is not uniformly successful in his exposition. His style, broken and jerky in general, is often marred by the crudest transitions and at times sinks to the level of the annalist (*e. g.*, p. 85). The proportion is occasionally obscured and the connection of events lost sight of, by the inclusion of details which although interesting are unrelated. The disposition of the material and the general structure of the volume are, on the other hand, excellent; and some of the characterizations—notably those of the two Argylls, Montrose and Archbishop Sharp—are altogether vital and admirable.

One enquires naturally, with some eagerness, in what spirit has Mr. Lang, Scot as he is, approached the most troubled time of his national history? He has hitherto made no secret of his purpose to say the utmost that could be said for the losing side. In his second volume he positively cherished his sympathy with the old religion, not, we fancy, from any great liking for the theological and political systems associated with it, but rather on account of its misfortunes. Now he has spoken his mind on the Covenant in particular and the Kirk in general, in terms that can only be qualified as moderate in comparison with those commonly used in the seventeenth century. The Covenant was a "band", with all the sanguinary associations of such documents, and of all these it was the bloodiest; the whole affair was the most mischievous of ignorant anachronisms (pp. 30-32). After Montrose's failure the preachers were urging reprisals; "more blood must be shed to propitiate the Deity. This is the theology of Anahuac or Ashanti; an insatiate God calls for

human victims; thus the fanatics read the Gospel" (p. 162). When in 1650 Charles II. was being badgered into signing "an infamous paper", reflecting on his father and mother, Mr. Lang comments thus: "apparently Charles was to conciliate Jehovah by breaking the Fifth Commandment" (p. 234). Few people nowadays will consider this language too strong in view of the circumstances. Still there is much to be understood—and something to be said—on the other side. The dilemma proposed by Mr. Lang is not quite a fair one. The Scots objected to the king's interfering in the smallest measure with the freedom of their consciences but required him to do violence to those of his English subjects, and to his own, by establishing Presbyterianism south of the Border. That is no doubt the logic of the situation, but to state it so, is to neglect the fact that the Kirk honestly believed itself to be in direct relation with the Deity and therefore infallible. "A fevered dream of theologians" (p. 163), if you like, but none the less sincere and imperative. Mr. Lang, of course, understands all this better than most people, and he has his reasons for the course he has followed. In this country, however, where Scottish history is not perhaps popular and where Mr. Lang unquestionably is so, he risks overshooting his mark. Any one who wishes to redress the balance of his own judgment on these matters and to learn how necessary in certain quarters was such a presentation of the subject as Mr. Lang has furnished, may consult a small work which has recently appeared in Edinburgh under the title, *Scotland and Presbyterianism Vindicated*. The author, a Mr. Wauliss, amiably remarks that Mr. Lang is an anglicized Scot who "has attacked in a most atrocious way the national creed of Scotland, and has also attempted to vilify her national honour in a manner worthy of an Old Bailey barrister". We cannot imagine a better justification for the course Mr. Lang has adopted. The case is a very special one, and heroic measures are needed to dispel illusions of a certain order. But the policy has its dangers and it is still a sound principle that error should not be met by error in the hope that two opposing wrongs will check and correct one another. Mr. Lang has not always escaped the dangers to which he has thus exposed himself. Take, for example, the passage in which he describes Leighton's resignation in 1674 (p. 328); it is too long unfortunately to quote here, but one sentence will indicate its tone. "Christianity sufficed for him; the differences of the churches, from that of Rome to that of Knox, were to him futilities". This view commends itself to most reasonable men to-day, but we are not thereby dispensed from appreciating—and appreciating sympathetically if possible—the constraining force of that belief in an infallible and exclusive church which was held at Geneva as at Rome.

Mr. Lang rejects (p. 103) Gardiner's opinion that the domination of the preachers improved the morals of Scottish society, and brings a good deal of evidence to show that "the rude peasants" and others continued "to wallow in impurity" during the seventeenth century (the phrases are Gardiner's). If there was any improvement it was

due, he thinks, to English policing rather than to Scottish preaching. This must have been hard reading for Mr. Wauliss and his friends. Some years ago Mr. Mathieson expressed the same view in his *Religion and Politics in Scotland*, and we suggested in a review of that work,<sup>1</sup> that it was not difficult to produce evidence of that kind for almost any country or any period, and that the moral calibre of a community should surely be judged as much from what it thinks it ought to do as from what it does. The question is a delicate one and a discussion of it would be inappropriate in this place.

The curious will be interested in the excursions in which Mr. Lang discusses the question of Charles II. and the death of Montrose and the case of John Brown of Priesthill, the Christian carrier who was shot by order of Claverhouse in 1685, and they may perhaps regret that he "has not thought it necessary to enter more fully into the particulars" of the riot at St. Giles in 1637. Professor Hume Brown, it will be remembered, committed Jenny Geddes to the limbo of myth, and Mr. Lang seems disposed to agree with him (p. 26).

The volume is well produced and the only slips we have noticed are few and unimportant. A good reproduction of Honthorst's portrait of Montrose serves (appropriately enough as those of Mr. Lang's mind will think) as a frontispiece.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

*Thomas Harrison, Regicide and Major-General.* By C. H. SIMPKINSON, M.A. (London: J. M. Dent and Company; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 304.)

It would be interesting to know what induced the publishers of the Temple Biographies to include in their list Thomas Harrison. It is impossible to make out of him a popular subject. Moreover, the facts in his life are too little known to make it possible to write a successful popular biography. Consequently, it would be better to have attempted a life based strictly upon thorough research. The writer seems to have felt that this was true, and has frequently quoted authorities, and sometimes referred to them, though in such cases he has timidly given nothing but a general reference, as for instance, *Somers Tracts*, or "Pamphlet in the British Museum". Such references are well-nigh valueless, and in the case of pamphlets in the British Museum they are positively ridiculous.

It would be interesting in the second place to be informed in respect to the motives which impelled a biographer of Laud to undertake a life of Harrison. It is the mode to-day in writing history to parade a complete impartiality, but here the display of impartiality is almost monstrous and seems to do violence to human nature. After reading the book, one longs for an hour of Samuel Johnson and appreciates what he meant when he said that he loved a good hater.

Mr. Simpsonson is not a good hater; nor yet a good biographer. The known facts about Harrison are few, and have almost all been given

<sup>1</sup> AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII. 750-752.

to the public by Professor Firth. To these Mr. Simpkinson adds little, and since the whole is hardly sufficient to fill up the space at his disposal, he seems to have felt compelled to pad by giving a history of the times. Worse still, he is not master of this material, and so gives it to the reader almost in its raw state. A good half of his book consists of quotations, and long quotations. Thus in one chapter, after some brief extracts, he gives eight pages from Thurloe, followed immediately by a half-page from Roger Williams, which in turn is succeeded by almost as long an extract from the *Clarendon Papers*, after which comes a passage from Ludlow, which is then followed by a five-page letter from Thurloe to Monk, which is almost immediately succeeded by two more pages from Ludlow. This is not the way to write history. It is all the more to be regretted, since if Mr. Simpkinson had given his time and attention to a presentation of the beliefs, purposes and status of the Fifth-Monarchy men he would have had sufficient material to fill the space and would have been presenting matter which was germane and indeed essential to his subject. He, of course, gives us some information on these heads, but in a fragmentary and imperfect fashion.

What is said above sufficiently indicates his method of writing history; his ability goes but little beyond his method. His quotations are inexact; he is not discriminating in his use of authorities; his evidence occasionally fails to bear out the assertions based upon it; and his judgment is not sound, for he goes so far as to say that "there is good authority for considering" Harrison "to have possessed at one time even greater power in the army than Oliver Cromwell". The most valuable part of the book is the Appendix, containing the nineteen extant letters of Harrison. These have all been printed before.

*John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, 1648-1689.* By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 377.)

SOME fifteen years ago the anonymous author of *The Despot's Champion* wrote in her preface that the career of Claverhouse "has given rise to controversy quite out of proportion to its historical importance". And, relatively speaking, the professional soldier employed to suppress conventicles in the south-western counties, or even the heroic leader of a cause doomed to failure from the start does not loom very large among the countless persons and problems which crowd the pages of British history. Nevertheless, the representations of credulous and partisan martyrologists and the fame of *Old Mortality* and *Bonnie Dundee* have perpetuated in Claverhouse a figure grewsome and romantic. As a traditional bogey leagued with the devil, and as an heroic successor of Montrose, he continues to live.

Although Claverhouse found a defender nearly two centuries ago in the Jacobite *Memoirs of 1714*, his notable vindication first appeared in Mark Napier's three-volume work (1859-1862); since then he has

figured as one of Mr. Andrew Lang's "English Worthies" in a brief volume by Mr. Mowbray Morris (1887). *Clavers: The Despot's Champion*, by "A Southern," another defense, appeared in 1889; but it is professedly little more than a rearrangement of Napier's material. Mr. Henderson's careful article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while it corrected some previous errors of detail, is naturally hardly more than an outline of facts. Finally, Mr. Terry, an acknowledged authority on the period, having noted shortcomings and imperfections in the preceding works, thinks the time has come to tell the story again, and submits his work to the public in the hope that he has been able "to present a rounder and more complete picture of Claverhouse than has hitherto been available, and to dissipate the appalling number of errors which for very lack of careful probing, have come to be accepted as unchallengeable facts in the record of his career." Much may be said in favor of the undertaking. New sources of material have been opened of late, and, moreover, Napier overlooked or misinterpreted much that was accessible to him. Furthermore, apart from faults of temper and arrangement which characterize his great work, it is far too bulky for any but the special student.

Strictly observing the injunction *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, the present author makes no effort to use his subject for a treatise on the "causes and significance" of the revolution of 1689, though he aims to connect Claverhouse with the policy he was appointed to carry out and to contribute somewhat to the military history of the Restoration and post-Restoration in Scotland.

While the general impression of Claverhouse that the reader will take away from these pages will perhaps not differ greatly from the sensible estimate of Mr. Mowbray Morris, it will naturally rest on surer grounds; since here he has been privileged to enter the courtroom, to have the vast and complicated mass of evidence laid before him, and to see it examined with great honesty and acumen. While it is, no doubt, the apogee of the microscopic method to devote a careful enquiry to prove that Claverhouse was shot in the left eye and not in the body, future historians will reap the fruit of many of these painstaking studies. More than one popular error is blasted, as for example, Claverhouse's importance at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and his insubordination in pursuing the rebels against Monmouth's orders. After a re-reading of Mackay's narrative in the light of a personal examination of the ground Mr. Terry has been able to fix a new and, it would seem, more exact site for the battle of Killiecrankie.

By keenly dissecting the stories of Claverhouse's alleged atrocities he furnishes ampler and more convincing proof than ever before of their exaggeration. His conclusion deserves quoting.

"It appears then," he says, "that the number of lives taken by Claverhouse in a period of the severest political crisis was precisely ten. In the case of eight of these ten Claverhouse stands exonerated, either by the circumstances of their condemnation, or by the circumstances under

which they met their death, from the charge of arbitrary, cold-blooded, or vindictive blood-letting. Two cases alone stand, in which, upon his own initiative, Claverhouse exacted the death-penalty. In one of them absolutely, in the second of them with almost equal certainty, Claverhouse was no more than the agent in the carrying out of a sentence to which its victims were legally and knowably liable. The traditional Claverhouse of Wodrow, Howie, Defoe, and their unquestioning modern disciple Macaulay, is familiar. 'Murdered by Bloody Clavers' is the conventional epitaph of rebel martyrs in whose death he had no particle of share. 'Bloody' in disposition he was not. 'Bloody' in execution he was not. Of the refinement of cruelty which condemned the Wigton martyrs to a lingering death there is in Claverhouse not a trace. The conclusion is insistent, that had he died plain John Graham of Claverhouse, and not Viscount of Dundee, the one availing personality in Scotland in militant sympathy with the discredited policy of a Despot whose Champion he was, 'Bloody' Clavers had never been created to confound 'Bonnie' Dundee, and the tombstones of the murdered martyrs had been purer for lack of the conventional libel of him."

Although Mr. Terry scathingly condemns those who originated these legends and those who accept them (see, *e. g.*, pp. 201-203), he is no special pleader against the Kirk and the Whigs, and makes no attempt to place Claverhouse in a fairer light than the facts warrant. What he shows us is a man austere, unflinching in performance of his duty, and effective just because he believed implicitly in the policy he was employed to execute. At times, particularly as Sheriff of Wigton, he was even inclined to mildness; but only when he thought it paid; thereby "showing a nice discrimination in the economy of punitive effort."

Owing to the prevails minute discussion of details and the formidable array of evidence cited the book promises to be hard sledding for the general reader. Here and there, however, attractive bits are offered, notably the accounts of Claverhouse's courtships of Helen Graham and Jean Cochrane. He failed in his first venture, although after beginning his suit from purely interested motives he finally became so enamored as to offer to take the lady "in her smoak." His second wooing was successful, but those were stirring times when the bridegroom had to leave his wedding festivities to ride down a suspected conventicle.

There seem to be few statements of fact or opinion to which one can take exception. "Three centuries" (p. 1) should obviously be two, the statement (p. 100) that Argyle refused to take the Test is not strictly accurate: he offered to take it in a modified form. The "monotonously opportune Protestant wind" (p. 237) only came after William of Orange had already been seriously repulsed by the elements. Finally, the attempt to prove that Dundee, after the expulsion of James, kept to the letter his promise to William "to live quietly unless he were forced" is not altogether convincing. The text is illustrated by two portraits of Claverhouse and one of his wife. The sketch-map of Dundee's campaign of April-July 1689 is of great assistance in following his move-

ments; but the careful map to illustrate the site of Killiecrankie could have been made more useful by marking on it the positions of the troops engaged. Three appendices discuss the history of Claverhouse's regiment, his death at Killiecrankie, and his alleged letter to James announcing his victory.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

*Mirabeau and the French Revolution.* By CHARLES F. WARWICK.  
(Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1905. Pp. 483.)

THE publication of this volume was due to an afterthought. The author began to write "with the intention of preparing a course of lectures", but later "decided to put the material gathered into book form". The second thought was not a happy one, for whatever merit the work may have possessed as a course of lectures it is neither a satisfactory biography of Mirabeau nor a clear, sound and well connected synthesis of the early Revolution.

An account of Mirabeau and the French Revolution in less than five hundred pages can be, even at its best, little else than a masterly sketch, more or less popular in character, but it need not be, for that reason, unscientific, meaning by this that it need not everywhere betray the ignorance of the writer concerning the results of recent investigations touching Mirabeau and the Revolution. It is reasonable to expect, then, that the author of such a volume as this, before beginning to write, should acquaint himself with the best literature on the subject. As far as I can judge from the text—there are no foot-notes—the knowledge of Mr. Warwick concerning what has been written upon Mirabeau is inadequate. It is not to be expected that the writer of a work of this description will familiarize himself with the sources, but he should at least have read all the important monographs that alone can supply him with a sound basis of fact. Here and there, somewhat capriciously and often, it would seem, at second hand, the sources are quoted. Some use, how much I cannot tell, has been made of the classical work of Louis and Charles de Loménie. The reference made to the life of Mirabeau by Professor Stern is of such a character that one might be pardoned for doubting if Mr. Warwick had ever read it. Of the writings of Guibal, Leloir, Joly, Cottin, Dauphin Meunier, Welschinger, Wild, Raynal, Decrue, Gradnauer, and the excellent short biographies by Mezières and Rousse I recall no mention, but the volume abounds in citations from Carlyle, Guizot, Alison, McCarthy, Von Holst, Willert and—Watson. Such dependence upon outgrown or popular or semi-popular literature, such lack of discrimination in associating, for example, Von Holst and Willert with Watson, such ignorance of the latest and best monographic works might reasonably give rise to doubts as to the soundness of the narrative.

And such doubts have a solid foundation. The same lack of critical spirit that marks the bibliographical work is encountered also in the attitude of the author toward the evidence. His inaccuracies are numer-

ous and he appears decidedly helpless in the face of contradictory statements. At times, inaccuracy could have been avoided only through a knowledge of the sources, but for the most part an acquaintance with the best monographs or even a more careful study of Loménie or Stern would have saved Mr. Warwick many a fall. Such extreme blundering as that found on page 107, where it is stated that the *Compte Rendu* of Necker "showed an enormous deficit," followed by the observation on the next page that "this showing was made by Necker to induce capital to take the loans of the state," is exceptional, but there are many other inaccuracies quite as inexcusable.

The constructive portion is no more successful than the critical. In the first place, there is too much polemic, too much of personal impressions and feelings and too little history. The historian is supposed to tell us "Wie es eigentlich gewesen," and when he gets so heated as to exclaim—on paper—"The wretched liar," speaking of the Duc d'Orleans, or to refer to the Marquis de Mirabeau familiarly as "this old ruffian" or the "conceited old pedant," the thought arises that such a writer might not be a safe interpreter of the evidence. In the second place, the volume lacks proportion and unity. It deals with "Mirabeau and the French Revolution," that is, with the influence of Mirabeau on the Revolution and of the Revolution on Mirabeau, not with "Mirabeau and with the French Revolution." There is, however, so at least it seems to me, too much of this last conception of the subject in Mr. Warwick's book. One hundred and twenty-four pages out of a total of four hundred and sixty-seven certainly form an excessive number to allot to the ancient régime before introducing Mirabeau. The matter is interesting enough, but there is too much of it that has no direct bearing on the subject. Then again the synthesis of the Revolution is not well thought out, there is no large grasp of the subject, there is lack of continuity and at times failure to understand the meaning of the facts, while in the biography of Mirabeau some very important periods—that from 1783 to 1787, for example—barely receive a passing notice.

The illustrations of the volume—with a few exceptions—have no historic value and some of them verge on the ridiculous (see pp. 122 and 342). The facsimile of a document (p. 438), supposed to be in the handwriting of Mirabeau, is, with the exception of the signature, the work of a copyist.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Le Grand-Duché de Berg (1806-1813). Étude sur la Domination Française en Allemagne sous Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>.* Par CHARLES SCHMIDT, Docteur ès Lettres, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1905. Pp. xvi, 528.)

THE three states which Napoleon created in Germany and which disappeared with him, Berg, Westphalia, and Frankfort, have now received adequate, scientific treatment. Thimme's *Das Kurfürstenthum Hann-*



over and Darmstaedter's *Das Grossherzogthum Frankfurt* are recent evidences of the interest German scholars are taking in the "French period" of their history. But the third state has never hitherto been sufficiently investigated. Rambaud and Denis have treated its history in a very limited manner. Fisher in his *Napoleonic Statesmanship* has given fifty pages to it; admittedly based upon only a partial examination of the sources. The need of a thorough investigation of this field has been completely met by Mr. Schmidt in a study, remarkable for its amplitude, its solidity, and its precision. Relegating Beugnot's *Memoirs*, written long after the event, and very impressionistic, to a subordinate position; he has built up in a masterly manner an authoritative monograph upon an important subject.

To his text he has prefixed a bibliography of the unpublished sources used, indicating the precise importance for his work of each of the various archives of Paris, Düsseldorf, Münster, Wiesbaden, and Berlin, as well as of the private archives of several French families important in connection with the history of Berg.

The method of treatment is topical, not narrative. The first two chapters are devoted to the reign of Murat, the rest to the history of the Grand Duchy as administered directly by Napoleon.

The territory out of which this petty state was created had previously belonged to fifteen different sovereigns. Much diversity of institutional life prevailed in the different parts. Mr. Schmidt describes at length and with clearness the political and social transformations effected by the French tending toward unity and toward social equality—the unity being brought about by the introduction of the French governmental machinery and by the common military service, the equality by the abolition of feudal institutions, the introduction of the Code, the French judicial system and the French ideas in regard to church and school. One gets a vivid impression from this account of the amount of time and intelligent study devoted by French administrators to the problem of pouring new wine into old bottles.

There was no hasty assertion of doctrinairism, no sudden and unintelligent imposition of Parisian novelties upon an alien people. Unhappy delays were even sometimes caused by the scrupulous care of the authorities in Paris to study questions thoroughly before reaching decisions. Moreover Germans were preferred for most of the offices in the state. Much that was introduced by the French failed to strike root, not because of its unfitness, but because of the short duration of the French rule. Yet twenty years would have been enough to acclimatize the new institutions and in 1809 Napoleon was justified in looking forward twenty years.

A large and illuminating section of this book is devoted to the economic influence of France upon Berg. Mr. Schmidt traces the evolution of the protectionist policy of France from the tariff of 1791 down to the disastrous tariff of Trianon, 1810. The deeper significance of these tariffs is shown, they being apparently inevitable measures required

by France in her painful transition from an agricultural to an industrial state of society. He shows Napoleon no free agent in his economic policy but profoundly compelled by clamorous French protectionists ever urging higher duties by arguments now sufficiently familiar. The effect of this system was ruinous to Berg, a state even at that time the most completely industrial on the Continent, a "miniature England" as it was justly called by contemporaries, the present centre of Germany's great industrial power along the Rhine. This state, absolutely dependent upon foreign markets, found them everywhere closed by Napoleon. The Bergois earnestly and persistently sought annexation to the French Empire, that thus they might share its markets. Instantly all the amenities of the struggle for existence were glaringly displayed. German manufacturers of the left bank of the Rhine protested vehemently against admitting German manufacturers of the right bank, painting the inevitable ruin that the new competition would bring upon French industries.

The gifts of the gods are mixed. The French gave enlightened political, legal and social institutions to the right bank and by a fatality which they could not master crushed this region by an economic policy that ruined rich and poor, that closed hundreds of factories and turned the high altars of churches into receptacles for the precarious commodities of smugglers. It was a strange paradox that that German state most directly controlled by France was the one that suffered most. Berg alone of all the countries of Europe drew no benefit from the Continental System.

Mr. Schmidt's book is, in short, a model of monographic writing, a rich contribution to historical knowledge. It will henceforth be indispensable for the student of Napoleonic Germany.

There are several appendices unusually informing, a chart showing the regions composing the Grand Duchy and containing a variety of statistical data, a contemporary map, and critical notes on the memoirs of Beugnot hitherto considered so important. A similarly severe appraisal of other autobiographic values of this period would be of the highest service to historical students.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Madame Récamier et ses Amis.* Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, par ÉDOUARD HERRIOT. (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1904. Two volumes, pp. lxxiv, 357, 438.)

Two difficulties confront the writer attempting to deal with the history of Madame Récamier. In the first place the very complexity of her life makes the task no easy one. As M. Herriot points out in his introduction, it may be going too far to say that Abbaye-aux-Bois was a second Versailles and that the circle there over which Madame Récamier presided holds as important a place in the literary history of France as does Port Royal in its religious history, still it is true that the

whole history of the half-century from 1800 to 1850 may be summarized in the life of this woman who during those fifty years exercised an important influence politically as well as intellectually and socially. To make a vivid picture of Madame Récamier involves therefore not the presentation of an individual portrait, but of a group, and a group so arranged that one figure shall stand out in the foreground.

The second difficulty arises from the subtlety of Madame Récamier's influence. Unlike her friend Madame de Staël she did not herself write but inspired others to literary effort, nor was her influence forceful and direct, but indirect and intangible. According to one of her admirers neither the pen nor the brush could adequately represent the graceful charm of her power; it could be represented only by music.

His own inability to meet this second difficulty M. Herriot frankly recognizes and for a delicate and really successful appreciation modestly refers his readers to Sainte-Beuve. What he does propose to do is to write a detailed and impartial history of the facts of Madame Récamier's life. For such an attempt there is ample room, since previous accounts were either written with a distinct bias, such for instance as Madame Lenormant's, or else deal with Madame Récamier only incidentally. But M. Herriot while realizing the impossibility of treating her apart from her contemporaries, proceeds to make her not a subordinate but the central figure of the group. Beginning with her childhood and early training, he traces her growing influence from its dawn under the Directory to its meridian under the Restoration and develops with elaborate care her relations to her endless series of lovers and admirers, naturally with special emphasis on Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant and Chateaubriand. His judgment is on the whole decidedly favorable. Like Sainte-Beuve he gives full credit to her virtue and finds her ruling motive not in heedless ambition for power but in an eager and constant if sometimes thoughtless desire to give pleasure.

The treatment of the subject well accords with the title—*Madame Récamier et ses Amis*, but the reader can not help wishing that the friends were not made so prominent, in other words that M. Herriot had not drawn with quite such scrupulous attention to detail the minor figures of the picture.

The form of the book would be better moreover and the impression more vivid if the author had relegated to foot-notes some of the matter presented in the text, but the amount of hitherto unpublished material included and the elaborately annotated bibliography make the work a mine of information and an indispensable basis for any further study of Madame Récamier.

ELOISE ELLERY.

*A History of Modern England.* By HERBERT PAUL. Vol. III. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. 454.)

THE third volume of Mr. Paul's history begins with the ministerial changes on the death of Lord Palmerston late in 1865 and ends with the

Parliamentary session of 1876 when the Ministry of all the Opportunities, otherwise that of Mr. Disraeli, was at the height of its power. It is a busy and important decade, the Continental upheavals of the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars, the unification of Italy and Germany, the fall of the French Empire and the rise of the French Republic finding their complement in English affairs in that great period of reform which at once elevated and exhausted the new Liberalism during the early years of Mr. Gladstone's ascendancy. The tone and scope of Mr. Paul's work have already been discussed in these pages and the third volume of the series confirms the impression made by the first two. This is primarily a Parliamentary or political history of England, with such attention to legal, literary and religious movements, and such reference to foreign affairs as serve to illuminate the main theme. On the whole, matters become of importance to the author when they rise above the political horizon, and too often not till then. Even so, as we have already noted, there is still a striking absence of many social and economic data which we might otherwise expect, which, if not politics as yet, are or have been news, and so have some rights here on that ground if on no other. In the present volume an entire chapter on the Irish Church, another on the Church of England and still another on Theology and Literature, beside much passing comment on such matters elsewhere, shift the balance somewhat from that of the earlier volumes. This is the more true in that the stirring events of this crowded decade abroad give a special chapter to England and the Continent, aside from the main narrative. The Settlement with America traces in much detail and with perhaps too great disproportion of space the negotiations arising from the Alabama Claims. The spirit of fairness in which Mr. Paul's account is written could however ill be spared from the history of that once bitter controversy. Especially does his statement of the case reflect great credit on Mr. Adams. In conclusion, as usual, we have the chapter on Intellectual and Social Progress and the index. For the present volume in particular Mr. Paul has had the advantage of using Morley's *Life of Gladstone* and unusually numerous foot-notes indicate his large indebtedness to it, as well as to Walpole's *History of Twenty-five Years*. In the matter of opinions, so noticeable previously, time or some other agency seems to have somewhat softened the author's earlier rashness. Another volume has not much altered the impression of Napoleon III.'s "crooked mind and shallow heart," even in those last bitter days when he was "little more than a grey shadow, once a man, or at least a nephew." Of the other principal actors in that French tragedy Mr. Paul ascribes much credit or discredit to the Empress as well as to Gramont for the war. At the same time he holds up Thiers as, at least by implication, the principal figure standing between the new Republic and "reactionary Royalism" on the one hand and "intriguing Imperialism" on the other, a judgment which is, at least, open to question. For Bismarck, he has apparently much respect, if no great admiration for his ethical qualities. "For complete and absolute cynicism his proceedings at this time [the

Biarritz interview] are not surpassed even in his own career," though he is given credit for a clearer head and sounder mind than his French rival. And finally, not to prolong this matter, it is interesting to note the expression here of an opinion concerning Russia which, greatly helped by recent events in the East, is gradually making its way in the world, especially in England. It is that the reputation of Russian diplomacy for unscrupulous craft and abnormal subtlety derives little support from historic fact. This is, at least, healthier than its Russophobic rival.

It will be time to sum up this considerable achievement when the end is reached. But we may note that Mr. Paul's vigor seems unimpaired thus far, that his courage seems tempered somewhat more by discretion, and his politics diluted with somewhat more of those matters which find little place in Parliamentary debate or *Times* editorial. And if, in the long list of liberal achievements which fill the great reform period, the narrative tends to take on the character of a Parliamentary Digest, it becomes, thanks to Mr. Paul's clear head and vigorous English, little less interesting and rather more useful for that.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

*Cavour*. By DOMENICO ZANICHELLI. "Pantheon Series." (Florence: G. Barbèra. 1905. Pp. 427.)

ALTHOUGH Cavour still lacks a monumental biography, he has had several noteworthy books written about him. Beginning with Bonghi's brief sketch and Artom's introduction, one gets an impression of the importance of the man and of the magnitude of his achievement. Treitschke devoted a solid study, somewhat raspingly Prussian, to him. De Mazade analyzed, with insight and Gallic lucidity, his political career. Countess Martinengo Cesaresco made a model epitome, and William de La Rive in his *Souvenirs* produced one of the finest intimate biographies of modern times. Massari, whose work still remains the standard in Italian, is uncritical and diffuse, but he cannot be ignored, because he furnishes sidelights possible only to a contemporary. Finally, Chiala, in his exhaustive introductions and notes to the six volumes of "Letters", has amassed material of the greatest value. This list does not include Castelli's recollections, nor the various volumes of letters edited by Count Nigra, Baron Mayor and others; nor Berti's invaluable contributions to our knowledge of Cavour before 1848.

With this voluminous material as a basis, Professor Domenico Zanichelli, of the University of Pisa, has erected a solid analytical study of Cavour's work as a state-builder and diplomatist. He first furnishes in detail the principles which inspired Cavour's activity; then he shows how these principles were applied to the regeneration of Piedmont after 1849, how far the force of circumstances bent them, and how subtly in most cases they overcame opposition. Professor Zanichelli analyzes with remarkable clearness the intricate steps by which Cavour attained great results; and this needed to be done anew, for

the world has come to regard the unification of Italy as a matter of course, forgetting the years when its fate hung in the balance and success seemed improbable. In these pages,—so skilfully is the past called on to give testimony—we follow the plot from day to day with almost the suspense of a contemporary.

In very few places will one familiar with the subject differ from Professor Zanichelli's conclusions. He has drawn the general outline with a sure hand. He shows rare insight in divining Cavour's purposes, rare skill in showing Cavour's resourcefulness. Occasionally we should need to go beyond the political record in order to understand the hidden springs of policy—as, for instance, in the case of the rupture between Cavour and Rattazzi—but in the main we find the chain of causation complete.

Professor Zanichelli is perfectly candid. He describes without suppression or distortion the method by which Cavour brought about the *Connubio*, his fast-and-loose play with European diplomacy before the war of 1859 and during Garibaldi's expedition, and his guile toward Francis II. before the collapse of the Bourbon Kingdom. He shows that while it is easy to condemn these or other phases of Cavour's statesmanship as disingenuous, if not immoral, they are to be judged at last by their motive. He holds that the statesman, like the general, cannot be bound by the usual code which rules private life. His duty is to save the state at all costs, even at the cost of deceit. A general might have every reason to believe that the enemy must conquer, but he would not be justified in telling his troops that they must expect to be beaten. Washington did not shrink from deceiving the British as to the strength of his army. Lincoln for a long time made each of the Northern elements which supported the war believe that he was waging the war especially for that element. This doctrine leads, of course, to rank Jesuitry, to the assumption that the end justifies the means. But before other statesmen can excuse their doubtful practices by saying that Cavour or Lincoln was just as bad, they must prove that their country's existence could be assured in no other way. They must recognize, further, that in statecraft as in warfare the standard of what is permissible is slowly rising.

I lay stress on this part of Professor Zanichelli's book because his frankness is most commendable. It relieves him of the suspicion of being a mere eulogist—that suspicion which any biographer of Cavour runs the risk of incurring. Professor Zanichelli has produced the best analytical biography which has seen the light in Italy since Villari's much more pretentious works on Savonarola and Machiavelli. He is "scientific", inductive, thorough, sober. He has not attempted to write the "Life and Times of Cavour", and so he has passed by many episodes and personalities; but he has done well what he undertook. Historical students will regret that the series in which his *Cavour* appears does not permit the use of footnotes or even of reference to the sources

of his many quotations. In this respect he and De Mazade are equally tantalizing.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

*Bismarck und seine Welt: Grundlegung einer psychologischen Biographie.* Von OSKAR KLEIN-HATTINGEN. Band II. Erster Theil: 1871-1888; Zweiter Theil: 1888-1898. (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler. 1903, 1904. Pp. 651, 206.)

KLEIN-HATTINGEN's first volume, dealing with Bismarck's career down to 1871, was noticed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IX. 390, and in that notice the purpose and plan of the work were fully indicated. The present volume deals with the seventeen years during which Bismarck controlled the political development of the empire he had founded, and with the ten years following his forced retirement, in which he worried his successors with open and inspired criticisms, surprised the world with occasional revelations and composed his *Reflections and Reminiscences*. To the historian these years are far less important than the great decade in which German unity was established; to the biographer who, like Klein, is chiefly interested in Bismarck's personality, they afford even more material.

In writing the political history of Germany from 1871 on, Klein's political bias causes him to lose all sense of proportion and even the appearance of objectivity which he maintained in his first volume. The foreign politics of two decades are dismissed in a few pages, and the reconstruction of Prussian local government is barely noticed. The greater part of his second volume is devoted to the conflict of political factions in the German and Prussian diets. The leaders of the Liberal left wing—*Fortschritt* or *Freisinn*—are his heroes: the numerous pages devoted to them are pure panegyric. The leaders of the Liberal right wing, the National Liberals, are pictured as either well-meaning simpletons or hypocrites. Like most Germans, the author is intolerant of political compromise and places *Prinzipientreue* above all the practical political virtues. The Clericals and the Social Democrats are represented as talented and high-minded men, because they are against Bismarck, who rapidly develops into the villain of the parliamentary drama. Like most stage-villains, he is really very shallow, and appears to play the part for its own sake. His conflict with the Roman hierarchy, his persecution of the Social Democrats, his adoption of a protectionist tariff-policy, were all dictated, according to Klein, by antipathy to political and economic liberalism, and were primarily manoeuvres for discrediting and destroying the Liberal party. A reader unacquainted with the independence of the administration in Prussia and in Germany and the subordinate part played by the diets would imagine that these bodies were really parliaments and that the German chancellor and Prussian premier required the support of a majority.

The analysis of Bismarck's personality becomes equally partisan and one-sided. It might have been compiled twenty years ago from the

speeches of Eugene Richter, and it might have appeared in the columns of any radical journal whose editor was willing to go to prison for insulting governmental authorities. Klein grows very hot and scolds: his adjectives are distinctly vituperative. In sum: Bismarck's dominant trait was love of power (*Herrschaft*); patriotism and sense of duty did not exist in him; when he asserted such motives, he was a hypocrite. Love of power destroyed in him all moral instincts: to hold power he would descend not merely to intrigue but to calumny and downright falsehood. He was also extremely vindictive: he pursued even his vanquished opponents with untiring hatred. Without attempting to deny the details of this indictment, it is submitted that the picture is untrue because the shadows are grossly overcharged and the lights unfairly kept down. It is all black or gray.

To a foreigner there is something a little sad about such an attempt to destroy a great national figure. About the best of national idols there is not a little common clay, but hero-worship is after all an important part of a nation's heritage. Of course the historian must tell the truth as he sees it; but he must be sure that his view of the truth is not colored by hatred or by envy—by the feeling that the belittling of the great makes ordinary men, including the historian, seem less little. In the last pages of his book Klein betrays something of remorse: he recalls the lasting achievements of Bismarck's statesmanship, and calls upon his readers to strew upon the great man's grave "flowers, only flowers." But the tributes he has left there are not flower-like.

MUNROE SMITH.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Essentials in American History.* By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: The American Book Company. 1905. Pp. xlviii, 584.)

THIS is one of a series of text-books for secondary schools, including a volume each on ancient, medieval and modern, and English history, prepared under the editorship of Professor Hart.

Of late there have appeared some texts which in avoiding the dull chronicling of events have succeeded in creating merely an "atmosphere" filled with elusive generalities. The result was that in the great majority of high-schools, without good libraries and without specialists as teachers, the books were unsuccessful. In this respect the author seems to have struck the desired mean, though the aforesaid smaller high-school will surely find it difficult to cover so large a text within the time usually allowed in the curriculum. The query arises, too, whether it would not be better to omit many details which encumber rather than assist the narrative.

The mechanical arrangement of the book consists of a division into thirty-six chapters grouped under general headings, such as "Revolution", "Federation", etc. It is noticeable that the earlier periods are treated with much more brevity than the later. The somewhat original



grouping of topics in the Colonial period is the book's most distinguishing feature.

The introductory chapter properly lays the foundation of American history in the Renaissance and in the changed condition of European trade in the fifteenth century. The physical geography of America is reviewed in its economic relations. The problem of the native races is well handled and the old "mound-builder" theories are successfully disposed of. This chapter of "Foundations" is among the best in the book.

After the narrative has been brought, under the general head of "Beginnings," to 1607, there follow three chapters continuing the story, to 1689, under the general caption "Colonial Englishmen". The first of these deals with the settlement and history, to 1660, of Virginia, Maryland, and the New England settlements. The non-English settlements together with the French explorations in the interior are grouped in a second chapter, while the third covers the Restoration period, including later settlements, Indian wars, and the struggles over the charters.

The conventional order of taking up the settlement and early history of each colony in succession has been in this way successfully avoided. The French activities of the seventeenth century are handled in such a way as to blend with the general narrative and pave the way to a proper understanding of the struggle between France and England.

A common offence of text-book writers is a proneness to treat the history of America as utterly distinct from and unaffected by European affairs. With this connection with Europe not revealed, our colonial and even later history is but half told. Professor Hart has in this respect sinned less than most others. Yet nowhere does he explain why England was so late in entering the field of colonization; nowhere is there an adequate statement of the motives (economic and other) for English colony-planting. Added meaning might have been given to the granting of the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, of New Jersey and Carolina, and of the possessions of the Duke of York, had their almost simultaneous granting been emphasized together with their intimate connection with other favors and rewards conferred by the king at the Restoration.

A group of chapters under the general title "Colonial Americans" covers the period 1689 to 1763. In the past, with eyes fixed upon political events, writers have disposed of this three-quarters of a century of colonial existence in a few generalizations and have used the colonial wars as a convenient bridge to take them safely over the troublesome void and bring them to the sure footing of the Revolution. Here two chapters are introduced upon "Colonial Life" and "Internal Development" giving a very satisfactory view of eighteenth-century life, though the principle of division between the chapters is not clear. In them are noted home life, education, religion, literature, commerce

and its restrictions, smuggling and privateering, paper money, boundary-controversies, and local institutions. Then follows the account of the colonial wars.

The author continues the use of the provincial terms "King William's War", "Queen Anne's War", and "King George's War", failing to show that they are but faint reflections of tremendous wars waged in Europe under other names. Even in discussing the last French war slight suggestion is offered of the world-wide significance of the struggle for colonial empire then going on.

In dealing with the subject of colonial government the time-honored but inaccurate classification by Blackstone is adhered to. The statement is made (p. 78) that "in 1663 the English had in America three chartered colonies, one proprietary colony and two royal colonies", although the proprietary colony of Maryland was as truly a chartered colony as the three in New England. From the text elsewhere (p. 110) the student might suppose that after 1624 but three of all the colonies were held under charters.

The accounts of the Revolution and the "Critical Period" present no marked features, unless it be the temperate treatment of the period of intellectual resistance to England, including a recognition of the number and standing of the Loyalists, the reduction to their real dimensions of such affairs as the Boston Massacre, and an absence of "Fourth of July" rhetoric. It might have been well further to state why it was found necessary to send German hirelings to America.

The chapters covering the period from 1789 to the close of the Civil War call for little comment. In addition to political events, as the author suggests (p. 7), "social conditions and events have been freely described" and "much attention has been given to economic data". Besides such economic phenomena as are noted in the general narrative, special chapters are introduced dealing with reforms, education, religion, social life and customs during the period. It is true that most of the important facts in our economic development are noted, yet had they been brought together in a more suitable grouping their relation to each other and their influence upon political affairs would have been more apparent. This is especially evident in the chapters on "The Settling of the West" and "The New National Spirit".

From the otherwise satisfactory account of Reconstruction more accurate conclusions might have been reached had greater emphasis been laid on the fact that this wretched episode did more to dig a chasm between the North and the South than the war itself.

There are numerous maps and illustrations throughout the book, but the attempt is sometimes made to show too many things upon the same map. At the end of each chapter are ample lists of references to secondary authorities, sources, and illustrative materials. A bibliography and a few documents are appended.

Upon the whole this work of Professor Hart deserves commenda-

tion and should meet with a cordial welcome among a wide circle of teachers.

FRANK GREENE BATES.

*Breaking the Wilderness.* By FREDERICK S. DELLENBAUGH. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxiii, 360.)

THE above is the suggestive title of an attempt to cover the field of western exploration "from the Wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca, to the First Descent of the Colorado by Powell, and the completion of the Union Pacific Railway." A hasty comparison of the present volume with others covering the same ground, would seem to show that the author has achieved a measurable degree of success. He begins with a clear, concise, yet highly picturesque definition of his "Wilderness"—the national domain from the Mississippi to the Pacific. To each of the animals—the bison and the beaver—that played an important but a melancholy part in its "breaking", he devotes a chapter, and likewise two chapters to its native inhabitants—always the "Amerinds". These preliminary chapters, forming a third of the book, are followed by eleven devoted to the explorers who figure in this wilderness-breaking. These men are apparently divided into two classes,—those who, in a sense, circumnavigate this continental wilderness, and those who penetrate its inmost fastnesses. In the former class then appear not merely the great names that we naturally expect—De Soto, Coronado, La Salle, La Verendrye, McKenzie, Gray—but also a host of others who rendered scarcely less efficient service. In the latter, the names of Lewis, Clark, Pike, James, Frémont, and Powell, as well as scores of others of lesser light, suggest an almost exclusive predominance. Throughout the whole volume there has been an earnest attempt to render due credit to the different nationalities and to the various human elements that assisted in the fascinating task of bringing civilization to the wilds. The writer is especially to be commended for his efforts to make complete the list of names connected with western exploration, especially of the Spanish explorers in the far Southwest.

Another commendable characteristic of the work is its general spirit of fairness, particularly in discussing Indian problems and the Mormons; although this leads to an indefinite position on the Whitman controversy (pp. 289, 290). Among minor points of treatment the author produces a new and plausible theory in connection with New Mexican exploration (p. 114); conjectures that the Upper Missouri (pp. 160, 164, 166) was more familiar to white men than Lewis and Clark believed; and ordinarily bases his conclusions, often original, upon reasons which appear well founded.

One questions whether he does not assign too much space to Lewis and Clark, but at this time such a course is almost unavoidable. He does, however, fail to do justice to Pike (p. 192). He gives a clear statement about the founding of Santa Fé (p. 116), the indefiniteness of early Louisiana limits (map, p. 154), and the haphazard way in

which the United States acquired its title to Oregon (p. 150). His own wilderness experience enables him to point out the absurd equipment of Pike (pp. 181, 186) and of Long (p. 226) for their tasks.

Amid much that is excellent one regrets the presence of many inaccuracies: San Antonio was not founded in 1692 (p. 134), Crozat did not receive his grant two years after New Orleans was founded (p. 138), the Treaty of 1783 did not limit the United States "to the mouth of the Yazoo" (p. 144), West Florida was not seized in 1812 (map, p. 154), the forces of Malgares in 1806 did not go "as far as the Sabine" (p. 181), and Natchitoches (not "Nachitoches") was not a "Spanish post in Texas".

Other expressions may be classed as erroneous because they state as definite matters that are far from certain. Among these are the identification of the Espiritu Santo of Piñeda as the Mississippi, and the placing of its discovery before 1510 (p. 104); the identification of the River of the Palms as the Rio Grande, and of the mysterious western river mentioned by the Indians to the French as the Columbia (p. 133); and the vague statement that Iberville's settlement in 1699 was "near the mouth of the Mississippi" (p. 134). The varying assertions (pp. 155, 157, 160) of the relation between the expedition of Lewis and Clark and the Louisiana Purchase are misleading. The extract from Jefferson's instructions (p. 161) relates to the Indians, although Freeman, in 1806, made use of similar powers when threatened by the Spaniards. The name of the English trader "Haney" (p. 163) is given by Thwaites as "Henney". The text (p. 178) would seem to imply that Pike was selected by Jefferson for his exploration; but Wilkinson was responsible for this choice.

Barring the deficiencies which mar its critical value, Mr. Dellenbaugh has produced a fairly satisfactory work and one that from its excellent typography and abundant illustration should prove deservedly successful in arousing general interest in his subject. An index and numerous references to the more popular sources add to its value.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789.* Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts. Vol. I., 1774; Vol. II., 1775, May 10—September 20; Vol. III. 1775, September 21—December 30. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1904, 1905, 1905. Pp. 143, 1-256, 257-538.)

A DOCUMENTARY series of such fundamental importance to our history as the journals of the Continental Congress ought long since to have been set before the historical and general public in its integrity and in a worthy form. It has long been known that the contemporary printed editions and, without the same excuse on grounds of public safety, the reprints of 1800 and 1823, were very far from complete; and certainly the last-named, the edition commonly used, was not in respect

to appearance a thing to be proud of. Now that the original manuscripts have been transferred to the Library of Congress, Mr. Ford comes forward with the beginnings of an edition which may fairly be called definitive. If it is not in all respects a model of what such a publication should be (and in nearly all respects it is), it certainly is in all ways worthy of a great governmental establishment and of a body of material hardly equalled in its significance for the history of the United States.

Mr. Ford prints on light paper and in large type. The number of pages in a volume is, it will be seen, not large. Unless the years 1774 and 1775 are not typical with respect to additions to the old text, the completion of the record will require nearly forty such volumes. Additions to the old text are very numerous, and sometimes of much importance. In one place, a week's transactions in Congress have left hardly any trace on the journals as formerly printed. In another (II. 218), an interesting series of resolutions regarding saltpetre, though absent even from the manuscript of the journals, has been recovered from a pamphlet printed by authority of Congress. The editor by no means contents himself with the mere text of the original manuscript journals, but when reports or documents prepared by committees are mentioned there, he inserts them from the papers of the Old Congress, the contemporary newspapers or other sources. Much of the most valuable editorial comment consists of learned notes on these documents. In some cases, where various drafts of them are extant, these are presented *seriatim*. A particularly interesting example is that of the Declaration on taking up Arms (II. 128-157). At the end of Vol. III. John Adams's notes of debates from September 23 to October 30, 1775, are presented. Valuable and illuminating as these are, it seems an anomaly to include them without making use of other extant diaries. Vol. I. contains several photographic facsimiles of important documents. At the end of Vols. I. and III. a bibliography of the printed pieces issued by Congress is presented; also an excellent index.

Much as one must admire this monumental work, it has several blemishes. In the first place, such a publication should, according to all the best modern practice, begin with a full and critical account of the manuscript sources whence it is derived. Mr. Ford's very meagre preface to Vol. I. contains nothing of the sort, and if some fragments of information on the subject are presented in the preface to Vol. II., they are inadequate, and not always clearly expressed. We are informed (III. 515) that general remarks on the printed editions are postponed to the end of the series. Perhaps the same is true of the manuscripts. Meanwhile readers may like to know—a fact not mentioned in these volumes—that an elaborate account of the manuscripts was presented by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. XXI. Another important desideratum is a complete list of members of Congress in at least the two years 1774 and 1775. Such a list, general or special, should have been prefixed either to the whole work or to each volume. Thirdly, while there is much use of erased type, it

is not clear, at any rate to the present reviewer, just what it indicates. Finally, there is a decided infelicity in the half-separate, half-united condition of Vols. II. and III. They have one preface, one pagination, one bibliographical appendix, one index; and the phrase "this volume" in the preface and elsewhere in Vol. II. (II. 253) is used in a sense that includes both. Yet they have separate title-pages and are bound as two volumes. If there has been hesitation between two plans of arrangement, it is to be hoped that hereafter the unit will be the volume and not the calendar year; to make the latter the unit for indexing, it is certain, would cause much trouble to the multitude of students who will hereafter use this splendid work.

*The Civil Service and the Patronage.* By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Assistant Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XI.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 280.)

THE recent work of Mr. Fish is the most important and valuable contribution that has been made to the history of the civil service in this country. The function of the historian is not simply to enumerate facts in a chronological order, but through these facts to interpret the spirit of an age. Any trained student with an accurate mind and sufficient time can count the number of removals from office made by all the presidents from Washington to Roosevelt, but it is the work of the historian, as differentiated from that of the investigator, to show through these removals the development of a complex system and to associate these removals with other events apparently unconnected with them. It is in this that the chief merit of Mr. Fish's work consists. The book, moreover, is interesting, and it is therefore a welcome illustration of the principle urged by a growing number of historians that a history may be thoroughly scientific and yet not be so dull that "it can be read only by the author and the proof-reader."

The book falls naturally into four parts: the first deals with the history of appointments and removals down to the administration of President Jackson, the second treats of the genesis of the spoils system, the third part considers the struggle between the spoils system and its foes, while the fourth is a frank exposition of the difficulties inherent in any mechanical system of selecting officers.

The first part contains little in effect that is new. Additional facts have been gleaned in regard to well-known cases of removal; the number of removals in every administration prior to that of President Jackson is shown to be greater than has generally been thought, while it is also made clear that more of these removals were apparently made for political reasons than had been supposed to be the case. Yet while the investigation of all of these points has given a broader basis for conclusions, it is a question whether it has really altered the conclusions previously drawn in regard to the early period. The one disputed question of the period has been whether President Jefferson introduced

the spoils system or not,—his opponents have maintained that he did, his supporters that he did not. Mr. Fish squares the circle by deciding that he technically introduced the spoils system, but that the introduction did no harm at that time (p. 51).

The most valuable part of the book is the second section, dealing with the genesis of the spoils system. This is a genuine contribution to the history of the subject. Mr. Fish shows very clearly that the principle of rotation in elective offices had been in force in the legislative and in the executive departments of all the Northern and the Western states almost from the first colonial settlements and that the custom had everywhere been justified as one necessary in educating the public in the business of government, as well as in protecting the people from possible usurpations of power on the part of office-holders. Thus the theory and the practice of rotation in elective office were generally familiar and it was but a natural step to transfer both, first from the state to the national government and then from elective to appointive offices. President Jackson therefore found a soil well prepared for the introduction of the spoils system into national politics,—had it been otherwise, the evil would not so quickly have grown to gigantic size.

In discussing the struggle between the spoils system and its foes, Mr. Fish finds that prior to the plan for genuine reform inaugurated by Mr. Jenckes, the struggle had in reality been less against the spoils system itself than a struggle between the President and the Senate for the control of the spoils. The President was restive under the senatorial control exercised in the confirmation of nominations, while the Senate was jealous of the exclusive right of initiating appointments given the President by the Constitution. Thus the matter practically stood when the battle-field was transferred to the House through the introduction of the Jenckes Bill in 1865. That the measure finally became a law in 1883 was perhaps due less to genuine interest in reform *per se* than to a growing appreciation of the necessity of conducting government business by business methods.

The fourth part, dealing with the period of civil service reform, is much less full than are the other divisions of the work. Its chief value lies in its candid statements of the difficulties inherent in any system of appointment through competitive examination. Many adherents of the present system will, however, differ with Mr. Fish in regard to some of his conclusions,—that the permanent civil service will not be able to draw in many men fitted for the highest posts (p. 234), and other similar statements. The business of the government has shared in the general business tendency of the age towards organization on a large scale and the leadership of the many by the few. The day of the small business is for the time being eclipsed and able young men accept that fact both in private business and in government service.

The special contribution that the work makes to the literature of the subject is that the author goes behind the face of the returns and shows that the spoils system flourished in congenial soil, while the

reform has been in large part due to the perfection of business methods in the country at large and the consequent demand for the application of the same principles to the conduct of affairs of government.

The place that civil service reform has come to occupy in our political system is indicated by the wealth of material bearing on the subject. The selected, classified and annotated bibliography fills thirteen pages in Mr. Fish's work,—a list that would have given courage to the early reformers could they have foreseen it. An unfortunate omission is that of *Harper's Weekly*,—under the able editorship of George William Curtis it must share equally with the *Nation* (p. 261) the credit of effective promotion of civil service reform.

It is to be regretted that the name of so valiant a champion of the reform movement as Mr. George McAneny should be almost unrecognizable on p. 227 and in the index, that the American Historical Association should appear as the American Historical Society (pp. 253, 265), and that a careless proof-reading (p. 254) should change the nationality of the distinguished Von Holst. The letter of Mrs. Graham to Washington (footnote, p. 80) is an interesting one, but the extract given is quite obscure without accompanying explanation,—“that sketch of a democratical government” refers to a tract addressed by Mrs. Graham to Paoli.

L. M. S.

*Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs.* By GARDNER W. ALLEN.  
(Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 354.)

MR. ALLEN's book treats of the relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers from 1794, when the United States made its first effective preparations for war, until 1816, when its last war with a Barbary state ended. Introductory to this main part of the book, are brief but excellent historical accounts of the White Slavery in the Barbary States, the Early American Captives in Barbary, and the First Negotiations of the United States with the Barbary States, covering the period from 1776 to 1793. This introduction comprises forty-eight pages. The relations between the United States and the Barbary Powers from 1794 to 1800 comprise forty-three pages; from 1801 to 1805, one hundred and eighty-one pages; and from 1806 to 1816, twenty-nine pages. Two pages of comment close the volume. It is thus seen that three-fifths of the book treats of the period from 1801 to 1805. This large space, however, is not out of proportion, since our relations with the Barbary States during Jefferson's first administration were more extensive and complicated than during any other period of our history. The chief event of the period from 1801 to 1805 treated by Mr. Allen is of course the war with Tripoli. The capture of the *Philadelphia* by the Tripolitans, its destruction by the Americans, and Eaton's capture of Derne, each a most dramatic and picturesque incident, form the subjects of separate chapters. The author's account of Commodore Preble's attack on Tripoli covers rather familiar ground. In the period of 1794-1800 Mr. Allen



has found material for an interesting chapter on the "impressment" of the American naval ship, *George Washington*, and its voyage to Constantinople on an errand of the Dey of Algiers. Other subjects of this period that are treated are the treaties of peace with Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. The chief event of the last period is the war with Algiers during 1815 and 1816.

Mr. Allen's facts are in general, although by no means entirely, either of a naval or of a diplomatic character. The naval information naturally exceeds the diplomatic. He has chiefly drawn his naval information from the manuscripts of the Navy Department and the Library of Congress, books on the lives of naval officers, naval histories, and Goldsborough's *Naval Chronicle*. He has based his diplomatic history largely upon the *American State Papers*, Wait's *State Papers and Publick Documents*, Eaton's and Felton's *Life of Eaton*, Cathcart's letters, the *Writings* of Jefferson, and Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers*. These by no means exhaust the list of Mr. Allen's authorities, which he publishes in the appendix in the form of an excellent bibliographical note with explanatory remarks. By means of appropriate foot-notes the author throughout the volume indicates the sources of his information. By abbreviating the names of his authorities he has brought his foot-notes within a small compass, and thereby has indulged the sensibilities of the popular reader.

The author has based his narrative solidly and closely upon his sources of information, which he uses with discrimination and judgment. His numerous quotations and his adequate foot-notes and bibliography give complete confidence in his accuracy and painstaking care. His conclusions and comments are conservative and well-balanced. One sometimes wishes that there were more of them, and that the author had injected a larger subjective element into his objective narrative. A reader often demands of an historian his conclusions as well as the evidence upon which they are to be based.

*Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs* is a good example of a book that is scientific and at the same time popular. It is popular by reason of the dramatic quality of the information that it contains. Its interest lies in the intrinsic interest of its facts. The narrative is plain, simple, and straightforward. The author has employed none of the allurements of style in order to catch and hold the attention of the dull or indifferent reader. His language is clear and acceptable.

In addition to a bibliography the appendix contains a synopsis of the early treaties between the United States and the Barbary Powers, a list of vessels and officers serving in the Mediterranean during the war with Tripoli, the casualties in Commodore Preble's squadron, a letter of the Dey of Algiers to President Madison dated April 24, 1816, and a letter of President Madison to the Dey dated August 21, 1816.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

*The Life of Thomas Hart Benton.* By WILLIAM M. MEIGS. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1904. Pp. 533.)

*Thomas H. Benton.* By JOSEPH M. ROGERS. (Philadelphia: Geo. W. Jacobs and Company. 1905. Pp. 361.)

THE almost simultaneous publication of two important biographies of Thomas H. Benton—only a month between them—is another of the many signs of the rising interest in the formative history of the Middle West. These two volumes not only signify a growing interest in that part of American history, but also show that the general historical reader, as well as the student, is more and more harking back to the origin of things, when ideas and institutions were in the process of becoming what they are now. Without doubt two such studies will stimulate this interest, and will help to give to American readers an abiding interest in the first great trans-Mississippi statesman.

Benton is a character that furnishes an occasion for good writing. Both authors seem to have appreciated this, for there is not a dull page in either book. But Benton's activities were so tremendous and the fruits of his labor so great that he presents a strong temptation to eulogy and hero-worship. Neither author has sinned in this regard, although there runs through each volume an undertone of deep appreciation of Benton's ability and character.

It may truly be said that both authors have dealt with the great deeds accomplished by this masterful man in a most interesting way. The main lines of Benton's career are set out clearly and forcibly; his entry into the Senate; his long fight for the repeal of the salt tax; his championing for years of the policy of giving settlers cheap western lands—the origin of the later Homestead Laws; his part in the rivalry between the East and the South and West; the long bitter fight against the United States Bank and paper money, his incessant effort to secure the attention of the country and the government to the Oregon country, and his splendid faith in its future significance in relation to Asiatic commerce; the gradual break between Benton and the South on slavery and disunion, resulting in his defeat for a sixth term in the Senate; his short career in the House of Representatives; and his unshaken devotion to the Union on the verge of Civil War, are presented quite fully. These great subjects occupy the greater portions of both works. Throughout both volumes interest is heightened by attention to the many interesting and often dramatic episodes in which Benton was involved. Among them are the quarrel and fight with Jackson, duels with Charles Lucas, reconciliation with, and warm friendship for, Jackson; the debates over the expunging resolution; clashes on the floor of the Senate with Clay, Calhoun, and Foote the fire-eater of Mississippi; his last campaign, at over seventy-four years of age, in which Benton travelled over twelve hundred miles and made over forty speeches; and that final scene; the struggle with death to enable him to finish his *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*. In these scenes the aggressive and fighting elements of Benton's character are well

brought out, and add a spice of human interest which seldom appears in serious biographical writings. Both authors emphasize the tremendous difficulties of prejudice, rival ambitions, and conflicting sectional interests which often stood in Benton's way, and the essentially broad and statesmanlike views and motives which stimulated him to fight till he won. The reader is made to feel that here is an open and manly opponent who called a spade a spade; who faced enemies on the so-called "field of honor", as well as on the stump or in the Senate; who served nearly a generation in the Senate without accumulating wealth; who genuinely served his state and nation and who, in his long career, never directly or indirectly championed the interest of a few against the interests of the many. Both biographies emphasize the wholesome relation which Benton sustained to his constituents, and show that he practised, consciously or unconsciously, the high ideals set forth in Burke's *Address to the Electors of Bristol*. With all its faults Benton's character is made to appear worthy of the study of every American who aspires to participate in local or national politics.

These two lives, however, will not appeal in equal degree to the student of history and to the reader of history. Meigs's was written for the student by a student. Rogers's was written for the general reader by one who writes daily for the general reader, and is a volume of the "American Crisis Biographies". A number of points of contrast will justify this conclusion, at least in part. Meigs contains more frequent and fuller quotations from Benton's speeches and writings and gives exact references to pages and volumes. Rogers not only contains fewer quotations, but has not a single exact reference to a single authority. It is true that in his "Bibliography", Rogers cites general histories and "Reminiscences", but fails to mention any special treatises such as Catterall's *Second Bank*, although he declares that he has used many sources not named. Meigs appeals to the student by a more judicial and critical attitude. He finds several disputed questions difficult to untangle, while Rogers's pen moves right on, as if there were no obstacles in the way and no doubts to raise as to fact and interpretation. The method of approach is strikingly different. Meigs spends more than one hundred and fifty pages in working out what might be regarded as the social and political environment out of which Benton arose, including a very interesting sketch of the men in the Senate in 1821 who exerted a strong influence over him. Benton cannot be understood as the student wishes to understand him, without such a study of early surroundings. Rogers's chapter on Benton's entry into the Senate closes on page 54.

There is hardly an over-statement or a serious error to be found in Meigs. But now and then Rogers will indulge in such statements as the following: "Henry Clay came to the front with his first compromise. It was effected solely through his agency" (p. 32). On the opposite page he declares that "this compromise" (the Missouri Compromise) "was to a great extent the work of Benton". Putting aside

the contradiction in these two sentences, there is considerable history behind each which ought to have produced different statements. Benton of course was not recognized as a Senator and had no right to vote or speak till Missouri was proclaimed a state of the Union. Rogers pronounces Clay "a man of unbridled ambition", "the father of the protective tariff system" and declares that in the Compromise of 1850 "Clay and Calhoun had their way and left a heritage of Civil War to posterity". In this connection he also asserts that President Taylor wished to "try conclusions with the South." Sentences such as these, scattered here and there, force the conclusion that Rogers did not entirely shake off his editorial habit of popular statement when producing a serious historical work. The writing of a biography of Benton for general readers is a serious task, and Rogers has accomplished it.

W. H. MACE.

*The Crisis of the Confederacy: A History of Gettysburg and the Wilderness.* By CECIL BATTINE, Captain 15th The King's Hussars. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 424; six maps.)

It is not surprising that the campaigns and battles of the four years' war between the American States, and the careers of the great leaders on the two sides should attract the attention and be the study of military students and critics in other lands. But it is surprising that foreign students and war-critics should give such thorough and careful study to these leaders and their campaigns as to produce books that are most complete in their comprehension of all the elements of history, and most accurate in detail. Col. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* as a narrative of Jackson's campaigns, and a study of the strategy of that military genius, is the most complete and detailed ever written. No American writer has produced so full and thorough a discussion and history of Jackson and his campaigns as this accomplished English officer.

The same may be said of Captain Battine's book. No book to this time has given so comprehensive and so accurate a narrative of the Gettysburg campaign, from the standpoint of the impartial historian. Of Henderson it may be said that he had become convinced of the justice of the cause of the Southern Confederacy, and was an enthusiastic admirer of Stonewall Jackson and of the Southern soldiery which followed Jackson. But Captain Battine announces no judgment of the righteousness of the contest on either side. There is a well-guarded reserve as to his convictions and his sympathies. With an impartiality that is we believe unbroken, he studies with great fairness the whole campaign, from the standpoint of a military student and critic. With the politics of the great conflict he has nothing to do, and of neither side is he a partisan. It is one of the great values of this book that it is the work of an author who is neither Northern nor Southern, who has not committed himself to a judgment on the great question at issue, and who is

here engaged in a just and careful study of the critical period of the war, in the interest of military science.

The book is an octavo volume of over four hundred pages, somewhat compactly printed, and is therefore quite a full and substantial volume. Its maps are well prepared, and are, on the whole, accurate reproductions of the country as it was in the time of war. It is not at all a complete history of the downfall of the military power of the Southern States, but it aims to be "a concise account of the most critical phase of this great Civil War." There is no attempt to embrace the elements of weakness that existed in finance, in blockaded ports, in lack of manufactures, in imperfect transportation, nor is there any outline of the campaigns in the West, and the seizure of the Mississippi River.

But with Gettysburg in view, the author gives a brief account of the campaigns in Virginia from the beginning. And this is done to bring the reader to the breaking of the war at Gettysburg, with an intelligent comprehension of the conditions which there existed, the generals who commanded, and the battalions which were now filled with veteran soldiers, who had passed through long marches and well fought battles. Chancellorsville is especially studied as the field from which the invasion of Pennsylvania has seemed to many the logical and necessary conclusion. Then the cavalry engagement at Brandy Station is fully narrated, and the capture of Winchester by General Ewell, and the defeat of Milroy. With most admirable care, Captain Battine has studied many sources of information, and knows well the books both North and South. He is familiar with the topography of Northern Virginia, follows the movement of Stuart in Fauquier and Prince William with intelligence, and gives as complete an account of his daring but mistaken ride to the east of Hooker into Pennsylvania as exists in print to-day.

The great and critical contest at Gettysburg is treated not as a three days' battle, but correctly as three battles on three successive days. There was to both sides the unexpected conflict on Willoughby's Run, three miles west of the town, with its Confederate success. There was the second battle, when in the afternoon of the second day Longstreet at last struck the extreme left flank of the Federal army, and defeated Sickles at the Peach Orchard. And there was the third battle, when on the afternoon of the third day Pickett's column struck the left centre of the enemy's line on the ridge, and unsupported fell back a broken, exhausted wave from the overwhelming numbers holding a strong position. No important part of the struggle is omitted. The condition of the armies on both sides is carefully narrated, the arrivals on the field, the delays, the confusions, the mistakes are told candidly. Many books have been written from many viewpoints, and no doubt sincere attempts to do justice to all have been made. But nowhere we believe is there so just and impartial a narrative of the struggles around the little Pennsylvania town, on which hung so critically the issues of the whole war, and the turning-point of American history.

The author has not failed to see that from the Southern side, the

reasons for failure at Gettysburg are to be found in a number of facts. There was the absence of Stuart and his cavalry, which he attributes to indefinite instructions from the commanding general; the lack of a prompt initiative on the part of General Ewell on the evening of the first day; the unsoldierly recalcitration of General Longstreet, and his lack of sympathy with the wishes of General Lee; and yet more pervading and controlling, the loss of Stonewall Jackson. "With the fatal shot which struck down Stonewall Jackson began the series of disastrous events leading to the conquest of the Confederacy."

The author of this book is an educated professional soldier, acquainted with the principles of military science as taught in the English schools, and as exemplified in all modern warfare. From this standpoint his criticisms are made, and will be regarded, we are confident, with much respect. In his view the Richmond government erred in not concentrating all possible force in Lee's army of Northern Virginia, drawing everything possible from the South and West for the strongest aggressive movement. At the sacrifice of some minor interests, the whole strength should have been thrown into a decisive campaign. Again and again, Captain Battine urges that it was a great mistake in tactics that the cavalry was not kept in operation with the infantry on the field, and pushed in massed columns upon every weakened point. He thinks that on both sides in the American war there was need of a much better staff organization of professionally educated officers, with definite assignments to duty. After crossing the Potomac, the author thinks, instead of going so far afield into Pennsylvania, General Lee should have promptly turned east toward Frederick, and fought the battle near to his communications, and nearer to the enemy's base at Washington. Of Gettysburg, he speaks as distinctly "the soldiers' battle," the Southern soldiers fighting with a courage and sacrifice unparalleled. Their leaders of highest rank did not rise to the occasion, and failed in harmony and concert of action.

We have found it a matter of constant regret that the able and accomplished author of this valuable book has not given in foot-notes references to the authorities on which his narrative is based. He has made an extensive research through the literature of the war. It would have added greatly to the permanent historical value of the book, if he had given the references to reports and personal narratives, with which he evidently has most intelligent acquaintance. We have no reason to question his statistical tables, and we believe that they conform in the main with the reports and statements of Generals Hooker, Meade, and Humphreys, and of the Confederate authorities. But it would have been eminently satisfactory if these sources of information had been cited.

A few errors we have noted, that may not be of especial importance, but their correction in another edition may protect the reader from some confusion of thought: Page 15, the eleventh line from the bottom, should read, "were marching Southeast," not "Southwest"; page 50, "were cantoned South and East," not "West"; page 71, "Field Hos-

pital at the *Wilderness*," not at "Dowdall's Tavern"; page 155, first line, "Lee's messenger found Ewell with Early," Early and his division were at York, quite well to the East; page 122, first line, "Robertson's *Confederate* Brigade," not "Federal."

Captain Battine has done faithful and able work in his book, and it must remain a permanent contribution to the history of the crisis of the Confederacy, the breaking of the wave of the Southern soldiers' victory, when it had reached the very crest of the ridge against which it rose.

J. P. S.

*History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850.* By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., Litt.D. Vol. V., 1864-1866. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xii, 659.)

MR. RHODES's fifth volume begins with Sherman's march to the sea and ends with the Congressional elections of the autumn of 1866. The first three chapters bring to a close his long, careful, and thorough narrative of the Civil War. The next two chapters discuss, with equal fullness, the life of both the sections in war-time, throwing light on many subjects never before so well treated in any general work, and setting in a just perspective facts and deeds and men that have too often been neglected. One is glad to find the work of the Sanitary Commission amply described and to see such unobtrusive patriots as Frederick Law Olmsted and James B. Fry taking their places with the captains and the statesmen.

A shorter chapter deals with the most repellent topics that confront the student of the period—military prisons, North and South, and such episodes as the Dahlgren raid and the Fort Pillow massacre. In the opening paragraphs of this particular chapter, Mr. Rhodes, discussing the material for the study of the prison controversy, tells us, with his usual candor, that he cannot claim to have mastered it all; but in those very paragraphs, as well as in the résumé that follows, he exhibits admirably well some of his best qualities as a historian. No subject, surely, could test more severely his patience, fairness, and good sense; and so well does he stand the test that I shall be surprised if any future investigation shall seriously shake his general conclusions. Neither side escapes blame, no part of the revolting story is obscured, and yet intelligent men of both sides will, I fancy, find in Mr. Rhodes's judgments a certain relief. It is war, rather than men, that he in substance chiefly arraigns. When one has finished his unsparing recital of the facts, his portrayal of the hideous sufferings of helpless brave men, it is Sherman's famous saying about war that comes into one's mind. With the maxim, "All the right is never on one side and all the wrong on the other," Mr. Rhodes makes his real summary of the whole wretched business. He thus also incidentally displays the temper in which this volume has been written.

As an excuse for what he would have us consider a rather hurried handling of the voluminous material of the prison controversy, Mr.

Rhodes offers his great desire to see his long task finished. That desire, no doubt, also explains why his final chapter covers a longer period than all the others in the volume. Putting aside everything but Reconstruction, this chapter recounts—briefly, for Mr. Rhodes, but carefully, clearly, and with a full display of sources—all the important steps by which President Johnson and the Republicans in Congress came to an open breach before the country. Salient features of the author's treatment of this difficult period are his marked preference for Lincoln over all the other men that ever in any wise took a hand in Reconstruction, and his equally clear approval, at a later stage, of the plan for which Trumbull and Fessenden were chiefly responsible. Both judgments will strongly commend themselves to open-minded students who do not fail to note how the conditions of the problem were constantly changing. One infers that in the next volume the narrative will proceed even faster. Mr. Rhodes is eminently well-equipped for a close study of the early years of peace; but no one who rightly appreciates his labors for the truth of history can begrudge him an earlier completion of his entire undertaking than he could possibly compass without some change of plan.

Whatever the future may show, he has to his credit one fairly well defined achievement. He has finished in this volume the best history of the Civil War. The reviewer would rather dwell a moment on that fact—not, he would hope, without some interest for Americans far outside of the ranks of the history-writing brotherhood—than scrutinize, after the minute and technical fashion in criticism most affected in these pages, the one volume now before us. After all, the merely technical side of the historian's work is quite the least important. In no other department of scholarship is it so nearly possible to dispense altogether with anything like a professional training and equipment: a consideration, however, which becomes less encouraging when one has to add that of all scholars the historian needs the amplest general training, both from study and experience, and the most various equipment. Nor does any other scholar need to keep alive so many interests, sympathies, enthusiasms. We should all, I fancy, be the better fitted for our own work in history if our interest in such work as this of Mr. Rhodes were less professional than human; if in each successive volume we looked first for the past—for heroes and battles; for statesmen and measures, for the life of other times—and only later considered the object-lesson in methods, the merely shoppish values in the work.

I venture thus to moralize apropos of this book rather than another because I think Mr. Rhodes's work so clearly entitled to the first place among the various enterprises in historiography now in progress in this country. Even more might be said of its importance. A very distinguished critic of American civilization, who is also singularly observant of the intellectual life of other lands, in the course of a comparison of our recent work in letters with that of Englishmen which was generally unfavorable to American writers, made an exception of history. In



that field, he thought, we had quite held our own. And now that Green and Stubbs and Freeman and Creighton are gone, is there in England any historian who to a subject equally large has devoted, as Mr. Rhodes has, ample time, means, patience, and ability? It is not unreasonable, I think, to claim for the work of this American historian an importance not quite equalled by the work of any of his contemporaries who are writing history in the same tongue.

The claim, of course, cannot rest solely or mainly on the mere bulk of his endeavor, the scale of his devotion. The work must be excellent after its kind. But on this point also the judgment of competent critics is, I suppose, made up. They seem to be fairly unanimous, and the essence of their consensus is, that Mr. Rhodes tells the truth. It would probably be hard to improve on that plain statement of the solid excellence of all his work. And it conveys, in his case, very high praise. Mr. Rhodes has been dealing with very live matter; with events that have all happened in his own life-time; with questions still warmly debated; with a great war, the wounds of which are not all healed; with men who are themselves still among the living or for whom women still wear mourning. If we can nearly all agree that his long recital is, in the least sophisticated sense, truthful, I am not sure that we do not thereby pay him the very highest tribute of all.

And to pronounce him truthful we need not be ourselves experts in his period, or even trained students of history. He has supplied us with ample means to verify his facts, to weigh his conclusions. His references and citations, always abundant, seem to grow more voluminous with each successive volume. In the volume before us they are so detailed and careful that sometimes, when the point at issue is of no great consequence, the effect is fairly comical. On page 5, for instance, speaking of a notion at one time prevalent in the North that General Sherman was out of his head, Mr. Rhodes cites in a footnote a newspaper editorial expressing the opinion. Macaulay, one fancies, or even Gibbon, would have thought this sufficient. But Mr. Rhodes adds, "I have had a careful search made of the files of the *New York Tribune* and *Cincinnati Commercial*, and feel pretty sure that this is the first charge of insanity published in the newspapers". To determine whether tinned vegetables were ever issued to the Union troops, he sought the help of a scientist who studied for him the history of the canning industry. Fortified with this and other testimony, he writes (p. 249 n.): "It may be affirmed with confidence that canned peas and canned string-beans were not furnished the army or the Sanitary Commission at any time during the war". The reader feels that with such a guide he is safe from the negative deception of omissions, as well as from anything approaching a wilful perversion of the truth. It is impossible to suspect Mr. Rhodes of withholding, either for partisan or artistic reasons, anything that tends to enlightenment. I cannot think of another historian who so constantly produces the effect of complete candor, who is so indefatigably minded to tell all that can be

reckoned of consequence, and to display unreservedly the sources of his knowledge and the grounds of his opinions. Citations in the text are so common that some readers will doubtless think them a fault of style. Many pages are little better than mosaics, being made up wholly of quotations, thinly cemented with the author's merely explanatory comments.

This may be one of the reasons why Mr. Rhodes is sometimes criticized as cautious and non-committal. No doubt we should all be glad, now and then, if he would make a little more of his own opinions, and speak "as one having authority". In this particular volume, for instance, although he gives us material in plenty for a judgment of Sherman's course with private property and with non-combatants, he himself pronounces none at all. A historian is of necessity a teacher of morals, and one expects a comment on Sherman's declaration that if he had thought it advisable, for military reasons, to burn Columbia, he would have burnt it with no more feeling than if it had been a prairie-dog village. But on the whole the charge of non-committalism is unjust. Mr. Rhodes is usually bold enough and clear enough in stating his conclusions, both about facts and men. If he seems lacking in that sort of candor, it is because, besides his candor in displaying his sources, he is also extremely candid in forming his opinions. He has the poise, the charity and fairness, and the knowledge of life, that usually make for moderation, hardly ever for startling pronouncements. On this very subject of sweeping judgments he has stated his own view clearly. It will probably be disappointing to his younger, but not to his older readers. Quoting Macaulay's brilliant sentence on the evils of clipped silver, he comments, "Like all strong general averments this probably overstates the case." Accordingly, he is forever making allowances for the rhetorical narrator and the over-excited witness. To withstand always the historian's constant temptation to overstate and overcolor, to discover and to tell the plain truth—this is, clearly, his resolve. To write history after such a fashion demands a firm will, and a rather rare kind of honesty, requiring the sacrifice of many opportunities for effects which most readers crave and most writers strive incessantly to accomplish. It is improbable that any paragraph in these five volumes will ever be singled out for any quality that catches the eye. Mr. Rhodes is never brilliant, never the fine writer.

Yet one hesitates to pronounce his work lacking in what we call literary quality. When we consider it from that point of view, many strictures do, no doubt, suggest themselves. Mr. Rhodes's prose is not imaginative. Fancy, grace, tenderness are wanting. Few phrases strike one as particularly fit or fine. The pace is slow, and it never changes. Mr. Rhodes moves through the most exciting episodes quite as he plods over the most matter-of-fact reaches of his narrative. His battle-pieces are disappointing. The style is heavy, the constructions, though rarely defective, are sometimes rather clumsy—with the not unpleasant clumsiness of the muscle-bound athlete. But when these

specific criticisms have been assembled, an awkward fact stands in the way of a dissatisfied general verdict: one has found the book, after all, decidedly readable. The author's candor and sincerity and thoroughness, his great appetite for truth, his deep, masculine interest in his subject—these things far outweigh his mainly negative infelicities. We know that Mr. Rhodes has not neglected to study methods in historiography; on the contrary, he has with his customary care and patience examined the ways of the masters, from Herodotus down. May he not have been wise to choose for himself the style and manner which he finds most natural, most expressive of his own everyday standards of judgment and of taste?

At any rate, he has made a thoroughly American book. In that respect, it is comparable to General Grant's *Memoirs*. He has written history very much as Grant and Sherman,—like himself, men of the middle West,—made it. There are doubtless better fashions in narrative prose, but for this particular narrative none, surely, could be more appropriate. Suppose Mr. Rhodes had elected to tell his story in the manner of our most distinctly literary personages—Mr. Barrett Wendell, for example, or Mr. Henry James! There are books which might be spoiled by a pronounced literary flavor, and this is one of them. It is certainly desirable that a history of the United States be written in a language which the mass of Americans can readily understand.

Were there space for more reflection, there is food for it in the fact that even to such a history as this, a history of the most absorbing years of all our past, the mass of Americans seem as yet woefully indifferent. Quite possibly, there are as yet more Americans laudably busy with writing about our past than there are eager purchasers and readers of their books. I say "as yet", because it seems hardly probable that this state of things will continue, or that this so worthy book of Mr. Rhodes will not, sooner or later, win for itself a public somewhat commensurate with the favor it has won from the critics. Apart from all its other merits, it has one quality that insures it permanence of value. It can no more be superseded than Grant's *Memoirs*; for to future generations it will have the character of a contemporary document relating to all the great events of the Civil War period. Other histories may in various ways surpass it, but none can ever take its place. Mr. Rhodes is forever fortunate in standing at what is perhaps the very best distance from his subject.

But even if this were not so, one would hate to believe that his countrymen are too absorbed in their present-day affairs, which it is hard to find inspiring, to attend to this dignified recital of so much that is inspiring and heroic in their still recent past. Let us hope, therefore, that Mr. Rhodes, now that his case with the scholarly is won, may make a few concessions to those whom the very air and method of scholarship affrights. Perhaps he will some day find time to prepare a popular edition, divested of all notes that are merely references to authorities, the text cleared of citations that convince but do not interest, the whole

lessened in bulk and unified in narrative effect. In some such form the work might go directly into the hands of a great number who will otherwise profit by Mr. Rhodes's labors only through other men's books. But in any case it will doubtless long remain the source from which students will draw, whether at first hand or at second hand, their soundest knowledge of the great American conflict.

W. G. BROWN.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series*, Volume XVIII. (London, 1905, pp. 391). Among the papers read before the Royal Historical Society in 1904 the address by the president, Dr. G. W. Prothero, and the study by Colonel E. M. Lloyd on Canning and Spanish America are of especial interest to American readers. In his presidential address Dr. Prothero gives an interesting survey of the status of recent history in the curricula of English colleges and universities. Contrary to the practice on the Continent and in America, the field of modern history since the Congress of Vienna has been entirely neglected in England. At Oxford the line has been sharply drawn at 1815 for foreign history, and at 1837 for domestic. For the period after these dates no instruction was provided,<sup>1</sup> and a man at Oxford might obtain the highest honors in history and know nothing of "Louis Philippe or Napoleon III., of Lincoln or Bismarck or Cavour, of the American Civil War or the making of the German Empire". At his own university, Cambridge, Dr. Prothero considers the instruction in nineteenth-century history likewise quite inadequate, and while conditions are slightly better at London and Manchester, the subject receives much less attention in England than on the Continent or in the United States. Dr. Prothero's address should be read in connection with Professor Andrews's paper on Recent European History in American Colleges; P. Caron and Th. Sagnac, *Études d'Histoire Moderne en France*, and the first part of the careful study by M. Lot, *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire et de l'Art dans les Universités d'Allemagne et de France*.

Colonel Lloyd's study of Canning and Spanish America calls to mind Mr. H. W. V. Temperley's *Life of Canning* which has just appeared. The difference in the attitude of the two men toward Canning is interesting; the biographer, as one would expect, being much more sympathetic. Indeed Colonel Lloyd seems to emphasize rather unduly what Croker called the insincerity of the great statesman. A well-constructed paper by Miss Enid M. G. Routh on "The Attempts to establish a Balance of Power" (1648-1702), represents the successful work for the Alexander Prize. It would seem as if an investigation into a subject in which the ambitions of France played so conspicuous

<sup>1</sup> In a footnote Dr. Prothero states that the area of study included in the Honours School of Modern History at Oxford has since the date of his address been extended to include the years from 1815 to 1878.

a part should furnish a more detailed analysis of the provisions relating to that country in the treaties of Westphalia, than the simple footnote, "by the Peace of Westphalia France gained Metz, Toul and Verdun and rights to certain cities." Of decidedly standard calibre are the paper by Miss R. Graham on "The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244-1257," and the scholarly study by Dr. Edwin F. Gay on "The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607." The papers by Dr. James Gairdner and Mr. I. S. Leadam on the conspiracy against Henry VII., which Mr. Leadam, in a paper before the society in 1903, claimed to have discovered, are keen and clear-cut, affording an excellent illustration of the criticism of sources. Dr. Gairdner makes a strong case against what he calls "the supposed conspiracy." Mr. A. Denton Cheney contributes a paper on the Holy Maid of Kent, and Mr. G. J. Turner on the Minority of Henry III. (Pt. 1) concludes the historical part of the volume.

It is a matter of regret that the project of a bibliography of English history since 1485, set out so clearly by Dr. Prothero in his previous address, has apparently not developed sufficiently to call for a report of progress.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

In *Evidence in Athenian Courts* (University of Chicago Press, 1905), Mr. R. J. Bonner, "formerly of the Ontario Bar", deals with the subject from the point of view of a man trained in English law. The material is classified accordingly under such heads as Irrelevant, Hearsay, Written, Oral, Real, and Expert Evidence, Evidence of Slaves, Competency of Witnesses, Challenges, Oaths, etc. In a number of cases the view presented in Meier-Schömann's *Der Attische Process* is disputed. For example, the writer maintains that prior to the time of Isaeus the evidence of witnesses was oral, and that in late times when it was required to be reduced to writing the depositions were not necessarily filed at the preliminary examination, but could be deposited with the clerk of the court at any time before they were read. Further it is held that a slave even in cases of murder could not be a witness, technically speaking; and that the information obtained from slaves by torture could only be considered evidence if the torture followed the formal challenge. The work is carefully done, and will be found interesting and suggestive by teachers who have not had the advantage of a legal training.

A. G. L.

*Homenaje à D. Francisco Codera en su Jubilación del Profesorado. Estudios de Erudición Oriental*, con una introducción de D. Eduardo Saavedra. (Zaragoza, Mariano Escar, 1904, pp. xxxviii, 656.) This volume is at once a deserved tribute to an estimable scholar and an illustration of the revival in Spain of interest in Semitic studies. Spain is the natural custodian and expounder of the extensive and interesting Arabic and Hebrew literature of the peninsula, but for a long time she

neglected her duty in this regard. Bitter hatred of Moors and Jews in the sixteenth century and political decadence in the seventeenth century, followed by harassing wars, quenched enthusiasm for linguistic and historical studies; up to near the middle of the nineteenth century Spaniards had done little for the treasures of the Escorial library or for the history and literature of the Spanish Moors. The last sixty years, however, have brought about a gratifying change in this regard. Under the leadership of Pascual de Gayangos and others keen interest in the Spanish-Arabic civilization has been awakened, and a host of scholars have devoted themselves to Semitic philology and history (and, it may be added, the valuable Arabic library collected by P. de Gayangos has been secured for Spain). Among these scholars Codera occupies an important place. Born in Fonz in 1836, and intending at first to enter the Church, he was led by circumstances (not affecting his religious faith) to devote himself to the physical sciences, and later to classical and Semitic philology. In 1874 he obtained the chair of Arabic in the University of Madrid, and from that time till his jubilee year (1902) gave himself with ardor and perseverance to the study of Spanish-Moslem history, especially its numismatics and chronology. He has contributed more than a hundred articles to learned journals on numismatic, epigraphic, historical and bibliographical subjects, and has edited the ten volumes (Vols. II., IX., X., in conjunction with Professor Ribera, of Saragossa) of the important *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, which contains numerous biographical notices of the learned men of Andalusia, besides other matters of interest; the manuscripts edited are, all but one, in the Escorial library. In addition to his contributions to Spanish-Moslem history Codera has aided the cause of learning by his influence on his pupils and on the scholars of Spain. The present volume contains thirty-eight papers on Arabic subjects contributed by Semitic scholars of Europe, America and Egypt; of the contributors twenty-four are Spanish, six French, two Italian, one Portuguese, one German, one Dutch, one Danish, one American (Professor Macdonald, of Hartford) and one Egyptian. The papers cover a great variety of matters, and the volume is a valuable addition to our Arabic material. One of the most interesting discussions is that of Barrau-Dihigo, of the library of the University of Paris, who enters the lists in defence of Conde. As is well known, the reputation of Conde's *History of the Domination of the Arabs in Spain* has been almost completely demolished by the attacks of P. de Gayangos and the Leiden Professor Dozy; the latter denounced him as an ignoramus, forger and impostor. The object of this paper is to show that Dozy's charges are exaggerated and unjust, that Conde, though not always exact, was a learned and serious scholar, drawing his material from original sources. The proofs offered by Barrau-Dihigo are definite enough to warrant a revision of the general contemptuous opinion of Conde; Dozy himself, in the second edition of his *Recherches*, suppressed his polemic against him.

C. H. T.

*The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, by John Pentland Mahaffy, C.V.O., D.D., D.C.L. Chicago. (University of Chicago Press, 1905, pp. vii, 154.) In this volume are published six lectures originally delivered in the University of Chicago and now addressed "to the general reader, the specialist, and the student or teacher of Christianity." They deal in an entertaining way with a great period, the one in which Greek culture was prepared for universal empire. Professor Mahaffy is well qualified to do justice to it, by long study and by possessing in an eminent degree the historian's high gift of sympathy with every serious human movement, however grievous its inception or ominous its outcome. He here strives to see things as a whole, to distinguish Greek and Macedonian and to show them at work among the "beautiful, gentle, laborious people" of Egypt and the vast, silent multitude of Asia, to determine the Hellenistic influences which surrounded nascent Christianity, and to discover—in Ireland and elsewhere—modern analogies for ancient actions and present-day survivals of ancient ideas.

There is little in the book (beyond novelty of presentation) which cannot be found elsewhere. There is, indeed, an over-insistence upon notions which we have come to recognize as peculiarly Mahaffyan. Profound or conclusive the book is not, and the occasion did not demand a different work. But it is less excusable that it treats too exclusively of problems of the author's own raising, too little of those current at the present time. And this, perhaps, explains the rather surprising assertion that the period he has chosen for his discourses is still "somewhat neglected".

W. S. FERGUSON.

*Minores and Mediocres in the Germanic Tribal Laws*, by Edgar Holmes McNeal (Columbus, Ohio, Press of F. J. Heer, 1905, pp. 130). This doctor's dissertation is a study of the Burgundian, Alemannian, Lombard, Visigothic, and Bavarian codes to show that the growth of royalty and other changed conditions, especially economic, to which the Germanic peoples were subjected after migration, led to a profound change in the class of freemen: through acquirement of much land or royal favor or both, certain freemen, *mediocres*, were becoming distinguished from the ordinary freemen, *minores*; the tribal blood-nobility was disappearing; the *mediocres*, *mediani*, *medii*, were the new class appearing between the old nobility and the smaller freeholders. The general idea is of course a familiar one in the classical works on German institutions. This monograph shows the variations of the process in the different tribes, to what special and local forces the freemen were subjected in each case, with a very careful study of the terminology found. In some details of interpretative criticism it differs from the accepted authorities, but this leads to no important divergence on the general proposition. The introductory chapter (thirty-six pages) serves no useful purpose; it contains nothing new to the scholar of the period

and would not be useful as a reference in undergraduate instruction. The word feudal is used loosely throughout; almost every change is regarded as working towards feudalism, there being no attempt to limit that term to its strict institutional application. On the basis of its contribution to knowledge the work scarcely justifies the labor evidently expended.

A. B. WHITE.

*Die Kaiserinnengräber in Andria*, von Arthur Haseloff, [Bibliothek des Kgl. Preussischen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Band I.] (Rom, 1905, pp. viii, 61, with nine plates). The Prussian Historical Institute at Rome issues this as the first volume of a new series which is to contain studies that are too long for its Review, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, and yet do not belong with its larger works. The present volume contains an examination of the evidence regarding the graves found in the crypt of the Cathedral of Andria in 1904 and supposed to be those of the empresses Yolande and Isabella. After discussing the sources and the statements and traditions of later times, the author passes to the archaeological evidence found in the cathedral itself. The upper church of today dates mainly from the fifteenth century; but there are remains from the time of Frederick II., when it was, quite surely, rebuilt. The lower church,—technically not a crypt,—has been altered at various times; but it dates as a whole from before the development of the romanesque cathedral in Apulia. A careful examination of the graves brings the author to the conclusion that, while they were found where tradition places those of the empresses and while there may be enough evidence for probability, there is certainly not enough to prove that they are the tombs of Yolande and Isabella. The examination of the lower church produces little effect with respect to the problem at issue, but brings to light important material for the history of Apulian architecture and ornamentation in the Hohenstaufen period.

The essay is well proportioned; and with its clear, sane treatment and ample illustration is a valuable contribution to the history of art in medieval Apulia.

A. C. T.

*Scandinavia: A Political History of Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1513 to 1900.* By R. Nisbet Bain. (Cambridge, University Press, 1905, pp. viii, 448.) Students of European history have long felt the need of some good English account of modern Scandinavia. This need has been supplied in part by Mr. Bain's recently published history of the North, a volume of the Cambridge Historical Series. As Mr. Bain views it, "the political history of Scandinavia is the history of the frustration of a great Baltic Empire". It is the story, then, of the imperial ambitions of Denmark and Sweden in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the author wishes to recount. Beginning with the accession of Christian II. in 1513 he traces the gradual decline of Danish



power, the swift rise of Sweden under the Vasas, and the final collapse in the reign of Charles XII. Of these two centuries the author gives us a splendid narrative. In his conclusions he frequently differs from earlier writers, but, though his generalizations are often dangerously bold, his statements, as a rule, are well supported. By the use of Slavic sources he has been able to supplement and correct Swedish history on numerous points. But when Mr. Bain closes his chapter on Charles XII. his subject is practically exhausted. To the remaining period of nearly two centuries he devotes less than one hundred pages. Compared with the earlier part of the work the closing chapters are of inferior quality.

In a history of this kind the author naturally has to deal principally with camps and courts. On the institutional side his work is anything but strong. Perhaps Mr. Bain considers constitutional development foreign to his plan and purpose; nevertheless, certain institutions must be noted and explained if the reader is to understand the narrative. Such an institution is the "Senate" of which we hear repeatedly, but of the origin and composition of which we are told almost nothing. With Norway the author deals to such a slight extent that one hardly understands why the name of that country is included in the title. The great intellectual movements in Norway during the past century—movements that have had a profound influence on recent Scandinavian politics—receive no attention.

Strictly Scandinavian problems the author usually discusses from a Swedish point of view; especially do his pro-Swedish sympathies appear in his treatment of contemporary politics. In the eleven pages that Mr. Bain devotes to the history of Norway and Sweden from 1814 to 1903, his principal topic is the conflict that culminated in the events of last June. His account seems to be an excellent summary of the Swedish side of the conflict, but it is not history. The statement that Sweden conceded a separate consular service for Norway in 1903 (p. 442) is somewhat misleading, as no steps were ever taken to fulfill the promise.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*Origines Islandicae.* A Collection of the More Important Sagas and Other Native Writings relating to the Settlement and Early History of Iceland. Edited and translated by Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905, two volumes, pp. xiv, 728, vii, 787.) The purpose of the editors of this collection has been to make accessible to English readers the principal sources of early Icelandic history. These are mainly of the saga type, though laws, charters, and a few poetic fragments have also been included. In editing these materials Dr. Vigfusson and Professor Powell have followed the same principles and employed the same methods as in preparing their edition of Old Norse poetry, the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. The original text in its earliest form is given in nearly every instance, and a literal trans-

lation carefully prepared is usually added. Preceding each text is a critical introduction of particular value, in which the editors discuss the various problems connected with the saga, both historical and textual. In the first volume the materials are grouped under the heads of settlement, the old constitution, and the early church. Colonial life is the principal theme of the second volume. From a score of splendid tales the editors have collected a mass of material illustrating life, custom and culture not only in Iceland but in the North and Britain as well. The fifth book, which contains the account of the Wineland voyages, will be of special interest to American students. As the texts of the Wineland sagas are accessible elsewhere, the translations alone are given here.

The great masters who planned the work and prepared the larger part of it both died before their task was finished. Excellent though the volumes are in almost every respect, the work remains in a measure incomplete. The reader has to refer continually to the corrigenda, a formidable list noting more than five hundred errors and omissions. In the preface to Book V., we are told that "Section 3 is taken up with geographical notices, annalistica, statistics, charters, and the like, referring to Greenland and Wineland down to 1406." It is disappointing to find that these promising materials do not appear in this or any other section. Evidently the editor who finally prepared the work for publication should have been better acquainted with its contents.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Sir Archibald Lawrie has brought together, under the title *Early Scottish Charters* (Glasgow, MacLehose, 1905, pp. xxix, 515), two hundred and seventy-two documents ranging in date from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth centuries, but belonging naturally, for the more part, to the last fifty years of the period. The editor, in making this collection, is in fact carrying out a plan that was framed as early as 1800 by the Deputy-Keeper of the Records of Scotland, but was abandoned before it could be brought to completion. The abundant publications of learned societies since that time have considerably lightened Sir Archibald's labors and he has been able to gather most of his material from the volumes of the Surtees Society, the Bannatyne Club, the Maitland Club, and other similar quarters. Still he has not been unmindful of the present passion for the inedited and his book will be found to contain sixteen documents printed from manuscript. For the convenience of those who may make use of the work we give the numbers of the documents in question (LI, LVI-LX, XCVIII, CXII-CXV, CLXXI, CLXXXVI, CLXXXVII, CC, CCXXII), but we hasten to add that this is the only convenience which the editor has omitted to supply. There is an elaborate table of contents so disposed as to be virtually a calendar of the documents, and better still, a positively affluent index referring to the notes as well as to the text. The notes themselves occupy more than half the volume and are of somewhat unequal value. They tend at moments to irrelevancy and are not

without arbitrary judgments and appeals to *verba magistri*. But these faults are very apparent and will be easily recognized and allowed for by those who have occasion to make use of the volume. We have then only gratitude to the editor for the patience and learning which he has devoted to a work that will ease the labors of many who come after him.

G. T. L.

*Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, par Auguste Molinier. Tome V. Introduction Générale (pp. i-clxxxvi); Les Valois (*suite*), Louis XI. et Charles VIII. (1461-94), pp. 1-196. (Paris, Picard, 1904.) There is a melancholy interest attached to the fifth volume of the late M. Auguste Molinier's *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, which has to deal with the reigns of Louis XI. and Charles VIII. (1461-94). Its production was the last work of the author's life. Fortunately, the gifted scholar was spared long enough to complete the *Introduction Générale* which precedes the more bibliographical portion of the volume. The manuscript of this preface, the reading of which irresistibly recalls the epithet applied to those of Bishop Stubbs in the Rolls Series, was finished on March 16, 1904; two months later, on May 19, M. Molinier died. This information is gleaned from a prefatory note inserted by M. Charles Bémont, under whose editorial supervision the volume was issued from the press.

Those who are familiar with the preceding volumes will recognize again the same breadth and thoroughness as before. Only in a sense the materials here elucidated have greater value, for the reason that the reign of Louis XI. yet awaits the pen of the historian who will treat it as M. Luchaire has treated the period of the Capetians, or as the Marquis de Beaucourt has written the history of the reign of Charles VII.

But the peculiar, unique value of this volume, as intimated, is in the introduction of M. Molinier. These 187 pages constitute at once an historiographical survey and a sketch of the history of civilization in France in the Middle Ages. One has a renewed sense of reverence for the traditions and ideals of scholarship who reads this noble discourse. A complete index of the five volumes is promised for the near future. The modern portions of the series are in preparation, that pertaining to the history of France from 1715 to 1789 being already in press.

J. W. T.

*The Letters of Dorothy Wadham, 1609-1618* (London, Henry Frowde, 1904, pp. viii, 89) were originally intended as a companion volume to Mr. Graham Jackson's *Wadham College*. Although the editor, Rev. Robert Barlow Gardiner, laments that circumstances prevented the work from appearing in the stately form at first designed, the volume before us is certainly a most attractive piece of book-making. The letters and documents, some forty in number, together

with the introduction, notes, and appendices, give an interesting picture of the foundation and early administration of the college. They likewise reveal to us the foundress—acting as the executrix of her deceased husband, Nicholas Wadham, Esquire, of Merifield, Somerset—as a capable and benevolent, though withal somewhat arbitrary personality, in a day when the emancipated woman was a rarity. Nevertheless, to be a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth involved some responsibility.

A. L. C.

Professor Charles Sanford Terry, who during the last five or six years has shown a marked activity in exploiting post-Restoration Scottish history, gives in *The Pentland Rising and Rullion Green* (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1905, pp. 90) a detailed account of the outbreak, movements, and catastrophe of the abortive rising of the Whigs in 1666. While the causes and results of the affair are passed over on the ground that they have already been sufficiently discussed by previous historians, the exhaustive and well-documented narrative constitutes a distinct if minute contribution. One point which Mr. Terry seems to settle conclusively is, that while general causes of discontent existed, and while the Scots of the south-western counties may have been in communication with their co-religionists in England and Ireland, the actual outbreak was unpremeditated, that it was occasioned by the chance "scuffle at Dalry" on November 13. Two excellent maps, one tracing the routes of the insurgents and the royal forces, November 13-28, the other illustrating the battle of Rullion Green, greatly enhance the value of the work.

A. L. C.

*The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills, Haddingtonshire, 1681-1703.* Edited from the original manuscripts, with introduction and notes, by W. R. Scott. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Vol. XLVI.] (Edinburgh, T. and A. Constable, 1905, pp. xci, 366.) The Scottish History Society, from its beginning in 1886, has repeatedly manifested its interest in the economic side of Scottish history. It has published several account-books, notably those of a Dundee merchant (1587-1630) and of Sir John Foulis (1671-1707), and it now issues an even more valuable contribution in the minutes for 1681-1691 and 1701-1703 of the business transacted by the managers of an important manufacturing company. The papers of the New Mills Company here presented, covering almost half of its total existence, are of exceptional significance, since records of manufacturing undertakings of this period are exceedingly scarce. The Society has been fortunate in finding an editor who by his recent articles in the *Scottish Historical Review* and by his present performance has shown himself well qualified as a student of Scottish economic history. In his introduction to this volume Mr. Scott treats concisely but competently the cloth-trade in

Scotland during the seventeenth century, the part played by the joint-stock company in the industrial revival in Scotland towards the end of the century, and the history of the New Mills Company. He appends an early prospectus of 1681 and the "great contract", the original articles of copartnership.

Some of the information yielded by the records, printed in full or in excerpts in the text, is well summarized in the introduction, but the student should consult the text itself for much additional detail, and especially for light on the form of industrial organization. The index, particularly the caption "New Mills Company", will be found a satisfactory guide.

EDWIN F. GAY.

*Adam Smith.* By Francis W. Hirst. [English Men of Letters]. (London and New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. viii, 240.) The publication in 1896 of the notes of Adam Smith's lectures on justice, police, revenue and arms answered the question of how far he had developed his system of economics before he came into direct contact with the Physiocrats during his travels in France. Mr. Hirst has therefore been able to write positively upon this important point concerning which previous biographers could express only more or less well supported opinions. Aside from this it has not been possible to add anything of note to our meagre knowledge of the great economist, knowledge already exhaustively presented in Rae's life of Smith. Nor was it to be expected that Mr. Hirst would discuss as suggestively as have some others Smith's place in the development of philosophy and economics. It may fairly be said, however, that he has succeeded in presenting a picture of Smith as a man, remarkably vivid in view of the scantiness of the material available, and in making his sketch more readable than any we have had before. He brings out with special clearness Smith's interest in the great political and economic problems of the time, particularly the colonial problem, and his close relation as counsellor with the statesmen of his day. Indeed it is a distinct service of this little book, which will doubtless be more generally read than any other life of Smith, that no reader can leave it with the false impression of Smith as a closet philosopher interested only in questions of ethical or economic theory. The impression constantly forced upon the reader is that of a man of philosophic mind and encyclopaedic learning, but also of a man, during the latter part of his life at least, primarily interested in practical affairs, of keen powers of observation, and a remarkable faculty for interpreting, and generalizing from, the facts of history and the world.

Meagre as are the materials from which the story of Smith's life must be constructed, they are sufficient to afford a picture of the man and his work which would probably not be altered, or greatly increased in definiteness, by a much fuller knowledge of detail.

*Les Troubles de Hollande à la Veille de la Révolution Française (1780-1795),* par Henry de Peyster, Docteur ès Lettres (Paris, Picard,

1905, pp. xvi, 340). The Dutch Republic was in the years indicated a relatively unimportant part of Europe. The event showed that its strength was slight. But as a rich and helpless prey to the machinations of the great powers, and as the seat of a population which did much for the development of civil liberty and of democratic sentiment in the eighteenth century, it has a place of considerable importance and interest in the history of those critical times. The years with which Dr. de Peyster deals most fully, 1783-1787, from the struggle over the Scheldt to the Prussian invasion and the Triple Alliance, have already been treated with great completeness by Dr. H. T. Colenbrander in his three volumes entitled *De Patriottentijd*. But that masterly work is, for reasons of language, known to but few readers, and it is well worth while to present a narrative of the fifteen years in a language more accessible. Dr. de Peyster shows less maturity than his eminent predecessor. He does not escape, and perhaps no one can escape, the difficulties inherent in the history of a loose federal republic, where unity of narrative is often not to be obtained but by ignoring the actual complexity of affairs. His initial chapter, "Les Moeurs", a minute description of Dutch social life and traits as they existed about 1780, is vivid and entertaining, but does not really afford enough aid toward understanding the subsequent chapters of political history to justify its length and its position. The next two introductory chapters however ("L'Organisation Intérieure" and "Les Partis et les Hommes") are directly and in a very full sense valuable, presenting an excellent account of the Dutch government and parties in the last years of the Republic, and careful and impartial portraits of the chief leaders. The author's researches have been exceedingly thorough, ranging through the extensive printed literature, through various Dutch archives, public and private, and through the archives of Paris, London, Brussels, Berlin and Vienna. His narrative is fair, minutely careful, interesting and well-written, without being exceptionally vivid. It is based on a competent knowledge of the general European situation. There is an excellent account of the sources, and several useful appendixes, one of which contains a number of characteristic letters of Frederick the Great to his niece the Princess of Orange, additional to those printed by Dr. Colenbrander.

*Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the French Revolution. The Constituent Assembly*, edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905, two volumes, pp. xviii, 335, iv, 297.) The editor of these handy volumes has performed a valuable service for students of the French Revolution. In pursuance of a well conceived plan, wherein any strictly contemporaneous writing is regarded as a document, he has chosen from the enormous mass of available material upwards of four hundred documents, all of which are valuable and many of them hitherto generally inaccessible. Nearly all of the documents belong to one or another of three distinct classes: extracts from Paris newspapers; decrees, addresses to the king, royal speeches, and other

official papers from the *procès-verbaux* of the Constituent Assembly; miscellaneous documents bearing upon the fall of the Bastille, the October days, the flight to Varennes, and the affair of the Champ de Mars, drawn principally from the *procès-verbaux* of the municipalities of Paris and Varennes. Letters, pamphlets, and the debates in the Assembly have been excluded, owing to their extent, relatively inferior value, or accessibility in other collections. The principal feature, both in bulk and value, is the newspaper extracts. The larger number of these consist rather more of comment than of narrative and afford an opportunity for considerable first-hand study of public opinion. For the earlier period the extracts are drawn chiefly from Mirabeau's periodicals; for the later periods, from a great variety of newspapers, principally weeklies. The *Mercure de France*, the *Révolutions de Paris*, and the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* are most largely represented. The introduction contains an excellent concise account of the principal newspapers; short explanatory comments, together with a few references, accompany many of the documents; twenty-four pages are given to brief biographical notes, while seven appendixes furnish the full text of the principal constructive acts of the Constituent Assembly.

Along with numerous capital features there are some grave defects. The finding apparatus is not what it should be. The table of contents lists only groups of documents and gives the pages only for nine large divisions, into which the smaller groups are combined. Even the index, although excellent for minutiae within the documents, often fails to give any assistance to one in search of a particular document. In the choice of materials the value of the collection would have been greatly enhanced if some of the numerous documents dealing with minor disorders and measures of only temporary importance had been omitted and the space utilized for more numerous, more varied, and more extended newspaper comments upon the great destructive and constructive measures of the Constituent Assembly. Some effort to represent public opinion in the provinces ought also to have been made. The most serious defect, however, is the tone of the editorial comments. The editor is altogether certain that he can distinguish the wise and the unwise, the good and the bad, the selfish and the unselfish, in almost any event or measure. The dogmatic manner and the partisan spirit which mark these comments are particularly out of place in a work which will probably find its chief use among university students.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*The Philosophers and the French Revolution*, by P. A. Wadia (London, Sonnenschein; New York, Scribner, pp. 127). In the words of the author, "This small treatise is intended to tackle the question how far the eighteenth-century writers in France can be made responsible, directly or indirectly, for the outbreak of the French Revolution, in whatever sense the term French Revolution is understood." After showing the general prevalence, even among historians, of the idea that the Revo-

lution was due to the writings of the philosophers, Mr. Wadia demonstrates the unsoundness of this view. In the first place, there was no republican party previous to 1792, as Aulard has shown, although there were republican ideas, but these ideas existed and were widely propagated in France before the so-called philosophers had begun to write, so that the philosophers instead of being the cause were only the manifestation of the revolutionary spirit. Again, it is shown that the Revolution was only a part of that movement to "emancipate the individual from the trammels of tradition and authority" that began with the Renaissance and was continued by the Reformation; in France, this work of freeing the individual was carried through to the end, "knowingly or unknowingly," by the eighteenth-century writers. But in all that they wrote, they simply reflected the ideas and sentiments of the clergy and nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie. "Instead of being so many prophets and preachers of a new gospel, they were the priests, as it were, of the Genius of the French Nobility and Bourgeoisie who gave forth to the world the inspirations of their master." This is the substance of the argument.

The principal thesis that the revolutionary ideas did not originate with the philosophers is true but not new, having been demonstrated convincingly by Rocquain, Aubertin and others. Mr. Wadia's volume will, undoubtedly, serve to popularize this view among English readers. He is inclined to minimize the influence of the writings of the philosophers and to exaggerate their lack of independence of the court and of the nobility. Nor does he lay sufficient emphasis upon the struggle between the monarchy and the parliaments, the chief centre of revolutionary activity.

To discuss intelligently the relation of the writings of the philosophers to the Revolution, it is primarily necessary to fix the meaning of the latter term. In 1789, the majority of intelligent Frenchmen were in favor of substituting a government based upon law for the arbitrary government that existed in France. Such a change was clearly revolutionary, as can be seen from a like movement that is going on in Russia to-day. While this movement was not originally republican, while it became so only through the opposition of the king and the privileged classes to reasonable reform, and while it did not originate with the philosophers, they certainly played a most important part in formulating the claims of the nations and in propagating the revolutionary ideas. In correcting one-sided views there is danger, at times, of "throwing out the child with the bath".

FRED MORROW FLING.

*La Cour et le Règne de Paul I<sup>er</sup>; Portraits, Souvenirs, et Anecdotes*, par le Comte Fédor Golovkine. (Paris, Plon.) This is distinctly a disappointing work, for at first sight it looks promising. Count Golovkine was very much a man of the world who, in the course of long and varied experiences, saw, at short range, a good many notable



people, including Catharine II., Paul, Napoleon, Metternich, etc. As he himself was by temperament an eighteenth-century cosmopolitan, and in the great events of his day was a spectator rather than an actor, we might have hoped to obtain from him, if not new facts of prime importance, at least fresh light on the men and the doings of his time. Unfortunately, his opportunities have borne but little fruit. His portraits, though sometimes of interest, are not at all convincing, besides being almost always ill-natured. His souvenirs are inaccurate, so much so that his editor repeatedly feels called upon to correct them, and we should be sorry to accept any statement on Count Golovkine's sole authority. His anecdotes and his bon mots, on which latter he obviously prides himself, are in the great majority of cases neither clever nor amusing. Altogether the memoirs impress one as commonplace enough, and betray the vanity of the author rather than any particular keenness of observation on his part. Perhaps the best portion of the book is that not very large one covered by the title: namely, his description of the court life during the reign of the unfortunate Emperor Paul. It tallies well with what was already known on the subject and is at least quite readable. The introduction and the notes by Mr. S. Bonnet are careful and scholarly, if not particularly illuminating.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Miss Agnes C. Laut at the beginning of her *Pathfinders of the West* (Macmillan, pp. xxv, 380) issues this challenge: "The question will at once occur why no mention is made of Marquette, Jolliet, and La Salle in a work on the pathfinders of the West. The simple answer is—they were *not* pathfinders. Contrary to the notions imbibed at school and repeated in all histories of the West, Marquette, Jolliet, and La Salle did not discover the vast region beyond the Great Lakes." To which assertion it may be answered, then why not begin with Jean Nicolet, who was the first to penetrate the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; or why omit Brulé who is the probable discoverer of Lake Superior? And why charge *all* historians with ignoring Radisson and Groseillers, when Winsor credits them with the discovery of the Mississippi? Is not the answer to be found in the meaning attached to the words used? If we grant that Radisson was the first to reach the upper waters of the great river, still he was not a pathfinder, because that term would imply that he opened the way for others, whereas it was Marquette and Joliet who really discovered the pathway to the Mississippi, just as it was La Salle who explored that river to its mouth. Their discoveries immediately became matters of common knowledge, and were followed by traffic and missionary effort. On the other hand Radisson's travels were made known not to the French, but to the English, and it is only since the Prince Society published Radisson's *Voyages*, in 1885, that writers of history have known of his explorations. So, too, Radisson was the first to describe the shores of Lake Superior; but Mesnard sailed those waters before Radisson did,

and Mesnard's letters were published before Radisson's account got into print. And even in the case of Mesnard, that zealous priest found two nameless Frenchmen at his journey's end; so that one must be cautious in the matter of claiming actual discovery for any particular person.

But whatever we may decide as to Miss Laut's theory as to the Mississippi and Lake Superior discoveries, two facts remain: first, Radisson and Groseillers were pathfinders—in the real sense—to Hudson Bay; and, secondly, the author has made a readable translation of much of Radisson's narrative. The term translation is used advisedly; for the Frenchman wrote in a language that, pretending to be English, is not that tongue or any other. And her additional chapters on De La Verendrye's and on Lewis and Clark's discoveries are most entertaining.

*Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, compiled from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and published at the charge of the Wisconsin Society of Sons of the American Revolution; edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., Secretary of the Society, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. (Madison, 1905, pp. xxviii, 472). The genesis of this volume is sufficiently explained by the title-page. But, when so many of the patriotic-hereditary societies do so little in the way of historical publication of a kind permanently valuable, one must spare a little space to commend the public spirit of this Wisconsin society, who have perceived the superior claims of documentary publication over all other varieties, for societies of their class, and have subsidized this valuable and interesting collection. Dr. Draper's accumulations of manuscript, especially the papers of Col. William Preston, county-lieutenant and sheriff of Fincastle, have afforded an unusual opportunity to illustrate, with great fullness and variety, a particular episode of great importance to the early history of the West and of the Revolution. The many documents are annotated carefully and with intelligence. It is interesting to see that the editors reject the ancient accusations frequently made against Lord Dunmore in connection with this Indian expedition.

*Disunion Sentiment in Congress in 1794*. A Confidential Memorandum hitherto unpublished, written by John Taylor of Caroline, Senator from Virginia, for James Madison. Edited, with an Introduction, by Gaillard Hunt. (Washington, Lowdermilk, pp. 23.) Published in a limited edition, this pamphlet contains a confidential memorandum which John Taylor of Caroline wrote for Madison shortly after the conversation which it records. It was not included among the Madison Papers bought by the government, nor in the McGuire collection. Separately preserved by Mrs. Madison and her nephew, it has fallen into the hands of its present publishers. It is interesting and important. The conversation which it relates took place early in May, 1794, shortly before the end of Taylor's first service in the Senate, and when he had already

signified his intention of resigning. Rufus King, he relates (and Taylor, though narrow, was a very honest man) sought an interview with him, in which Senator Ellsworth, as though casually, soon joined. They represented to him that the divergent interests of East and South made continuance of the Union impossible, and asked him to engage in plans for a peaceable dissolution. Taylor counselled further efforts to remove mutual suspicion, by moderate measures as to the debt, the army, etc., but found the two Federalist senators indisposed to adopt his suggestions. Madison has added to the memorandum the words: "The language of K. and E. probably in terrorem." This may be the proper explanation of the episode. Statesmen designing to dissolve a federal union would not naturally and without *arrière pensée* consult at an early stage of their preparations one of the most doctrinaire of their opponents. But that the purpose may none the less have been genuine will not be denied by anyone who has read, for instance, the document printed in this REVIEW, IV. 329.

Mr. Hunt is not happy in his treatment of Jefferson's well-known letter to Taylor, dated June 1, 1798, and relating to talk of secession by Virginia and North Carolina. What Jefferson quotes Taylor as saying to him, in the letter to which this is a reply, is "that it is not *unusual* now to estimate the separate mass of Virginia and North Carolina, with a view to their separate existence." The reading "unwise", which appears in Randolph's and Washington's editions (III. 393, IV. 245), unfortunately appeared also in the text of Ford's (VII. 263). Mr. Ford caused a slip to be inserted at this page, to make the correction; but, unfortunately again, his printers corrected "unwise" into "usual", instead of into "unusual". That the latter is the proper reading was shown by George Tucker in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, for May, 1838 (IV. 344), and more recently by Mr. W. W. Henry in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, I. 325.

Lady Edgar's *General Brock*, in the "Makers of Canada" series, (Toronto, Morang and Co., pp. 322), is a plain tale of a popular hero. The manner of telling is for the most part barren and without distinction; only now and then does a gleam of enthusiasm light up the narrative; but the subject makes strong appeal to Canadian patriotism—to all, indeed, of whatever nation, who can recognize high worth in a man. Brock is a splendid figure of a soldier, and his exploits on the Canadian border during the War of 1812 shine all the more because in contrast with some of the least worthy of his foes.

The author has given her readers a good idea of Brock the man, and the soldier; she makes his deeds reveal character. This main line of the work is paralleled with a survey of the military and political conditions of his time. She gives us a gloss of many events in which Brock had no part; but holds well to the main purpose of showing what he had to do in the making of Canada.

Before he came to that country, in 1802, he had had seventeen years of military service under the British flag, in the West Indies, in Holland and Denmark. This long apprenticeship in Napoleonic strife had won him only the rank of colonel. Nine years of Canadian service, for the most part inactive and distasteful, brought him the appointment of administrator of the government of Upper Canada and the rank of major-general. The declaration of war by the United States in June, 1812, gave him the opportunity for which his talents fitted him and his soul longed. He organized raw material into an auxiliary force for defense, and at Detroit was quick to take advantage of Hull's timorous readiness to surrender. His commander-in-chief, Sir George Prevost, was cautious, fearful, hopeful for peace without bloodshed. Brock was foresighted, resourceful, audacious—and fortunate. And at Queenston, where the American attempt at assault was weakened by incompetence in the commander and undermined by insubordination and cowardice in the militia, Brock died the ideal death of a military hero, and gave to Canadian history its most glorious figure since the days of Wolfe.

That the author's pro-British point of view should influence her conclusions, is natural. She essays to justify the British policy of supplying arms and food to Indians who dwelt within the United States; and belittles the exploits of General Harrison in the Tippecanoe campaign of 1811. She has, properly enough, drawn on *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock*, which was edited many years since by his nephew, Ferdinand Brock Tupper; but we do not note any acknowledgment to this source, or any other, for her facts.

A few statements are singularly careless. The author has confused (p. 54) the storehouse which LaSalle built at Lewiston in 1678, with the fort which Denonville built at the mouth of the Niagara, seven miles below Lewiston, in 1687; nor did Denonville build, as the author states, of stone. "Fort Chippawa, on Lake Erie, a mile and a half above the falls of Niagara" (p. 58), and "eighteen miles up the lake was Fort Erie" (p. 59), are blunders which are made obvious by the map of the Niagara frontier later on in the volume. The statement (p. 284) that "General Van Rensselaer . . . relied in military matters on the advice of his cousin and adjutant, Col. Van Rensselaer," would be in a measure true, were the relationship correctly stated. Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer was a nephew of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, on whose staff he served at Queenston. The "Col. Clans" mentioned on p. 206, was no doubt of the famous Claus family; but no clue to this or many other names is afforded by the short and inadequate index.

Number eighteen of the Filson Club publications is devoted to *The Battle of the Thames, in which the Kentuckians defeated the British, French, and Indians, October 5, 1813*. The author, Colonel Bennett H. Young, deals with the decisive battle, which, following Perry's victory on Lake Erie, restored the supremacy of the United States in that portion of the Northwest which had passed under the control of the British by virtue of Hull's surrender of Detroit; and the recital calls

attention to the fact that the great Northwest, which was won for the nation by the valor and enterprise of Virginia, was restored to the Union by the descendants of those Virginians who originally achieved its conquest. It has been the pious purpose of the writer to put on record the names and exploits of the Kentuckians who so bravely retrieved the disasters which attended the first year of the War of 1812, and he has done this with a fullness that leaves nothing to be desired. The glow of state pride and satisfaction in the personal prowess of the leaders shines forth from every page; and if the muse of history shall seem for the time being to have parted from her usual reserve, all who delight in the sumptuous pages of the Filson Club publications will be willing to overlook the fact. It is to be noted, however, that notwithstanding the 274 broad pages of the monograph, the old conundrum of "Who killed Tecumseh?" still remains unanswered.

CHARLES MOORE.

*Economic Essays*, by Charles Franklin Dunbar. Edited by O. M. W. Sprague, with an Introduction by F. W. Taussig. (New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. xvii, 372.) The late Professor Dunbar of Harvard University is remembered by students, friends, and readers as a teacher, counsellor, and writer of sanest judgment and lucid in exposition. For ten years, 1859 to 1869, he was editor of the *Boston Advertiser*, and not until 1876 did he begin to write at length over his own name. Even then he was sparing in his contributions. What he did write, however, was always welcomed and his modest volume on banking is generally regarded as a masterpiece. There was a widespread hope that Professor Dunbar would publish a more comprehensive treatise before his death, but excessive caution on his part, combined with failing health, doubtless explains his failure to meet this anticipation. It is a sad loss, rendered more keen in reading these scattered essays which together illustrate most forcibly the characteristic abilities of the author. There are twenty essays. Fourteen of these appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*; one, a famous review of Economic Science in America, 1776-1876, in the *North American Review*; and five are chapters never before published. These latter are strictly historical, and treat of the crises of 1857 and 1860, state banks in 1860, and the establishment and circulation of national banks. Especially helpful are the chapters on the panic of 1857 and the description of the state banking systems in the middle of the century. Historians of economic conditions in the United States too frequently jump from the panic of 1837 to the Civil War period, as if the twenty years intervening required but little analysis. These studies of Professor Dunbar, though belated in publication, will do something to make good our deficiencies, and they also serve as admirable examples of interesting and intelligible generalizations based upon trade and banking statistics. Professor Dunbar attributes the crisis of 1857, not to extravagant importations, but to expansion in internal trade with a lengthening of credits, and to the imprudent management of this mass of credit by a poor banking system.

D. R. D.

*A Monograph of the Origins of Settlement in the Province of New Brunswick.* By William Ganong, Ph.D. (From the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. X., Sect. II. For sale by J. Hope and Sons, Ottawa, 1904, pp. 185.) This monograph by Prof. Ganong deserves much more than a passing notice owing to the richness of newly acquired data and the originality of its method. In the origin of settlements of any country the author discovers three determining factors. These are termed the historical, environmental and sociological. The historical factors are such as are connected with the discovery, conquest or peaceful expansion of a particular community. The environmental factors concern the physical nature, accessibility, lines of communication, natural wealth and climate of a country. The sociological factors are such as determine the manner in which a given people adapt themselves to a particular environment, and relate to government, occupation, racial peculiarities and religion. Too frequently history has been regarded as a narrative of interesting and important events. But the distinguishing feature of this work is the prominence which, in addition to the historical, is given throughout to the environmental and sociological factors. The operation of all three factors in the growth of New Brunswick settlements is here traced through every stage of its history from the earliest period to the present time. Much new and accurate information is to be found in almost every period. The cartography, too, is by the author himself and represents the location of the settlements in each era treated. A supplement contains an alphabetical list of New Brunswick settlements with a brief statement of their origin and the sources of information concerning them. A useful bibliography completes a monograph which can profitably be consulted by every student of New Brunswick history.

BENJAMIN RAND.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### GENERAL.

The Honorable John Hay, who died at his summer home on Lake Sunapee, New Hampshire, in July, was a life member of the American Historical Association. His career is too well known to need extensive notice in these columns; historically his chief work was his collaboration with John G. Nicolay in the preparation of their life of Lincoln. A large number of articles in periodicals have dealt with various phases of Mr. Hay's life and work, among which may be noted "John Hay in Literature" by W. D. Howells, in the *North American Review*, for September; "John Hay" by Shelby M. Cullom, *Independent*, July 13; "John Hay: An American Gentleman" by Walter Wellman, and "Mr. Hay's Work in Diplomacy" by John Bassett Moore, both in the August *Review of Reviews*.

Dr. Arthur L. Perry, professor emeritus of history and political economy in Williams College, died during the summer. He was better known as a writer on economic than on historical subjects. He published, in 1894, *Origins in Williamstown*, and in 1900, *Williamstown and Williams College*.

Friedrich Heinrich Suso Denifle, member of the Dominican order since 1861 and one of its greatest savants, died at Munich June 10, aged sixty-one. With Father Ehrle he founded in 1885 the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, and in the same year published the first volume of *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* (never finished). With M. Émile Chatelain he edited the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*; in 1897-1899 he published *La Désolation des Églises, Monastères et Hôpitaux en France* (3v.). In his last years he wrote a strongly Roman Catholic biography of Luther and took a prominent part in Luther polemic.

Gymnasialoberlehrer Dr. Reinhold Roehricht died in Berlin in May, aged sixty-five. His important work was almost wholly on the Crusades, the eight main works published since 1874 comprising probably the most important contribution by any one scholar in this field. His latest publication was a supplement to his *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1904), comprising an analysis of nine hundred documents.

Dr. Curt Wachsmuth, professor of ancient history and classical philology in the University of Leipzig, died at Leipzig June 8, aged sixty-eight. He is known chiefly by his *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*.

Professor A. C. Coolidge of Harvard is on leave of absence for the current year and is travelling in Asia and Eastern Europe. During his

absence Professor A. L. P. Dennis of Wisconsin will deliver two courses during the first half-year: one on European history in the Napoleonic period, the other on the history of British India.

Dr. Arthur L. Frothingham, Jr., has resigned his professorship of ancient history and archaeology at Princeton University in order to devote himself to the work of original research.

We note a number of academic changes and appointments: Professor Allen Johnson of Iowa College is to be professor of history in Bowdoin College; Dr. William H. Allison has been elected professor of history in Franklin College, Indiana; Mr. Yates Snowden, formerly of the *Charleston News and Courier*, has been elected professor of history in South Carolina College; Dr. William K. Boyd has been appointed instructor at Dartmouth, in place of Dr. H. R. Shipman, who, together with Dr. Hiram Bingham, formerly of Harvard, has been appointed preceptor in Princeton; Dr. R. B. Merriman has been appointed permanent instructor in Harvard, and Mr. E. W. Pahlow, who has been an assistant at Harvard, goes to Wisconsin as instructor. Dr. O. P. Chitwood is to be professor of history in Mercer College, Georgia.

An international congress on facsimiles, or international congress for the reproduction of manuscripts, coins and seals, was held at Liège August 21-23, on the invitation of the Belgian minister of public instruction. Professor Kurth of Liège was chairman, Father van den Gheyn of the Bollandist Society secretary of the organizing committee. About eighty delegates were present, the United States being represented by Professor Charles M. Gayley of the University of California. M. Henri Omont, keeper of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, was chosen president. From such reports as have been received (see *New York Evening Post*, September 9) it appears that the papers which were read, and which will soon be accessible in print, were of great value to all who are interested in facsimile reproductions. Among the resolutions adopted was one favoring the formation in every country of a commission composed of specialists for the purpose of designating the manuscripts most desirable to be reproduced in facsimile; another requesting governments to draw up regulations permitting scholars to obtain, on the most liberal terms possible, the reproduction of manuscripts in which they are interested; and others looking toward the preparation of bibliographical lists of facsimiles already executed, and expressing opinions as to technical processes. A permanent international committee was formed, to prosecute the various interests represented. It consists of Messrs. Brambach of Carlsruhe, S. de Vries of Leyden, Ehrle of Rome, Gaillard of Brussels, Gayley of California, Karabacek of Vienna, Lange of Copenhagen, Nicholson of Oxford, Omont of Paris, Putnam of Washington, Salomon Reinach of Paris, Traub of Munich, and Van den Gheyn of Brussels. The committee has discretion to call another congress when and where it thinks best, and may possibly convene it in America. Professor Gayley's project for an



American Bureau of Reproduction and Library of Facsimiles, much discussed in the columns of the *Evening Post* last winter, was warmly commended, and there was much promise of co-operation on the part of the leading libraries of Europe.

The Macmillan Company announce for autumn publication a *General History*, described as philosophical in its character, by Dr. Emil Reich; a *History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, by Professor William A. Dunning of Columbia University, continuing his previous volumes on the political theorists of ancient and medieval times; a *History of Education*, by Professor Paul Monroe of the same institution; the ninth volume ("Napoleon and his Times") of the *Cambridge Modern History*; and Vols. V.-VIII. of *Purchas*.

We are in receipt of a copy of the *First Annual Report* of the English Sociological Society, prefaced by an Address of the Hon. James Bryce, President, at the first annual general meeting, March 22. This society was constituted in November, 1903, with "scientific, educational, and practical aims", has a membership of four hundred, and seems well started on its career. Mr. Bryce's brief address is noteworthy for its moderation and practical spirit.

Vol. XXVI. of E. Berner's *Jahresbericht der Geschichtswissenschaft* has appeared, comprising the literature of 1903 (2v.).

The *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXVI. 3, gives a detailed statement of the issues since 1903 in Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, in the three divisions of "Geschichte der europ. Staaten", "Geschichte der aussereurop. Staaten", "Deutsche Landesgeschichte". It announces as in press the following: Bachmann, *Geschichte Böhmens*, Bd. II.; Jorga, *Geschichte Rumäniens*; Kretschmayer, *Geschichte Venedigs*; Seraphim, *Geschichte von Liv-, Est- und Kurland*, Bd. I.

An inexpensive *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte* has been published at Tübingen by K. Heussi and H. Mulert (66 maps,—M. 4).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Bernheim, *La Science Historique Moderne* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April). (This is apropos of Lamprecht's recent *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft*, and aims to place Lamprecht with respect to methodology and to estimate his originality. Concludes that he is inconsistent, has derived his ideas mainly from Hegel and Comte, but has applied them with originality. In the June issue of the *Revue* Lamprecht makes a brief response); P. Lacombe, *Notes sur Taine* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April, June).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY.

The entire historical library of the late Theodor Mommsen has been presented to the University of Bonn. Professor Otto Hirschfeld, Mommsen's literary executor, is preparing for publication three volumes of his unpublished writings. The first volume, which has already appeared, contains sixteen essays on Egyptian and Roman law. The other

two will contain contributions to the history of Roman law, law-books and legal procedure.

The Macmillan Company have issued the first number of "University of Michigan Studies", edited by H. A. Sanders and devoted to Roman history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Savio, *Alcune Considerazioni sulla prima Diffusione del Cristianesimo* (Rivista di Scienze Storiche, I. Contends that Christian proselytism proceeded in the West much more slowly than usually supposed); A. Muller, *Sterbekassen und Vereine mit Begräbnisfürsorge in der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, March); J. Reville, *Le Progrès de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique Ancienne au XIX siècle et son Etat actuel* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, L. 3).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

A renewed historical interest and activity is being manifested at present in the Benedictine Order. In 1906 there will begin in Rome the publication of a quarterly *Rivista Storica Benedettina*, directed by members of the order and devoted to its history especially in Italy. French Benedictines are projecting a resumption of the labors of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur in the field of the history of the religious orders, and plan a series entitled, *La France Monastique*; while in May appeared the first issue of the *Revue Mabillon*, the chief contributors being J. M. Besse, L. Levilain, and G. Guillot.

German Roman Catholic scholars have begun the publication of a series of Lives of the Saints (*Sammlung Illustrierter Heiligenleben*,—Kempten and Munich, Kosel), intended to bring before the public the result of the latest investigations. There have already been published (1904): Gunter, *Kaiser Heinrich II. der Heilige*; Egger, *Der heilige Augustinus, Bischof von Hippo*; and Kralik, *Der Hl. Leopold, Markgraf von Oesterreich*. The series is intended to be analogous to the French one of M. Joly, *Les Saints*; in this latter the latest publications (Paris, Lecoffre) are the Abbé Martin's *Saint Columban*, and Suan's *Saint François de Borgia* (1905).

An important addition has just been made to Professor Ulrich Stutz's (Bonn) "Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen" by L. K. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und Kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands, nebst Geschichte des Russischen Kirchenrechts* (Stuttgart, 1905). The documents are presented in German translations, though for some the original Russian is also given.

The Arna-Magnæan Legation have brought out the second and concluding part of their palaeographical atlas. The first or Danish section appeared in 1903. The present volume presents thirty-seven folio phototype plates, containing facsimile reproductions of fifty-three Norse or Icelandic manuscripts or documents of the period 1150-1300—Grágás, Heimskringla, the Codex Regius of the Edda of Saemund, etc. The

Carlsberg Fund has promised to defray the expenses of an additional Norwegian-Icelandic section, continuing the work into the fifteenth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Seeliger, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Grundherrschaft im früheren Mittelalter* (Hist. Vierteljahrschrift, Aug. A useful survey of the successive views).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

Dr. Ludwig Pastor has undertaken to publish a collection of documents on papal history from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century (*Ungedruckte Akten zur Geschichte der Päpste vornehmlich im XV.-XVII. Jahrhundert*) as supplement to his history of the Popes. Vol. I. comprises 205 documents and comes to 1464.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Richard, *Origines de la Nonciature de France: Nonces Résidants avant Léon X., 1456-1511* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); S. Ehses, *Hat Paolo Sarpi für seine Geschichte des Konzils von Trient aus Quellen geschöpft, die jetzt nicht mehr fliessen?* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVI. 2); J. F. Jameson, *The Age of Erudition* (University of Chicago Record, July).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Longmans, Green and Co. announce an important co-operative *Political History of England*, under the general editorship of Rev. William Hunt, now President of the Royal Historical Society. It will comprise twelve octavo volumes (450-500 pp.) and will be intended for the public, though furnished with critical and bibliographical appendices to each volume. The authors are announced as follows: Vol. I. 1066, Thomas Hodgkin; II. 1066-1216, Professor George B. Adams; III. 1216-1377, T. F. Tout; IV. 1377-1485, C. Oman; V. 1485-1547, H. A. L. Fisher; VI. 1547-1603, A. F. Pollard; VII. 1603-1660, F. C. Montague; VIII. 1660-1702, R. Lodge; IX. 1702-1760, I. S. Leadam; X. 1760-1801, Rev. W. Hunt; XI. 1801-1837, Hon. G. C. Brodrick and J. K. Fotherham; XII. 1837-1901, Sidney J. Low. Some of these volumes will appear the present year.

The Clarendon Press published in July an *Illustrated Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits of English Historical personages who died between 1625 and 1714* recently exhibited at Oxford. The volume is of much interest and contains descriptions of 228 portraits (representing 42 painters, the chief of whom are Kneller and Lely) with brief biographical notes on the subjects; 66 of these are excellently reproduced. A brief introduction by Mr. Lionel Cust, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, sketches the development of portrait painting that came in the later seventeenth century through the influence of Van Dyck. The artistic interest of the volume is perhaps not very great, but the student of the period will find it of much service. The originals were contributed to the Loan Exhibition mainly by the different Oxford

colleges, though the largest single contribution was that of the Bodleian Library.

The first three volumes of the official series of Indian Records published by the government of India, *Bengal in 1756-57*, with an historical introduction by the editor, Mr. S. C. Hill, will shortly appear (London, Murray).

It was announced that the literary executors of Cardinal Newman have entrusted the writing of his biography to Mr. Wilfrid Ward. The life of Cardinal Manning has been undertaken by the Rev. W. H. Kent, who is in possession of much new material.

Mr. John Murray will shortly publish *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party, 1807-1821*, by the third Lord Holland, edited by Lord Stavordale; a *Life of Sir James Graham*, edited by Mr. C. S. Parker; and *The Military Life of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge*, written under the authority of the late duke from documents in his own possession. But the *Letters of Queen Victoria*, edited by Mr. A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher, though progressing rapidly, cannot, it is announced, be ready for some months.

An organization called "The Cantilupe Society" has been instituted, for the publication of episcopal registers and other ecclesiastical documents of the diocese of Hereford. The secretary is the Rev. J. R. Burton of Ludlow.

In connection with Macmillan's recent announcement of *The Life of St. Patrick and his Place in History*, by Professor J. B. Bury, it should be noticed that N. J. D. White, D.D., has published in Vol. XXV. of the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy (Dublin, 1905), a new critical edition of "Libri Sancti Patricii, The Latin Writings of St. Patrick", with introduction and English translations.

The scanty material on Irish history of the middle of the eighteenth century is now being added to by the publication in the *English Historical Review* of the correspondence of Archbishop Stone and the Duke of Newcastle, edited by C. Litton Falkiner from the Newcastle Papers in the British Museum. The first installment (July) is confined to the year 1753 and throws light upon an important and obscure controversy on finances in the Irish Parliament in that year; a matter which is represented as important in the development of the modern Irish Party. In this connection there is an interesting article in the July *Edinburgh Review*, "Ireland under George II.", based on the "Report on the MSS. of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House, Northamptonshire", I, 1904.

Vol. IX. of the second series of *Archaeologia* contains interesting accounts of the recent excavations of Caergwent (Venta Silurum), of additional portions of the Roman wall of London found at Newgate, of the hauberk of chain mail and its conventional representations, and of the Crystal of Lothair; also, some chancery proceedings of the fifteenth century and records of the manor of Durrington.

The latest volume of the Oxford Historical Society is an excellent numismatical treatise, well illustrated by facsimiles, *Oxford Silver Pennies from A. D. 925 to A. D. 1272*, by Mr. C. L. Stainer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. T. Waugh, *Sir John Oldcastle*, I. (English Historical Review, July).

#### FRANCE.

The French government is projecting a reorganization of French archival deposits, attention having been called to defects by historical societies and legislative discussion. A commission of investigation has been established under the presidency of the Minister of Public Instruction. The main change projected is the nationalization of the administration of the archives, the departmental archives being now locally controlled and without close relations with the central ones. This movement toward centralization is however opposed by the consistent advocates of provincial autonomy.

M. Aulard has begun a new and revised edition of his *Orateurs de la Révolution*, the first volume, "L'Assemblée Constituante", having appeared (Paris, 1905, pp. 573).

Students of revolutionary history will welcome any additions to the publications of municipal *Procès-verbaux*. Those of the city of Lyons that were issued last year will be usefully supplemented by those of a neighboring town, Villefranche-sur-Saone, which reflects the development in its great neighbor. This is being published now in the *Journal de Villefranche*, edited by Dr. A. Besançon; the first volume covers 1789-1793.

The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine has undertaken the publication of the *Correspondance* of La Forêt, French ambassador in Spain 1808-1813. There are 835 dispatches, which will be published during the next six years in six volumes.

The Société des Archives Historiques de la Gironde issues as its volume for 1904 a reproduction of fifty seventeenth-century drawings of the towns and monuments of southwest France. These were the work of two Dutch artists, Hermann van der Hem and Joachim de Weert.

The Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente has published *Tables Générales* of its *Bulletins et Mémoires*, 1845-1900, prepared by J. Baillet and J. de la Martinière (Angoulême, 1905, pp. 365).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lucien Febvre, *La Franche-Comté* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April and June); V. L. Bourilly, *Les Rapports de François I. et d'Henri II. avec les Ducs de Savoie, Charles II. et Emmanuel Philibert, 1515-1559, d'après des Travaux Récents* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, June); E. Bourgeois, *La Collaboration de Saint-Simon et de Torcy; Étude Critique sur les Mémoires de St.-Simon* (Revue Historique, July-August); W. Struck, *Die Notabelnversammlung von 1787* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift,

August); P. Boissonade, *Les Études relatives à l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, 1789-1804* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April and June); A. Mathiez, *La Question Sociale pendant la Révolution Française* (La Révolution Française, May 14); E. Daudet, *L'Eglise et le Roi pendant l'Émigration, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Le Correspondant, May 10); P. Caron, *Les Comités Militaires des Assemblées de la Révolution, 1789—an VIII*. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, July); H. Poulet, *Le Département de la Meuse à la fin du Directoire et au début du Consulat* (La Révolution Française, XXIV. 7, 8).

#### ITALY.

For the benefit of students at a distance, who may desire palaeographical or historical information from Italian libraries or archives, there has been established at Florence (Via delle Lane, 7), under the charge of Professor I. M. Palmarini, an Istituto delle Carte, which engages to make such researches at a modest rate of compensation. There will be corresponding secretaries in other Italian towns. The telegraphic address is "Istitcarte, Firenze."

The labors of foreigners in Italian archives will still further be facilitated by the recent establishment in Rome of what is called an "Uffizio Bibliografico," intended to undertake researches and to supply copies of documents or bibliographical information. Not long since Professor Benigni established such a bureau in Rome (Via della Stettetta, 7), and Professor Enrico Celani has now opened another (Via Vittoria Colonna, 18). Both of these undertake archival work in any part of Italy.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Solini, *La Funzione Pratica della Storia del Diritto Italiano nelle Scienze Giuridiche* (Rivista Italiana per le Scienze Giuridiche, XXXV.); E. Romano, *La Guerra fra i Visconti e la Chiesa, 1360-1376* (Bollettino del Società Pavese di Storia Patria, III).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA.

At the office of the Prussian Gesamtkatalog in Berlin a general information bureau for German libraries has been recently established. It is designed to furnish information as to whether any desired and specified book is in any of the associated German libraries, and, if so, just where it may be found. The charge for each book sought is ten pfennigs.

Dr. Reinhold Koser of the Prussian Archives has been placed at the head of the Direction of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, with the work remaining mainly in the hands of Professor O. Holder-Egger.

The *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXVI. 3, pp. 698-704, gives a detailed statement concerning the publications of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, as given out June 8, and (p. 704) a similar statement of the publications of the Historical Commission for Hesse and Waldeck. In

XXVI. 1, of the same journal, will be found detailed information of the state of the publications and undertakings of the Roman Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft, of the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, of the Historical Commission of Baden, and of the Commission for the Modern History of Austria. It should be remarked that the publication of the German *Städtechroniken* has been placed upon a new footing by the appointment of Professor Georg von Below as director in succession to the late Karl von Hegel, and by specific resolutions as to immediate publication and the scope of the entire undertaking.

Recent issues of German provincial collections are as follows: *Regesten der Markgrafen von Baden und Hochberg*, III. 3-4 (1431-1453); *Inventäre des grossherzoglichen Badischen General-landarchivs*, II. 1; *Monumenta Historica Ducatus Carinthiae*, III. (A. D. 800-1202); *Codex Diplomaticus Lusatiae Superioris*, II. (1434-1437); *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, XXI. (1386-1390); *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae*, XIV., XV. (1408-1411); *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Rheinlande aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv*, II. (1327-1341); *Urkunden zur Pfälzischen Kirchengeschichte im Mittelalter* (XIII.-XVI. cent.); *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, XXII. (1327-1333); *Urkundenbuch des Herzogthums Steiermark*, III. (1246-1260); *Regesta Diplomatica necnon Epistolaria Historiae Thuringiae*, III. (1228-1247); *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch*, VIII. (1277-1284); *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens*, X. *Urkundenbuch des Stiftes und Stadt Hameln*, II. (XV.-XVI. cent.); XI. *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, III. (1260-1310); *Thüringische Geschichtsquellen*, VI. *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Jena und ihrer geistlichen Anstalten*, II. (1406-1525); *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen*, XXXIII. *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Pforte*, I. (1300-1350); *Quellenbuch der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, VI. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bistums Schleswig*; *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, II. (1458-1493).

B. Krusch has edited for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Handausgabe*, Jonas's "Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Johannis" (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905, pp. xii, 366). He had already edited these for Volumes II. and IV. of the *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*; here however they are not merely brought together in a more convenient form, but Krusch has also used for the Life of Columban almost three times as many manuscripts (c. 115) as in the preceding edition and has added many new readings. He has also taken the opportunity to retract his former statements as to the place of the baptism of Clovis. The other changes are of less importance.

The German Government has presented to the Harvard College Library a complete set of the *Stenographische Berichte* of the German Reichstag, beginning in 1867 with the Reichstag of the North German Confederation. The set comprises 255 volumes and new volumes will

be added as they are published. The gift is intended to form a part of the Hohenzollern Collection of works in German history established in 1903 by Professor A. C. Coolidge, who purchased the library of Professor Konrad von Maurer for that purpose. The curator of the collection, Mr. Walter Lichtenstein, has been in Europe during the past summer searching for valuable additions to it.

Mr. John Murray of London publishes *The Hatzfeldt Letters*, translated from the French,—entertaining and on the whole important letters which Count Paul Hatzfeldt, who was afterward (1885-1901) German ambassador in London, wrote to his wife from the headquarters of the king of Prussia in 1870-1871.

The *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot) covers with the ninth volume (1903, pp. 751) the period 1463-1470.

The *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for June ("Nachrichten und Notizen II.") gives a useful summary of the publications during the last decade of the Gesellschaft für Sächsische Kirchengeschichte (*Beiträge zur Sächsischen Kirchengeschichte*).

In May there was founded at Bamberg a "Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte", which proposes to publish studies in many fields of west-German history under the title of *Veröffentlichungen*. It is in receipt of government aid. In January there was established an "Oberschlesischer Geschichtsverein", publishing a journal, the *Oberschlesische Heimat*.

The very important undertaking by the Austrian Historical Institute of the publication of the *Regesta Habsburgica: Regesten der Gräfen von Habsburg und der Herzöge von Oesterreich aus dem Hause Habsburg* has been begun by the publication of H. Steinacker's *Die Regesten der Gräfen von Habsburg bis 1281* (Innsbruck, 1905). The preparation of these *Regesten* was undertaken as early as 1833 by E. Birk, and Steinacker has been working ten years on this volume, the documents being scattered and there being many critical problems. He goes back beyond the acquisition of the imperial dignity in 1275, five hundred documents appearing for the period 950-1274. It is intended to bring this series down to 1493, Vol. II., 1281-1330, being in preparation by M. Steinacker, and the third volume, 1331-1365, being entrusted to Dr. Kretschmayr.

The Vienna Academy of Sciences has begun the publication of "Oesterreichische Urbare" in the four divisions of *Urbare* of Landesfürsten, Hochstifter, ecclesiastical and lay Grundherrschaften. Vol. I. (1904), edited by Dopsch and Levec, deals with Upper and Lower Austria in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The "Commission for the Modern History of Austria" is about to publish Dr. A. Kretschmayr's completion of Dr. Fellner's *Geschichte der Organisation der oesterreichischen Zentralverwaltung*. In the series of *Staatsverträge*, A. F. Pribram is working on the relations with England, H. Schlitter on those with France, R. V. Srbik on the Netherlands,



R. Gross on Bavaria. There is announced for near publication the correspondence of Charles V. with Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary, 1522-1530.

A new series of monographs in Austrian history is begun at Innsbruck under the direction of A. Dopsch: "Forschungen zur inneren Geschichte Oesterreichs". The first volume (1904) is H. Srbik's *Die Beziehungen von Staat und Kirche in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters*.

In the *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtskunde*, XXVI. 157-159, G. Steinherz gives a full analysis of the publications of the "Historische Landeskommission für Steiermark", Hefte 1-19, Graz, 1896-1903. This Commission was founded 1892 and its judicious publications are now of great value, such names as Krones and Loserth showing the character of the leadership of the society, of which Professor v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst is secretary.

Messrs. Weiss and Friss have just published at Budapest (1904, pp. xli, 524) the first volume of a collection of documents entitled *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, covering the period 1092-1539.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Brandi, *Passauer Vertrag und Augsburger Religionsfriede* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCV. 2); R. Hoeniger, *Die Kontinental Sperre und ihre Einwirkungen auf Deutschland* (Volkswirtschaftliche Zeitfragen, 211); *Aus dem Frankfurter Parlament: Briefe des Abgeordneten Ernst von Sancken-Tarpitschen*, edited by G. von Below (Deutsche Rundschau, July); A. Wahl, *Die Unterredung Bismarcks mit dem Herzog Friedrich von Augustenburg am 1. Juni 1864* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCV. 1); H. Plehn, *Zur Geschichte der Agrarverfassung von Ost- und Westpreussen* (Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte, XVII.); W. Meiners, *Landschulwesen und Landschullehrer im Herzogtum Cleve vor Hundert Jahren* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, III. 3).

#### NETHERLANDS.

The "Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde" has published the first part of a *Repertorium der Verhandelingen en Bijdragen betreffende de Geschiedenis des Vaderlands* (Leyden), prepared by L. D. Petit, of the library of the University of Leyden. There will be several parts, and the work will include titles of review articles as well as books, coming to 1900.

The first volumes have appeared of the "Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica", edited by Dr. S. Cramer and Dr. F. Pijper, under the auspices of several learned societies. The series aims to reprint rare Dutch publications of the Reformation era, and Vol. I., *Polemische Geschriften der Hervormingsgezinden*, comprises eleven papers, while Vol. II., *Het Offer des Heeren*, is a book of martyrs and a collection of early religious songs.

The Dutch Royal Historical Commission has begun at the expense of the state the publication of documents pertaining to the revolutionary and nineteenth-century history of Holland, under the title, *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840*, and has published the first volume, edited by Dr. H. T. Colenbrander and dealing with 1789-1795 (Hague, pp. lxviii, 720). The editor supplies an introduction on the relations between the Revolution and the Netherlands; this is followed by 525 documents, mainly from the correspondence of prominent public men, arranged chronologically in groups with explanatory notes. We have here evidently a very important addition to our printed sources.

The Utrecht Historical Society expects before many months to publish in its *Bijdragen* a supplement to the well-known and valued *Diaries and Correspondence of Lord Auckland*, consisting of a large number of dispatches hitherto unpublished, edited by M. Henry de Peyster.

### AMERICA.

#### GENERAL ITEMS.

In the list of publications to be issued this fall by Houghton, Mifflin and Company occur notices of several historical and biographical volumes: *James G. Blaine*, by Edward Stanwood; *James Russell Lowell*, by Ferris Greenslet; *The England and Holland of the Puritans*, by Morton Dexter; *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*, by M. Louise Greene; *Mount Desert: A History*, by George E. Street; *A History of the Town of Middleboro, Mass.*, by Thomas Weston; *A Sketch of Etua and Kirkersville, Licking Co., Ohio*, by General Morris Schaff. Three additions to the American Commonwealths Series are promised: *Louisiana*, by Albert Phelps; *Rhode Island*, by Irving B. Richman; and a new edition of Judge Cooley's *Michigan*.

Among the fall announcements of the Macmillan Company should be noted a *Life of Oliver Ellsworth*, by William Garrott Brown; *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, by Walter L. Fleming; *The Industrial History of the United States*, by Katharine Coman; and Professor Smyth's ten-volume edition of *The Life and Writings of Franklin*.

Among other fall announcements not elsewhere noted we mention the following: By Little, Brown, and Company: *Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812*, by Captain Alfred T. Mahan; *The True Story of Paul Revere*, by Charles Getterny. By the Putnams: *The Abolitionists*, by John F. Hume. By the Century Company: *Captain Myles Standish*, by Tudor Jenks.

Mr. Thomas Forsythe Nelson announces that he is about to commence the publication of *Americana Historica*, a quarterly magazine devoted to "American historical, biographical, and genealogical research." Mr. Nelson's reputation as a genealogist should insure a high grade of excellence for his magazine. It will be published in Washington.

A number of auction sales of historical interest are announced for the fall and winter. Among the most important is that of Governor Pennypacker's library which contains a large number of Franklin documents and imprints, many early Pennsylvania imprints, and an autograph diary kept by George Washington. The collection of Washington portraits owned by James T. Mitchell, chief-justice of Pennsylvania, is also to be disposed of, as well as the remainder of the Carson collection of prints, which includes pictures of American land and naval battles, political cartoons, and portraits of Revolutionary characters. The sales will be under the charge of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels.

The first volume of Mr. Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* was noted in these pages some months ago. It will be remembered that Mr. Evans's purpose was to prepare a complete bibliography of books, pamphlets, and periodicals printed in the United States from 1639 to 1820. The first volume, which contained 3,244 titles, brought the list (arranged in chronological order) to 1729; the second volume, dated 1904, completes the list through 1750 and brings the entries to number 6,623. A third volume will be issued in the fall, and the remaining five or six will appear at intervals.

William C. Doub's *History of the United States* (Macmillan, pp. 669) is a text-book distinguished by the author's effort to combine history and civics, thus making unnecessary the use of separate books. The method is topical.

In the July *Magazine of History* we note the concluding paper, by Warren Upham, on "The Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River," dealing with Groseilliers, Radisson, Joliet, Marquette, DuLuth, Hennepin and Le Sueur, and a paper on "Educational and Literary Activity in Alabama", by Walter L. Fleming. In Livingston R. Schuyler's history of the Liberty of the Press, Chapter III. deals with the development in Pennsylvania. In this number is commenced the journal contributed by Mr. C. S. Brigham, kept by Eliza Williams Bridgham, of "A Journey through New England and New York in 1818." We note a letter, not given in full, from George Washington to General George Clinton, New York, July 26, 1776.

#### ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

The latest volume to appear in the "Trail-Makers Series" (A. S. Barnes) is one of the most noteworthy. *The Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his Companions from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536*. The translation has been ably made from the first edition, Zamora, 1542, by Mrs. Fanny Bandelier, whose husband, Mr. Adolph F. Bandelier, has edited the volume. The next book to appear in the series will be *The Journeys of La Salle and His Companions, 1668-1687, as Related by Himself and His Followers*, in two volumes, edited by Dr. I. J. Cox.

Two volumes of revolutionary material are promised for the fall by Dodd, Mead and Company. One will contain a reprint of the "Minutes of the Committee of Safety of the County of Tryon (N. Y.) from the First Meeting in the Palatine District, Aug. 27, 1774, to Nov. 24, 1775." The other will be *A History of the Declaration of Independence*, by J. H. Hazelton.

The Sharon (Mass.) Historical Society has reprinted a rare pamphlet: *An Address Delivered in 1802 in Various Towns in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York*, by Mrs. Deborah Sampson Gannett. Deborah Sampson, under the name of Robert Shurtleff, enlisted in the Continental army, and was honorably discharged in 1783. The address tells of her revolutionary experiences.

Under the heading "American Revolutionary Naval Service" the *New Hampshire Genealogical Record* for April contains an account of the continental frigate *Raleigh*.

The discovery of the body of John Paul Jones has called forth a considerable amount of material concerning the hero. *Old South Leaflet*, No. 152, is made up of Jones's account of the battle with the *Serapis*, and of his letter to Congress in 1775 on the development of a navy. Historical notes including a biographical sketch are appended. The question as to whether Jones's body has really been found is discussed in the *Independent* for July 13 and 20: "The Identification of John Paul Jones's Body," by Louis Capitan; "Is it Paul Jones's Body?" by Park Benjamin. The September *Century* contains "A Rare Portrait of Paul Jones," together with other more common portraits, and text by Alexander Corbett, Jr. The July *Scribner's* contains the "Narrative of John Kilby," who was quarter-gunner on the *Bon-Homme Richard*, while in the *Review of Reviews* for July is a noteworthy article by Dr. C. H. Lincoln of the Library of Congress on "John Paul Jones and our First Triumphs on the Sea."

C. S. Hall has edited the *Life and Letters of Samuel Holden Parsons* (Binghamton, N. Y., Osteningo Publishing Company, pp. 601). Parsons was a major-general in the Continental army, and chief judge of the Northwest Territory from 1787 to 1789.

The Century Company's new "Thumbnail" books will include a volume on George Washington. In it will be printed many of Washington's writings, including his principal state papers, his farewell and inaugural addresses, and his circular disbanding the armies of the United States. The passage on "The Character of Washington" in Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century* will serve as introduction.

*Washington in Germantown*, by C. Francis Jenkins (Philadelphia, W. J. Campbell) is an account of Washington's visits to Germantown as commander-in-chief and president.

The Century Company announces *Washington and the West*, a volume which will contain the diary kept by Washington in September, 1784, during his journey in the Ohio basin in the interests of commer-

cial communication between the lakes and the Potomac. The diary will be edited by A. B. Hulbert.

Mr. W. F. Reddaway's prize essay on the *Monroe Doctrine* (1896), having become distinctly scarce, has been reprinted by Messrs. G. E. Stechert and Company of New York, after some modifications by the author.

The Paris house of Plon-Nourrit has recently published a volume on the United States by M. de Barral-Montferrat: *De Monroë à Roosevelt, 1823-1905*, with a preface by M. le Comte d'Haussonville.

Amusing and by no means uninteresting is Frank Weitenkamp's "Social History of the United States in Caricature," which commenced in the August *Critic*. The many cartoons reproduced constitute a running commentary on various phases of social life in America, and as illustrative material are distinctly valuable.

A complete edition of the *Writings of Abraham Lincoln* is announced by the Putnams. The work will be edited by Arthur Brooks Lapsley and will include, besides the writings, the full text of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Carl Schurz's essay on Lincoln, Joseph Choate's address, and the life of Lincoln by Noah Brooks.

At the annual session of the Société d'Histoire Diplomatique, held in Paris on June 9, an address was delivered by Lewis Einstein, third secretary of the American Embassy in London, on "Napoléon III. et les Préliminaires Diplomatiques de la Guerre Civile aux États-Unis." The address is printed in the July number of the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*.

The fourth volume of the *Papers* of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts is devoted to the Wilderness campaign of May-June, 1864.

A volume of military reminiscences is Edwin H. Tremain's *Two Days of War: A Gettysburg Narrative, and Other Excursions* (New York: Bonnell, Silver and Bowers). The contents include recollections of the battle of Gettysburg, Sherman's march to the sea, the battle of Chancellorsville, Reconstruction incidents, and other material.

The Putnams have brought out a second edition of Lieutenant Elliott's *Life of John Ancrum Winslow, Rear Admiral United States Navy*.

Much light has been thrown on the inner life of the Confederacy by recent semi-biographical books dealing with the experiences of prominent women. Two such volumes have appeared within the last six months: *A Diary from Dixie*, as written by Mrs. Mary B. Chesnut, edited by Isabella D. Martin and Myrta L. Avery (Appleton) and, more recent, Mrs. Louise Wigfall Wright's *A Southern Girl in '61* (Doubleday, Page and Company).

The *American Catholic Historical Researches* for July contains articles on the reputed membership of Abraham Lincoln in the Catholic church, and on the respective claims for John Barry and John Paul

Jones, relative to the founding of the American Navy. Of more historical value are the despatches from Bishop Lynch, commissioner of the Confederate States to the Holy See, to Judah P. Benjamin. These documents are among the so-called "Pickett papers" in the archives of the Treasury Department.

Professor Walter L. Fleming has published a compilation of the so-called "Black laws" passed by the Southern states in 1865-1866 for the regulation of the freedmen. It appears as one of the *West Virginia Documents relating to Reconstruction*. The same writer has prepared a syllabus on "The Reconstruction of Seceded States, 1865-76," which is published by the New York State Education Department as Syllabus 97; July, 1905. This outline, in eleven chapters, deals with the various stages and phases of Reconstruction and contains full references for reading. Appended is a large amount of illustrative material chosen with considerable care and covering a large field.

We have received from the compiler (who apparently is also the publisher) a volume entitled *America's Aid to Germany in 1871-72, An Abstract from the Official Correspondence of E. B. Washburne, U. S. Ambassador to Paris; The English text, with a German translation*, by Adolf Hepner (St. Louis, 1905, pp. 463). Mr. Hepner's preface says that "This publication principally aims to acquaint Germans with the services rendered them by the United States in times of great distress and danger"; while it may be of some service in this direction, the book is entirely valueless to the historical student. The official correspondence of Mr. Washburne, which was published by order of Congress in 1878 under the title *Franco-German War*, embraces 232 letters, of which this compilation abstracts parts of 158; there are no notes, the compiler apparently paying no attention even to Mr. Washburne's *Recollections* or private correspondence.

A volume dealing with recent history is *Essais d'Histoire Diplomatique Américaine*, by M. Achille Viallate (Paris, Guilmoto). The Spanish war, the expansion of the United States and the Panama canal are the subjects dealt with.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER.

It is now announced, simultaneously with the publication of the first part, that the Index to Persons in the first fifty volumes of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* will consist of eighteen parts, six of which will be issued each year.

*Compulsory Education in New England, 1850-1890*, an historical summary, by Professor John William Perrin of Cleveland, has been reprinted from the *Journal of Pedagogy* for June.

*A History of Boothbay, Southport, and Boothbay Harbor, Maine, 1623-1905*, by Francis B. Greene, is promised for the early part of next year. Nearly one-half of the 700 pages will be devoted to family genealogies.

The Vermont Sons of the American Revolution celebrated the 128th anniversary of the Battle of Bennington on August 16, by the dedication of a memorial tower to Ethan Allen. The tower was erected in Burlington on the Ethan Allen farm.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has chartered an association bearing the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," and consisting of male descendants of the freemen of the original Massachusetts Bay Company. The society is instituted for the purpose of historical and genealogical research, especially with relation to the history of the company chartered by Charles I. The executive officers are George E. Littlefield, governor; Walter K. Watkins, recorder; and Eben Putnam, secretary. On June 17 a meeting was held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, for the purpose of organizing an Historical Society. Richard Dana was elected president, and Frank Gaylord Cook secretary.

The tract, bearing the title *The Humble Request of the Governour and the Company late gone to New England to the Rest of their Brethren of the Church of England*, London, 1630, signed by Winthrop and other colonists before leaving England, has been reprinted in facsimile by Lowdermilk and Company of Washington. The edition is limited to one hundred copies; an introduction has been supplied by Professor J. L. Ewell, and a bibliographical note by Mr. Wilberforce Eames.

One of the most notable of recent contributions to early Massachusetts history is *Early Census Making in Massachusetts* by Josiah H. Benton, Jr. The *raison d'être* of this book was the finding of what Mr. Benton believes to be an original compilation from the returns of the enumeration of 1765. This document, which is designated as the Crane Manuscript, shows the total white population of the province to have been 238,226, whereas the generally accepted figure, computed from a manuscript, lost since 1822 but printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston for August 22, 1822, has been 240,220. The Crane Manuscript is printed in facsimile and other documentary material of considerable value is also included: a compilation from the census of negro slaves in 1754-5; Governor Belcher's reply to the queries of the Lords of Trade respecting the state of the province, April 5, 1751; and similar replies from Governor Bernard of April 29 and September 5, 1763. These letters found in the Public Record Office are of great value. The Crane Manuscript has been presented by Mr. Benton to the Boston Public Library.

Mr. Benjamin T. Hill is editing for the American Antiquarian Society the diary of Isaiah Thomas, the society's first president. The diary covers the years from 1805 to 1828, and is said to be of value historically.

Much information on the military events of the last years of the Revolution is to be found in the Seventh Series, Volume V., of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Collections*. This volume constitutes Part III. of the "Heath Papers," and deals with General William

Heath's military career from January, 1780, to the summer of 1783. A few later letters are added and the appendix has extracts from Heath's Orderly Book giving the history of the court-martial for the trial of General McDougall.

The Registry Department of the City of Boston has issued the thirty-third volume in the series formerly called the *Reports of the Record Commissioners*. It contains minutes of the selectmen's meetings from 1799 to 1810, inclusive. The registrar has also issued, as an accompaniment to this series, a series of four carefully executed plans of Boston, prepared from early records, and showing, for 1630, 1635, 1640 and 1645, the ways or streets and the owners of property.

Two biographical sketches of Rev. William Bentley and a bibliography of his literary labors, which appear in *The Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for July, prepare the way for the forthcoming publication of the diary of this teacher and preacher. The diary covers the period from 1781 to 1819. The Institute also announces the early appearance of an index to forty volumes of its *Historical Collections*.

An interesting contribution to local history is Miss Mary F. Ayer's article on "The South Meeting House, Boston (1669-1729)" in the July number of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Of particular note are the illustrations accompanying the sketch.

An interesting and unusual feature of the third number of the *Publications* of the Weymouth Historical Society is a reprint of an address delivered by Mr. Charles Francis Adams in 1874 at the 250th anniversary of the Massachusetts town of Weymouth, accompanied by a paper written thirty years later by Mr. Adams on the history of the same place; where the author reviews his own previous work and arrives at more mature conclusions. Another part of the volume is devoted to a paper read in 1882 by Gilbert Nash, secretary of the society, entitled "Weymouth in its first Twenty Years."

Attention should have been called some time ago to *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketches*, published by the Old Dartmouth (Mass.) Historical Society, nine of which have now appeared. They deal with local history and include "Gosnold and his Colony at Cuttyhunk," "Dartmouth Traditions," "King Philip's War in Dartmouth," and "Fairhaven in Four Wars."

In the series of vital records of Massachusetts towns, published by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the volumes for Medway, Palmer, Newton, Charlton, and Oakham have appeared. The vital records of Boxford have been published by the Topsfield Historical Society.

The Old Colony Historical Society has recently published *Gov. Marcus Morton*, being the address by N. W. Littlefield delivered before the society at its annual meeting in January.



The Connecticut Valley Historical Society has published Volume II. of its *Papers and Proceedings*, covering the years 1882-1903. There are papers on the "Rev. Robert Breck Controversy," a church quarrel of 1734 over an early "higher critic," and on "The Irish Pioneers of the Connecticut Valley."

Volume X. of the *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, which has recently been issued, is the second volume of "Rolls of Connecticut Men in the French and Indian War" published by the society for the state, under a special act of the Assembly. The years covered by the volume including the appendices are 1755-1764.

An attractive publication, privately printed for the New York chapter of the Colonial Order of the Acorn, is entitled *Early New York with Illustrative Sketches*, and consists of reproductions of six rare prints illustrative of New York between 1651 and 1801. Each print is accompanied by letter-press containing bibliographical and historical information.

*The Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New York, June 17, 1788*, is a reprint in facsimile of the complete report of the convention called to consider the ratification of the constitution.

Mr. Hugh Hastings, State Historian, continues the editing of the *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York*. The strategic importance of New York during the period covered by Volume VII. of the series, June 1, 1781, to January 1, 1782, gives the letters and documents additional value. Volume VIII. leaves Revolutionary matters and includes papers dealing with affairs of peace.

The third volume of Dr. Morgan Dix's *History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York* covers the rectorate of Bishop Hobart, 1816-1830. It had been expected that the work would be completed in three volumes, but a fourth will be necessary.

Under the editorship of Frank H. Severance, the eighth volume of the *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* has appeared, marked by considerable variety in the character of its contents. The first 150 pages are profitably given up to the (University of Michigan) doctoral thesis of Orrin Edward Tiffany, bearing the title "The Relations of the United States to the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838". The purpose of the thesis, as stated by the author, is three-fold: to set forth the relation of the people in the border states to the Canadian revolutionists, describing the secret societies, their filibustering purposes and movements, and their political influence and effects; to make clear the policy of the Van Buren administration toward the violation of neutrality laws on the frontier; and finally to show the action of the border states respecting the conduct of their citizens, noting the conflict between state and federal authority, as illustrated in the McCleod case. The volume also contains a contribution to early lake history, the narrative of Captain William W. Dobbins, written from the papers and reminiscences of his father, Captain Daniel Dobbins. This narrative, portions

of which appeared in the *Buffalo Courier*, in 1876, has been amply edited by Mr. Severance. There is also a narrative of Colonel Samuel Blakeslee, written in 1822, dealing with his services in the Revolution, and in the defense of Buffalo in 1813. The concluding contribution is a series of reminiscences by the late Martha Fitch Poole on "Social Life in Earlier Buffalo".

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July the letters from William Hamilton to his private secretary and from James H. Watmough to his wife are concluded. Most noteworthy of the new contributions are "The Log of Dr. Joseph Hinchman, Surgeon of the Privateer Brig Prince George, 1757," "Some Correspondence of Dr. James McHenry," "Rev. John Martin Mack's Narrative of a Visit to Onondaga in 1752," and two letters from John Paul Jones, both dated at L'Orient: one, of November 8, 1780, to Robert Morris, the other, of August 22, 1780, to William Carmichael.

Mr. Albert Cook Myers has in preparation a work dealing with the immigration of the English Quakers into Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which will serve as a companion work to his *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania*. Mr. Myers is desirous of any documentary aid that may be offered.

A large contribution to the history of western Pennsylvania is Dr. Joseph H. Bausman's *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, and its Centennial Celebration*. The work is in two volumes, illustrated with portraits, maps, and facsimiles.

We have received a *History of the Newspapers of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*, by Frank S. Reader. This little volume contains a brief historical sketch of every newspaper that has been published in Beaver County, together with portraits of many persons connected with the county press.

In the July number of the *Publications of the Southern History Association*, D. M. De Witt's article on Vice-President Johnson and the documents bearing on the Texas revolution are concluded. An article on "Lafayette's Campaign in Virginia," by General M. J. Wright, is commenced and some selections from the correspondence of Senator J. R. Doolittle are printed.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July contains several articles of historical interest: "The Fourteenth Amendment and Southern Representation," by James W. Garner; "Andrew Dickson White," by Charles H. Rammelkamp; "War Time in Alexandria, Virginia," by Miss S. L. Lee; "Blockade Running and Trade through the Lines into Alabama, 1861-1865," by Walter L. Fleming; and "The Executive Prerogative in the United States," by David Y. Thomas.

*A History of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1635-1904*, by Elihu S. Riley, has been published by Nunn and Company of Baltimore.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for July contains much original material of considerable interest. Selections from the proceedings of the colonial council, edited by Charles E. Kemper, throw light on the early westward movement in Virginia between 1724 and 1730, while the relations between Virginia and the Cherokees in 1768 and 1769 are illustrated by several documents including a letter from John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, to John Blair; the treaty made at Fort Stanwix; instructions from Lord Botetourt to Colonel Lewis and Dr. Walker, respecting their mission to Stuart relative to the Cherokee boundary; and their report to Lord Botetourt, inclosing an account of their "talk" with the Cherokees. The instalment of "Virginia Legislative Papers" includes among other documents a Presbyterian protest of 1774 against a proposed toleration act, and the deposition of Dr. William Pasteur, physician to Lord Dunmore, relative to the removal of the powder from the Williamsburg magazine. From the papers of John A. Parker is printed a document entitled "How James Buchanan was made President of the U. S. and by whom," in which Buchanan's election is ascribed to the efforts in Virginia of Henry A. Wise and the writer. Finally should be noted a letter from John Paul Jones to Joseph Hewes, found among the Samuel Johnston papers at Edenton, North Carolina, dated New York, May 19, 1776, dealing with naval affairs generally and with the position of the writer in the navy.

The Library Board of the Virginia State Library has published the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-6, including the Records of the Committee of Correspondence*, edited by Mr. John Pendleton Kennedy, Librarian. It is purposed to continue the publication of the Journal into earlier years.

The *Johns-Hopkins Studies* for July-August contain a new study in Virginia history, by O. P. Chitwood, under the title "Colonial Justice in Virginia". The writer has attempted to trace the growth of the entire system in Virginia, without entering into any elaborate review of legal proceedings. The work has been done with diligence and care, almost entirely from unpublished records of the county courts as preserved throughout Virginia.

The current number (Volume II., No. 1; June, 1905) of *The John P. Branch Historical Papers*, edited by Professor William E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College, is devoted largely to the career of Spencer Roane. A biographical sketch, by Edwin J. Smith, is accompanied by reprints of public letters by Spencer Roane, which appeared in the Richmond *Chronicle* and the Richmond *Enquirer*. These include that signed "A Plain Dealer" of February 13, 1788, reprinted in Ford's *Essays on the Constitution*, and six letters of 1819, attacking the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*. Some dozen or more letters are also printed from Roane's correspondence, including letters to Monroe, Madison and William Roane, and two letters, hitherto

unpublished, from Jefferson dated June 28, 1818, and June 25, 1821. Finally mention should be made of Robert Kemp Morton's concluding paper on "Robert R. Livingston—Beginnings of American Diplomacy."

The Legislature of West Virginia at its last session established a State Bureau of History and Archives and withdrew the appropriation of the State Historical Society, which latter in consequence transferred its possessions to the new Bureau and suspended its *Historical Magazine* (now in its fifth volume).

Dr. S. B. Weeks announces that he has in preparation a definitive edition of his *Bibliography of North Carolina*. It will include all books, pamphlets, and articles in periodicals dealing with North Carolina or with North Carolinians, as well as a list of periodicals of all descriptions published within the state.

Under the direction of the secretary of state of North Carolina abstracts of the wills in his office are being prepared for publication. The wills number about four thousand, are mostly of dates between 1700 and 1750, and cover large areas of land in North Carolina and Tennessee.

A document of value in the study of the Moravian settlement of North Carolina is the "Diarium einer Reise von Bethlehem, Pa., nach Bethabara, N. C.", 1753, commencing in the *German American Annals* for August.

In *Collier's Weekly* for July 1 appeared what purported to be a facsimile of part of *The Cape Fear Mercury* for Friday, June 3, 1775, containing the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," found by S. Millington Miller among the papers of Andrew Stevenson. Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., in *The State*, of Columbia, S. C., for July 30, argues elaborately that the facsimile is not genuine. It is pointed out that the third of June, 1775, fell on Saturday instead of on Friday, etc. Mr. Salley's article also throws light on the development of the "Mecklenburg Declaration" myth, and is a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject.

Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., has resumed the editorship of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, a position which he resigned when he became secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina. The July number of the *Magazine* opens with a continuation of the Laurens correspondence consisting of one letter from Henry Laurens to his son, dated York Town, March 15, 1778, and three from John Laurens to his father, dated Headquarters, June 1, September 29, and October 23, 1778. The remainder of the number is made up of another instalment of the records of the Continental regiments from South Carolina, a brief sketch of John Alston, by the editor, "South Carolina Gleanings in England," and the usual "Historical Notes."

A catalogue of unusual value has lately been issued: *Books relating to the History of Georgia in the Library of Wymberley Jones De Renne*

of Wormsloe, Isle of Hope, Chatham County, Georgia. This sumptuous quarto of seventy-four pages was printed for Mr. De Renne for private distribution at the press of the *Savannah Morning News*. Many very rare and valuable books, pamphlets, maps, etc., relating to Georgia, are described; there are in all several thousand titles. The De Renne library is undoubtedly one of the finest of the special state collections in the country.

The eighth volume of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society, edited by Franklin L. Riley, has come to hand. It contains the proceedings of the seventh annual meeting, held in January, 1904, and twenty-seven articles of varying value, many of considerable worth. Indians in Mississippi receive a large share of attention; a scholarly article displaying careful research on "Choctaw Land Claims," by Professor Riley, is followed by Mr. J. W. Wade's "The Removal of the Mississippi Choctaws," "Choctaw Traditions about their Settlement in Mississippi and the Origin of their Mounds," by Dr. Gideon Lincecum, and "Chickasaw Traditions, Customs, etc.," and "Some Chickasaw Chiefs and Prominent Men," both by Mr. Harry Warren. Following the custom of former years the volume contains a number of articles, some of the reminiscent type, dealing with Reconstruction in various counties. Of aid to users of the *Official Records of the Rebellion* will be General Stephen D. Lee's "Index to Campaigns, Battles and Skirmishes in Mississippi," while the important subject of "The Hampton Roads Conference" is treated by Hon. Frank Johnston. Two unpublished letters of Burton N. Harrison, relating to the attempts to secure the release of Jefferson Davis and to his actual liberation are especially noteworthy, as is also a brief article by Mr. William Beer on "Cartography of Mississippi in the Sixteenth Century."

In his third annual report as director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Mr. Dunbar Rowland has included some interesting documentary material bearing on Burr's conspiracy.

The *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for April is made up of an article by Miss Mattie Alice Austin on "The Municipal Government of San Fernando de Béxar, 1730-1800", a study, based on original research, of the organization and administration of the first and only purely civil community under Spanish rule in the province of Texas. Full and valuable bibliographical notes abound and much documentary material is appended.

Volumes XVI. and XVII. of the *Early Western Travels* complete the series of four volumes dealing with Long's expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains in 1819-1820. Volume XVIII., which has just appeared, is a narrative by James O. Pattie of Kentucky covering six years of travel and dealing extensively with the various tribes of Indians.

The contents of the July number of *The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* are mainly of genealogical interest; short biograph-

ical sketches of Dr. John Dawson, Dr. Jesse P. Judkins, W. H. Jennings, and Col. Frederick C. Pierce are included, while, as documentary material, is given in facsimile a letter from Major William Bradford, eldest son of Governor Bradford, dated Pocasset, June 30, 1676.

Biographical sketches together with the report of the twentieth annual meeting of the society make up the most important part of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for July. Of the biographical articles there are four: "William Allen Trimble," by Mary McArthur Tuttle; "Caleb Atwater," by Clement L. Martzolf; "Tarhe the Wyandot Chief," by Dr. Charles E. Slocum, and "Colonel John O'Bannon," by Basil Meek.

*Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1904*, appears as Publication No. 9 of the Illinois State Historical Library, a volume of some 700 pages. We mention a few of the many papers: "Illinois in the War of 1812-1814," by Frank E. Stevens; "A Trip from Pennsylvania to Illinois in 1851," by W. W. Davis; "Illinois Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes, 1818-1865," by Mason McC. Fishback; "Illinois under the French, 1673-1765," by Stephen L. Spear, and "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois," by J. F. Snyder.

Among the historical contributions in the latest volume of the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, should be noted "John Johnston: a Memoir," by William W. Wright; "Early Times in the Old Northwest," by Ira B. Branson; "Some Pioneering Experiences in Jefferson County," by Elbridge G. Fifield, and "Recollections of Antoine Grignon," by Eben D. Pierce.

The Minnesota Historical Society has removed its museum and library to the new and fireproof state capitol. The museum has recently been largely increased by the acquisition of the archaeological collections of the late Hon. J. R. Brower of St. Cloud and the Rev. Edward C. Mitchell of St. Paul.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July contains three historical contributions: "The Coming of the Norwegians to Iowa," by George T. Flom; "The Bribery of Alexander W. McGregor" (a member of the legislature of Wisconsin Territory, in 1837-8), by John C. Parish, and "Illinois as a Constituency in 1850," a study of the situation in Illinois as regards national politics, by Allen Johnson.

The July number of *Annals of Iowa* contains "Recollections of the Old Capitol and the New," by Hon. Peter A. Dey; "Congressional Medals of Honor and Iowa Soldiers," by Col. Charles A. Clark; "The Simon Cameron Indian Commission of 1838," by Ida M. Street, and "Steam-boating on the Des Moines," by C. F. Davis.

The Missouri Historical Society will shortly publish additional material from the Spanish archives on the expedition of James Mackay up the Missouri river in 1794 and 1795.

Professor S. B. Harding's *Life of George R. Smith* (Sedalia, Mo., privately printed) is a contribution to the history of Missouri between 1840 and 1870. General Smith, known as the founder of Sedalia, was, although a slave-owner, an ardent Union man and was violently opposed to secession. At the beginning of the war he was adjutant-general of the provisional loyal government and had much to do with equipping the Union forces in the state. The Mormon war, slavery and the Kansas troubles, the Civil War and Reconstruction, all receive due attention and the correspondence of Mr. Smith throws considerable light on politics and affairs.

*A History of the Pacific Northwest*, by Joseph Schafer (Macmillan, pp. 321) is a compact account of the history of the territory covered by the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. Early voyages and explorations, the development of the fur trade, and the joint occupation by British and Americans receive the larger share of attention.

Under the auspices of the Oregon Historical Society an historical congress was held at Portland, August 21-23, in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition.

Dr. William A. Mowry has returned to the charge and in *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon* (Silver, Burdett and Company) sets forth at length his already well known views respecting the relation of the missionary to the "saving" of Oregon.

A meeting at Toronto, May 17, 1905, resulted in calling into existence the Champlain Society, intended to perform for Canada functions like those of the Surtees, Hakluyt and Prince Societies. Mr. B. E. Walker, general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was provisionally made president; vice-presidents, Sir Louis A. Jetté, lieutenant-governor of the Province of Quebec, and Sir D. H. McMillan, lieutenant-governor of Manitoba; treasurer, Mr. James Bain of the Toronto Public Library; secretaries, Professors C. W. Colby of Montreal and G. M. Wrong of Toronto. The membership is limited to two hundred and fifty; the annual dues are ten dollars. It is expected that two volumes will be issued each year.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. F. Bandelier, *Traditions of Precolumbian Landings on the Western Coast of South America* (American Anthropologist, April-June); P. H. Woodward, *The True Story of the Regicides* (Connecticut Magazine, July-September); Victor Tantet, *Les Réfugiés Politiques Français en Amérique sous la Convention* (La Revue, August 1); L. de Norvins, *Les Bonaparte d'Amérique* (La Revue, July 15); G. P. Garrison, *Connecticut Pioneers Founded Anglo-American Texas* (Connecticut Magazine, July-September); J. S. Sewall, *With Perry in Japan* (Century, July); U. B. Phillips, *The Economic Cost of Slave-Holding* (Political Science Quarterly, June); W. G. Brown, *The Tenth Decade of the United States: III. Westward by Sea and Land: IV. Lincoln's Policy of Mercy* (Atlantic, July, Septem-

ber); T. A. Ashby, *Gen. R. E. Lee as a College President* (Confederate Veteran, August); M. A. De Wolfe Howe, editor, *Letters and Diaries of George Bancroft, I. Student Days in Europe* (Scribner's, September); C. H. Ambler, *Disfranchisement in West Virginia, II.* (Yale Review, August); W. L. Fleming, *Immigration to the Southern States* (Political Science Quarterly, June); O. S. Straus, *Historical Relations of Russia and the United States* (North American Review, August).



The

## American Historical Review

## THE SPEECH OF POPE URBAN II. AT CLERMONT, 1095

THE belief that Peter the Hermit was the instigator of the first crusade has long been abandoned. To Pope Urban II. belongs the credit, or the responsibility, for the movement. On November 27, 1095,<sup>1</sup> at the Council of Clermont, he delivered the address which led so many thousands to take the cross.<sup>2</sup> There are several versions of this speech, but it cannot be proved that any one of them was written until a number of years after the Council. As these differ decidedly in their expressions, it has been assumed<sup>3</sup> that it is impossible to determine what the pope actually said. It is the purpose of this paper to show by an examination of the various versions that, in spite of the verbal differences, there is a remarkable agreement among the contemporary reporters,<sup>4</sup> and consequently that it is possible to ascertain the subjects which the pope discussed.

<sup>1</sup> See Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, No. 9, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VI, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ekkehard, *MGSS.*, VI. 213, says that one hundred thousand took the cross at Clermont. For the results of his speech, cf. Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, I. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Sybel, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (2d ed.), 185: "Dem rechten Historiker, wenn er nicht auf die Darstellung der umgebenden Thatsachen und auf eine bereite Phantasie seines Lesers vertrauen will, bleibt hier nichts übrig, als eine selbständige Schöpfung, eine erdichtete Wahrheit zu versuchen."

<sup>4</sup> Almost all modern historians of the crusades have given a summary of Urban's speech. Generally they have been content to take one version (those given by William of Tyre, Robert, and Fulcher have been most frequently selected) and follow it. Others have combined arbitrarily statements from different versions. The best and latest summary is by Röhrich, in his *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, 20: "Die Rede Urbans ist uns vielfach überliefert, aber nicht genau. Ohne Frage bildete den Inhalt ein Klageruf über die von den Ungläubigen gegen die Christen im heiligen Lande verübten Gewaltthaten, ein Kriegsruf an die gesammte Christenheit des Abendlandes, die Feinde aus dem Lande der Verheissung hinauszutreiben und es wieder den Christen zurückzugeben, ein Trostruf, dass Christus den Seinen helfen und Sieg verleihen werde." The best discussion is also by Röhrich, *ibid.* 235-239.

The important versions are given by Fulcher of Chartres,<sup>1</sup> Robert the Monk,<sup>2</sup> Baldric of Dol,<sup>3</sup> Guibert of Nogent,<sup>4</sup> and William of Malmesbury.<sup>5</sup> Those of William of Tyre, Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, and others are, as will be noted later, of little importance.

Fulcher of Chartres, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, gives a very brief account of Urban's exhortation.<sup>6</sup> But he prefaces it by a summary of the pope's speech relative to the evil conditions in the West.<sup>7</sup> This was an address to the clergy who were at the Council. At its close the Truce of God was proclaimed and all who were present promised to observe it. Then Urban began his exhortation. This is the portion of Fulcher's account which must be compared with the versions given by the others. It is accepted as the most trustworthy of all by Hagenmeyer<sup>8</sup> and Röhricht.<sup>9</sup> They state that Fulcher was present at the Council.<sup>10</sup> Hagenmeyer thinks that his account was written down within a short time, surely not later than about 1100.<sup>11</sup> The date usually given for the completion of the first part of his history is 1105.<sup>12</sup>

Robert the Monk, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, gives a somewhat longer account. He states in his preface that he was commissioned to write the history because he was at Clermont.<sup>13</sup> It is not possible to determine the time when he wrote; certainly it was not before 1101-1102<sup>14</sup>; probably it was a few years later.<sup>15</sup> He does not have the first speech of Urban to the clergy, but he does give a summary of the pope's second speech to the clergy,<sup>16</sup> after

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, III. 322-324. (Hereafter this series will be cited as *Recueil*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil*, III. 727-730.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 12-15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 137-140.

<sup>5</sup> *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, edited by Stubbs, Rolls Series, II. 393-398.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ekkehard's *Hierosolymita*, p. 90. (Hereafter quoted as HE.)

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>10</sup> In 1877, Hagenmeyer wrote (HE, p. 90), "Ohne Zweifel war er selbst auch auf dem Concil anwesend." In 1879, in *Peter der Eremit*, p. 72, he referred to him as an "Ohrenzeuge", and he has used the same term in his later writings. Röhricht, *op. cit.*, also called him an "Ohrenzeuge". (Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, No. 2123, says he was present.) They give no reference and I have not been able to find in his writings any proof that he was present. Whether present or not, he was well informed, as will be apparent later.

<sup>11</sup> HE, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2123.

<sup>13</sup> "Praecipit igitur mihi ut qui Clari Montis Concilio interfui," *Recueil*, III. 721.

<sup>14</sup> Riant, *Alexii Comneni Epistola ad Robertum Flandrensem*, p. xli.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2118.

<sup>16</sup> The pope made three speeches. First he addressed the clergy, urging a reform. (Fulcher, bk. 1, ch. 2. Baldric, "quae ad fidem pertinebant praemissis," *Recueil*, IV. 12F. Cf. William of Malmesbury's opening sentences, § 347.) This speech was probably made on the same day as, and just before, the exhortation

that it was hoped the other twenty-two (*sic*) would speedily follow their example. Under the impression of this assurance, the Assembly decided to close the discussion raised between the districts and to order that the matter should stand as it had stood before November 11. The effect of this was to put the communal assembly in the right, for if a longer discussion of the question was formally deprecated and the *status quo ante bellum* was resumed, the districts by implication had no power to exact an oath or to revoke their deputies. On the other hand, if the deputies themselves yielded to pressure and resigned, the communal assembly had no remedy except vain protests. This was what happened in the Cordeliers case, for those who had resigned persisted in their resignation, so that the assembly was obliged to admit their successors. Indeed they did this without question.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely had the storm subsided when it broke out again with renewed fury. This time the occasion was the long-deferred plan of a municipal constitution. On November 26 the National Assembly had decided that Paris, on account of its immense population, should have a special charter, and plainly intimated that this charter was to be drawn up by the Assembly itself. The municipal constitution-makers, who had approached their task with such elaborate and almost reverential deliberateness, were naturally

<sup>1</sup> For the report of the committee, see Lacroix, III. 32-33. The statement that a majority of the districts had rejected the pretention of the Cordeliers seems substantiated by an analysis of the action of the districts, sworn to in the presence of the mayor November 22; for this see *ibid.*, 34-35. The paper is confirmed by the statements of the *Courrier de Provence* and by Brissot in his *Patriote français*, although the *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XX., accused Brissot of lying impudently in this matter. M. Lacroix believes that the honors rested with the Cordeliers. He remarks (p. 35), "juridiquement, la question resta indécise: le mandat impératif, le droit de révocabilité permanente restèrent discutables et discutés. Mais, en fait, le district des Cordeliers triompha; sa volonté prévalut malgré l'opposition de l'Assemblée des Représentants de la Commune." Against this view stands the fact that the main contentions of the Cordeliers were practically abandoned by it and by its supporters, although it did maintain its right to substitute new deputies for those who had resigned. It is also significant that the *Révolutions de Paris* is especially bitter after the decision and criticizes the action of the National Assembly. M. Aulard in his article on "Danton au District des Cordeliers" (*La Révolution française*, XXIV. 138) strangely represents the report of the National Assembly's committee as giving "raison aux Cordeliers", ignoring everything in the report save what was said about receiving the new deputies. However exaggerated may have been the pretensions of the assembly, it is difficult to see what advantage could come from the attempt to render it powerless to administer a city which as yet had no definitive organization. The action of the districts seems to have been largely directed by petty jealousy concealed behind a screen of glittering principles. Danton himself became quiet as soon as he was chosen a member of the assembly in January, 1790. M. Aulard says, "Son rôle y fut très effacé," *ibid.*, 142.

to conform to everything prescribed by their constituents. This oath acknowledged that as deputies they were revocable at the will of their constituents and that they had no authority to concur in any organizations of a civil or military character which should not first have received the sanction of the districts. When the oath was actually tendered to the deputies of the Cordeliers a few days later, three of them resigned rather than take it. The assembly refused to recognize these resignations as valid. Had it paused here, its case would have had the better chance of success, as the sequel proved. But it was not content with a strong defensive position; it undertook to force the fighting by annulling the decree of the Cordeliers, by declaring the oath void, and by expelling one of the deputies of the district who had boasted that he was the originator of the scheme to demand an oath. Both sides appealed to the National Assembly and to the districts. Several districts which sympathized with the Cordeliers recalled their deputies, others rallied to the support of the assembly. The situation became daily more intricate and embarrassing.<sup>1</sup>

For the National Assembly the question was also embarrassing. However comprehensive its functions, they certainly did not include the decision of questions of legal theory, especially in the case of a city under a provisional régime organized mainly by itself. But the matter was referred to a committee, and its report, November 23, on the whole supported the contentions of the communal assembly, although it declared that the assembly had exceeded its functions in denying the right of the Cordeliers to choose three deputies in place of those who had resigned. The claim of the Cordeliers of authority to exact an oath or to revoke its deputies is explicitly denied, because, declares the committee, "it is important that the representatives of each district fill their functions until the expiration of the time set by their credentials or until they have given their voluntary resignation, and that they be held to no other oath than that of filling honorably the mission which they have accepted." According to this the communal assembly would be obliged to receive the newly elected members and to retain the two deputies who had taken the oath. Before the Assembly had an opportunity to take a vote, one of its members explained that already thirty-eight districts had rejected the decree of the Cordeliers and

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, II. 463-464, 637-641, 644. The various deliberations of the Cordeliers are given in a little collection (Bibl. Nat., L<sup>p</sup> 40/254). For the action of the districts for or against the contention of the Cordeliers, see résumé with documents in Lacroix, III. 28-32. Cf. *Patriote français*, no. CVI. Brissot's opinion was, "en thèse générale, le Peuple, en matière de Constitution, peut assujétir ses Mandataires à son volonté—il ne peut pas en matière de Législation."

The conflict between the communal assembly and the district of the Cordeliers, under the leadership of Danton, is the most notable illustration of the tendencies of the opposition. Early in October the Cordeliers had called upon the other districts to assist in effecting the release of the Marquis de St. Huruge, one of the noisiest agitators of the Palais Royal, on the ground that his arrest, made by the municipal officers, had been illegal. When the municipality instituted proceedings at the Châtelet against Marat, who in *L'Ami du Peuple* mingled criticism, rough satire, calumny, and provocations to sedition, the district voted that it would with all its power defend authors within its limits against "voies de fait", although it declined to resist any effort of those who were libeled to obtain redress by the ordinary processes of law. An attempt of the officers of the Châtelet to make an arrest was apparently considered an act of violence.<sup>1</sup>

These were simply skirmishes before the battle. Late in the same month the Cordeliers "enjoined" its deputies to invite the municipal assembly to urge upon the National Assembly the trial of Besenval<sup>2</sup> or his transver to Paris from Brie-Comte-Robert, where a large guard was stationed at the expense of the city. The assembly had already done what it could, and its members were irritated that the matter was raised in this way. They did not relish the implications of the word "enjoin", and they seized the occasion to complain formally of the constant interference of the districts in administration by deliberations and decrees publicly placarded, and asked the Cordeliers in particular to refrain from placarding decrees which tended to disturb civic harmony. The reply of the Cordeliers was prompt. It denied that the assembly had a right to trace for the districts the limits of their activity until the National Assembly had given the city its legal organization. The district further declared that its deputies had agreed to take an oath

<sup>1</sup> Marat's case was first taken up September 25; Lacroix, II. 69; for further action, see *ibid.*, 157-158, 201-202, 319-320, 344. His attacks on the municipality began with number VIII., two days after the journal had been changed from *Publiciste parisien* to *L'Ami du Peuple*. For especially violent diatribes, see nos. XV. and XXVI. In no. XVIII. he tells of his experiences at the Hôtel de Ville when summoned to appear before the assembly. In no. XXV. he called for the appointment of a "Tribune" armed with military power, and provoked the National Guard to sedition. See further, *Révolutions de Paris*, October 2, pp. 34-38; *Chronique de Paris*, October 8. Marat had incidentally praised Peyrilhe, one of the deputies of the Cordeliers. In October 9 Peyrilhe wrote to the *Chronique de Paris* protesting "que cet éloge partant d'une plume, qui distille la sédition et la calumnie, m'outrage et m'afflige profondément." For action of Cordeliers, see *Extrait du Registre . . . du 7 Oct.* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), and *Chronique de Paris* for October 13.

<sup>2</sup> For the Besenval case, see the REVIEW for January, 1905 (X. 304-305).

Much of the opposition of the districts to the communal assembly received its impulse from the decision to form six companies of chasseurs which should guard the city gates and assist the tax officers in collecting the octroi. Ever since the uprising in July it had been difficult to collect this tax. The loss could ill be endured because the government was threatened with bankruptcy. If the gates were to be guarded effectively, this duty must be intrusted to paid companies. The citizens of the districts were unwilling to perform their ordinary guard duties and could not be depended upon for such services. Moreover there were many soldiers in the city, particularly Swiss, whom it had been impossible to incorporate in the paid companies of the districts and who could not be sent home. Several districts objected to further military organizations of this sort. One declared that it would never abandon the control of the gates within its own limits unless the organization of the chasseurs had been approved by the majority of the districts. This agitation did not prevent the communal assembly from voting another company to guard the central market, where serious disorders were endangering the flour trade.<sup>1</sup>

Lacroix, II. 576; for St. Honoré, *Extrait des Registres* (Arch. Nat., C 33, no. 286 bis); *Extrait des Délibérations de l'Assemblée générale du D. des Petits-Augustins*, September 19 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); St. Marcel, *Extrait des registres*, October 20 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); Saint-Séverin, *Assemblée générale du 20 Nov.* (Arch. Nat. C 33, no. 268 bis); St. Louis-de-la-Culture, decrees, etc., of November 9, 16, 19. For Cordeliers, see below. Several of these decrees or deliberations are quoted in whole or part by Lacroix in his notes. The most enthusiastic supporter of direct legislation was Loustalot, who argued that the function of the communal assembly was to lay propositions in a simple form before the districts. He believed that much might be done also in large assemblies like those held in Rome, and he published diagrams of an ingenious sounding-board which would place the speaker's mouth at the foci of two parabolas, the curve of one immediately behind him and that of the other beneath him. The representative system he denounced as a relic of medieval feudalism and simply a new form of slavery. *Révolutions de Paris*, September 19, no. XIV. 15-21, XV. 15-16, XVII., XVIII. 8-14, XXI. 20-21. The Abbé Fauchet, a popular preacher, later one of the Girondist group, advocated similar views in the communal assembly itself; see *Motion faite par l'abbé Fauchet*, November 20, 25, December 2 (Bibl. Nat., pièce). The view favorable to the communal assembly is illustrated in the following: St. Jacques-de-l'Hôpital, *Extraits des différentes Délibérations*, etc. (Arch. Nat. C 33, no. 286); Ste. Opportune, November 21, *Extrait* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, in Lacroix, II. 674-675; Carmes, *ibid.*, III. 6.

<sup>1</sup> The question of the chasseurs came up in connection with nearly all theoretical criticisms of the assembly. The most noteworthy pronunciamiento was one by the Petits Augustins, in which its views were emphasized by capitals. Apropos of the nominations of officers it declared "que cette nomination est un ATTENTAT AUX DROITS ET LA LIBERTÉ DE TOUS LES CITOYENS, Qu'elle Annonce L'Exercice D'Une Autorité Arbitraire", etc. (Bibl. Nat., pièce); the efforts of St. Louis-la-Culture, November 9, 16, 19 (Bibl. Nat., pièces), are also intrusive. Cf. Lacroix, II. 405-407, 476, 502-503, III. 19-22.

districts held a meeting. Although at their second meeting only twenty-three were represented, a plan of action was sent to the districts, which, if adopted, would have dispensed with the communal assembly. Each district was to communicate its projects to the other districts, which were to meet at once and formulate their views. If these were favorable, the deputies of the district which originally proposed the project were to draw it up at the Central Committee in the presence of the deputies of the other districts, after which all should be "obliged to conform to it as the decision of the majority." This plan of direct government got no farther because a majority of the districts were not yet in the mood to crowd the communal assembly out of the place it had been created to fill. It was only in the spring of 1790 that an assembly at the archbishop's palace, with the assistance of Mayor Bailly, succeeded for a time in posing as the real agency for communal action.<sup>1</sup>

## VII.

The issue between the municipal assembly and the more ambitious district leaders turned upon the question whether the assembly could make necessary regulations or ordinances without consulting the districts; and whether, after the council and *bureau* were organized, it should not restrict itself to the completion of the plan of municipal government. The legislative power, these men insisted, belonged to the districts. Some added that even the National Assembly could not interfere in purely local concerns. Others sought to weaken the position of the municipal assembly by arguing the provisional character of the Paris government and asserting that, until the National Assembly had given the city a municipal constitution, the municipal assembly had no right to pass laws or ordinances.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the earlier projects of such an organization, see *Extrait du procès-verbal de l'assemblée du district de l'Oratoire* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Vœu d'un citoyen* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Discours prononcé par M. Javon*, probably before July 28 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Extrait des délibérations . . . de St. Louis-en-l'Isle* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), July 30; *Extrait du procès-verbal de l'Assemblée du district des Mathurins, du 7 août 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); see also Lacroix, I. 30, 33-36. For the later period, see *Chronique de Paris*, no. LXX.; *Journal de la Municipalité et des Districts*, October 28, 30, November 4, 6; *Extrait d'une Délibération du D. des Mathurins*, November 6 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XVIII.; see also Lacroix, II. 533-534, 537-541.

<sup>2</sup> The point of view of the opposition districts is illustrated in the following: for Saint-Roch's declaration of November 9, see Lacroix, II. 553, cf. 642; *Adresse Respectueuse du D. de St. Leu, à l'Assemblée Nationale* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); for Prémontrés, *Extraits*, of September 28 and October 2, and *Observations sommaires*, October 31 (Bibl. Nat., pièces); *Extrait* of November 18 (Arch. Nat. C 33, no. 286); for St. Germain-des-Prés, *Révolutions de Paris*, XVII., cf.

placarding their decrees even outside their own limits. One of them ordered the release of certain prisoners from La Force. When the concierge did not obey, he was summoned to appear before the central committee; and the threat was added that, if he did not come voluntarily, soldiers would be sent to fetch him. Only the intervention of the communal assembly and of Lafayette prevented this. Other districts went to the arsenal and seized cannon and powder. In several instances expeditions were made into the country in search of arms. Sometimes it was grain or flour that these expeditions sought. In one instance a district stopped a convoy of flour in Paris on its way to the market and distributed the flour to bakeries within the district.<sup>1</sup> In another case a district assumed the functions of the former lieutenant-general of police and issued formal decrees regulating, presumably within its own limits, public carriages, speed of driving, butchers' shops, etc.<sup>2</sup> There was no intention to cause disunion, but such inconsiderate use of power led toward actual anarchy.

The reluctance of the district politicians to part with power even after they had constituted a municipal assembly was illustrated in the spasmodic attempts to form a central committee or clearing-house for the liquidation of conflicting opinions. The scheme was first proposed when the question of substituting an assembly for the electors was agitating the districts. Hardly had the new assembly been organized before its attention was called to the existence of another assembly holding sessions at the archbishop's palace and calling itself the Central Committee of Correspondence. Several of the districts which approved the scheme were, however, anxious that it should not take the semblance of a regular assembly with officers, records, debates, etc. According to this view it should only collect and transmit information in order that a common policy might control the action of all the districts. Others argued that its duty was to watch the municipal assembly, which, said they, was far from being infallible. So many districts were either indifferent or opposed to the idea that it could not then be embodied in an effective organization. Late in October another attempt was made. At this time the controversy between the assembly and the districts was becoming acute. Officials or commissioners from forty-two

<sup>1</sup> *Extrait des délibérations de l'assemblée du district de Ste. Opportune, du 5 août, 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Discours* of M. Godard, ex-president of the Blancs-Manteaux (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Révolutions de Paris*, nos. V. 31, 33, VI. 32, VII. 7-11; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 282, 314, 353, 371; Hardy MS., 444-445; Lacroix, I. 276-277, 462-463, 551-552, 562-563.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *Extrait des Délibérations du District des Petits-Augustins du 4 août, 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. another case, Bailly, II. 258.



## VI.

Until the meeting of the second communal assembly, September 19, the controversy over functions and powers had been chiefly between the assembly and the mayor. It now became a struggle between the assembly and the districts. Intimations of such a conflict had not been wanting during the earlier period, but the districts were then too busily occupied with their own organization to be jealously watchful of the Hôtel de Ville. The local police had fallen into their hands, and their military patrols were the sole means of preserving order. They were obliged also to exercise in minor matters a rude though not always unfriendly justice.<sup>1</sup> The organization which they adopted to meet these conditions varied with the character and aspirations of each district. Several drew up an elaborate constitution and provided themselves with a full panoply of committees—"grand", "central", finance, subsistence, military affairs, and police. Their critics accused them of doing this to satisfy the thirst of the more ambitious members for office. Brissot remarked that there was not a petty lawyer who did not aspire to be a Demosthenes, not a student who was not determined to become commandant. In some districts, he added, there were more officers than soldiers.<sup>2</sup> The general assembly of the district theoretically included all persons—clergy, nobles, or bourgeois—who possessed the qualifications fixed for the original primary assemblies. After the first excitement was over, service in the civic guard and in the assemblies became wearisome. Government in the districts, as afterward in Paris, fell into the hands of an energetic and sometimes noisy minority.<sup>3</sup>

The desire of the more ambitious district politicians to carry out their schemes or to provide for the needs of their own localities without delay gave color to the accusation that Paris was divided into "sixty little republics." Some districts were in the habit of

*Appel des sieurs Martin et Duval* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *District de St. Martin-des-Champs* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

<sup>1</sup> The larger part of the "Délibérations du comité civil du district des Mathurins" is taken up with such affairs (Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2696, fol. 48-120).

<sup>2</sup> Quénard, *Tableau historique*, 48; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. VII. 7; *Patriote français*, no. XIX. The district of Prémontrés had an elaborate constitution. For that of St. Étienne-du-Mont, see *Règlement provisoire* (Bibl. Nat., pièce) under date of July 27. For problem in other districts, see Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2670, fol. 2-4, 6, 53, and 2696, fol. 40.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to form an exact estimate of numbers in the district assemblies where so many records have been destroyed. On July 22 there were 130 in Saint-Roch out of about 2,500 citizens resident in the district. On September 11 at the Mathurins there were 140 votes cast in the election of the new deputies. Hardy MS., "Mes Loisirs," VIII. 471.

been assured in a solemn address, when the king had been brought to Paris and the National Assembly had announced its intentions to follow him thither, that all the inhabitants of the city were ready to shed their blood to preserve the independence of its deliberations and the personal security of its members.<sup>1</sup> If murderous mobs were to parade the streets with the head of any unfortunate man they suspected of treason, the deputies who had refused to come to Paris on the ground that in this turbulent city freedom of speech was impossible would be justified by the facts. Accordingly the communal assembly sent two or three deputations in rapid succession to the National Assembly asking for the enactment of a martial law which would permit the dispersal of mobs by force. Such a measure had already been under consideration. It was put into form and enacted the same day. The king sanctioned it immediately, and the following day it was publicly proclaimed.<sup>2</sup>

This law gave to the municipality the right upon its own judgment of the facts to decide when the occasion had arrived for the use of force against a mob. The signal should be the display of a red flag from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville and in the streets and squares of the city. Instantly all assemblages of people with or without arms become criminal. If the mob does not disperse, the soldiers, preceded by the red flag and accompanied by at least one municipal officer, are to march to the spot. In order that peaceful citizens may have an opportunity to retire and that just grievances may be heard, the crowd may appoint a deputation of six persons to present their requests, after which it must disperse at once. If it does not disperse, there are to be three summonses and then the soldiers are to fire. Even radical journalists like Loustalot acknowledged that such a law was necessary, and Brissot regarded it as a masterpiece of precision, of foresight, and of just proportion between crime and penalty. One of the members of the communal committee of police afterward declared that from the enactment of this law dated the revival of public tranquility, and that by the first of November Paris ceased to be the theatre of factions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bailly's speech is given in Lacroix, II. 345-346; the address of the Commune, *ibid.*, 245-247. It is to the credit of French justice that the leaders of the François mob were tried immediately and hanged within thirty-six hours of the commission of the crime.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, II. 363, 364, note 4, 377-379; text of law, 385-386; Duvergier, I. 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XVI. The quotation from this journal by Lacroix, II. 435, is misleading. *Patriote français*, no. LXXVI.; *Chronique de Paris*, I. 259; Godard, *Exposé*, 90. There was slight opposition in one or two districts; for this, see Lacroix, II. 422-423; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XVI. 3; *Journal de Paris*, October 31; *Bataillon de Saint Martin-des-Champs* (Bibl. Nat., pièce);

council in the matter of the grain-trade. The project found many enemies even in the communal assembly. Some objected to an appeal to the National Assembly, insisting that the districts should be consulted, others declared that the assembly should devote itself wholly to an examination of the plan of municipal organization, leaving everything to be managed as it had been. The council protested against this decision and resolved to negotiate directly with the National Assembly. Meanwhile the project had been restricted in its scope, providing merely for the department of police. The deputation appeared in the National Assembly with Bailly at its head. He explained that the communal assembly would undoubtedly have sent the project themselves had they not been absorbed by their labors on the plan of government. He urged that the responsibility to which the administrators were subjected demanded some rule of action, since it was impossible to answer for the use of an indefinite and arbitrary power. The project proposed that real criminals be turned over to the Châtelet as before. Mere disturbers of the peace were to be brought before a member of the district committee, who had power to send them to the city prison. The lieutenant in charge of the department of police or one of his councilors was to interrogate the prisoners each day, with the authority to release or to condemn to brief imprisonment or to a fine. More serious cases were to be brought before a tribunal of police made up of the mayor, his lieutenant, and eight adjunct notables. This tribunal could imprison for a month or fine to the amount of one hundred livres. When the communal assembly heard of this step, it showed intense irritation. Some of the districts also complained of the action of the council. The new department of police was fully organized by the middle of November; and the committee of police, upon which several electors still served, was released from the arduous duties which it had performed for four months.<sup>1</sup>

Before the new police tribunal was established, the municipality received extraordinary powers for the suppression of riots. The immediate occasion was the atrocious murder of the baker François, wrongfully accused of keeping back a part of the day's baking. An event so sinister, happening just after the National Assembly had begun its sessions in Paris, naturally alarmed the communal assembly. Only the day before, a deputation with Bailly at its head, had declared that it was the duty of Paris to surround the National Assembly "with repose and tranquility." The whole nation had

<sup>1</sup> See *Moniteur*, II. 227, November 24; Lacroix, II. 418-419, 427-428, 437-438, 444, 479-480, 483. Text of decree, *ibid.*, 579-582. Attitude of communal assembly, *ibid.*, 542; cf. *Patriote français*, no. XC.

## V.

If Bailly's municipal *coup d'état* be judged by the time the new assembly took to organize the provisional administration, it was a failure. The assembly met September 19, but it was the middle of November before the government was in working order. This was partly due to the controversy with the districts over the method of choosing councilors.<sup>1</sup> After some résistance the assembly yielded and those districts which originally had not designated one of their deputies to serve as a member of the council did this. The attention of the assembly was also absorbed by the new problems which the events of October 5 and 6 presented. About the middle of October Bailly hinted that, as it had given up the work of administration, certain matters be turned over to him, but the deputies were deaf.<sup>2</sup>

Before the administrative organization was completed scruples began to arise about its legal standing. This concerned especially the department of police. Some persons argued that with the suppression of the office of lieutenant-general of police the jurisdiction which he exercised had passed to the Châtelet. Such doubts show that the period when ordinary laws could be ignored in the name of public necessity was passing away. The first to realize the difficulty were naturally those upon whom heavy responsibilities had been placed. To clear up the situation it was proposed that the National Assembly should be requested to grant to the mayor and the administrators the powers of administration and police within the city, and the control of provisions without its limits, which had formerly been possessed by the lieutenant-general of police, the Hôtel de Ville, or special commissioners. If such a request were granted, it would extend the authority conferred by the king's

acceptance of the assembly's proposals, with these exceptions, left the functions of the new assembly somewhat undefined. Several districts urged that its duty was to report on the plan of government; others asserted that it should still watch over administration; see *Extrait des Délibérations . . . de Ste. Opportune* (Bibl. Nat., pièce) and *Extrait du procès-verbal des Mathurins du 7 sept* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. Lacroix, II. 2-3, although this summary does not touch the point in question.

<sup>1</sup> *Patriote français*, no. LIV. 4. As examples of the attitude of the districts, see action of St. Marcel, in Lacroix, II. 116; *Extrait du Registre des Délibérations du District des Prémontrés, du 28 Septembre* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

<sup>2</sup> The members of the council had been chosen by October 3, but the events of the fifth and sixth delayed the first session until the eighth. Lacroix, II. 151, 216. After choosing the heads of two departments the assembly abandoned this work to the council. The bureau was organized October 20, and a few days later assumed to be the sole administrative body. *Ibid.*, 493. Bailly's suggestion to the assembly is *ibid.*, 299-300. The official who had served as treasurer under the old government was elected to the same position.

taking account of the probable action of the existing assembly. This body learned of the letter the day on which it was despatched, and the astonishment and indignation of the deputies were boundless. The mayor was sent for and was obliged to defend himself against their angry complaints. In order to snatch victory from the midst of defeat they assumed that it was necessary to adopt Bailly's suggestion but not his method of carrying it into effect; for this, they urged, would thwart his real intentions. Accordingly the districts were asked to accept those parts of the plan which concerned the organization of the general assembly, the council, the *bureau*, and the districts themselves. After the assembly had chosen the council the two hundred and forty members remaining were to occupy themselves with the examination of the plan of government, modify it according to the observations of the districts, and finally submit it to these for sanction. The citizens were plainly warned against the mayor's original scheme, and an apology was offered for the assembly's delays which reflected upon him and upon his committee of subsistence. The record showed that this was done in the "presence of the mayor and in agreement with him," and he was required to affix his signature. He did this, he afterward explained, to avoid scandal.<sup>1</sup>

The proposition of the assembly placed the more ambitious districts in a predicament. The titles of the plan which they were asked to accept contained the three limitations on their powers which have already been explained. There was no method, short of total rejection, by which they could give a qualified consent to the project and be sure that their conditions would be respected. Some of them preferred the mayor's plan, but the majority supported the assembly. Out of its one hundred and eighty members one hundred and fifteen were returned to sit in the new assembly. This did not mean that the districts would abide by features of the project to which they objected seriously. Nearly half ventured to take from the assembly its principal electoral duty by each designating one of their five deputies as a member of the council. The district assemblies also continued to meet as before, and in several instances they succeeded in revoking deputies by bringing a pressure upon them which the communal assembly was powerless to prevent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, I. 396-399; *Chronique de Paris*, I. 39; *Patriote français*, no. XXXI. This was the first time Bailly had been asked to sign the record since July 30.

<sup>2</sup> Several districts gave conditional adhesions, notably the Récollets, *Extrait du Registre . . . du premier Septembre, 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); Bancal des Issarts urged in the district of the Carmes that the president of the district was disqualified from being also a deputy, *Arrêtés* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); see for action of Saint-Roch Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2665, fol. 36. The practical

seded. Impelled by these considerations,<sup>1</sup> he resolved to force an immediate organization of the administration and to restrict the assembly to the task of discussing the plan of government.<sup>2</sup> In attempting to carry out his scheme Bailly addressed himself directly to the districts. He proposed that the *bureau* described in the plan be chosen by an electoral assembly convened for this purpose. The whole operation would, he thought, be completed in eight days.<sup>3</sup>

From his proposals it is clear that Bailly was determined to recover a position at the head of affairs. "The mayor", he said, "is the chief of the municipal administration; he is its active principle." He complained that the new plan did not give the mayor the influence that should belong to him and declared that assemblies could not administer. Although Bailly made a passing allusion to the continuance of the assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, in order that it might prepare its observations on the plan, his letter seemed to lead toward suppressing it altogether.<sup>4</sup> The significance of the blow was heightened because it was prepared secretly. None but his favorite committee of subsistence was consulted. In order to strengthen his position Bailly sought support in the districts by conceding to them full local legislative power.

Bailly did not intend to call into existence another assembly. His meaning was sufficiently clear, but he had reckoned without

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations of Bailly's troubles with the assembly, see his *Mémoires*, II. 196-197, 263, 269, 270, 280-281, 348-351; Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 465, 469-470, 480, 488; Godard, *Exposé*, 50; on presence of electors, see Lacroix, I. 307-308; also the journal *Versailles et Paris* of August 22; *Extrait de Registres . . . de St. Nicholas-du-Chardonnet*, du 7 sept. (Bibl. Nat., pièce), and record of assembly of Saint-Roch for September 4 (Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2665, fol. 31). A new committee of subsistence was formed September 8. See Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 363; Lacroix, I. 451, 455, 510, 512; *Journal de Paris* of September 21; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. IV. 18, 38, no. VI. 32, no. VII. 3. Jefferson, who was still in Paris, had not much opinion of the work of this committee. In a letter to Madison, August 28, he writes of "the palpable impotence of the city administration to furnish bread to the city". *Works* (Ford's ed.), V. 107.

<sup>2</sup> A few days before Bailly acted in this matter, a pamphlet was published by a scientist, Ramond de Carbonnières, criticizing the plan of government and proposing one by which the mayor could not be reduced to the inactivity of a doge and by which legislative power should be left definitely to the districts. The fundamental ideas of the pamphlet and of Bailly's subsequent letter to the districts are so similar that it is difficult to resist the inference that Bailly was influenced by these suggestions. The title of the pamphlet was *A mes concitoyens*, Paris 26 Août, 1789 (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

<sup>3</sup> Bailly's letter is given in Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 392-395.

<sup>4</sup> Lacroix says (I. 408), "On peut lire et relire sa lettre, on n'y trouvera pas un mot qui ne laisse supposer que les cent quatre-vingts sont condamnés à disparaître dès que la nouvelle délégation des districts sera formée." But Bailly expressly says in reference to the plan, "Mais l'assemblée générale des Représentants de la Commune doit y faire d'abord ses observations."

it a year later. Moreover, several of its features were preserved in this system. There was to be a general assembly of three hundred members, sixty of whom were to constitute a council of administration, and of these sixty the principal officers—mayor, commandant-general, eight aldermen, solicitor, his two assistants, and eight heads of departments—formed the *bureau de la ville*.<sup>1</sup> The mayor was merely the presiding officer of all assemblies and all departments of the municipality. The final decision in administrative matters was to belong to the presidents of the departments, soon to be called lieutenants of the mayor. The assembly was to elect the members of the council and to choose those administrators who, with the mayor and commandant-general, were to form the *bureau*. Its other powers were left vague. Nor were the functions of the council stated more clearly. The commission was apparently concerned rather with elections and terms of office than with the business of the council when once constituted, merely implying that it was to submit to the assembly matters which the *bureau* had prepared. The administration of the different quarters of the city was entrusted to district committees, granted powers of arrest, though without the right to try cases.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.

The plan of municipal government was submitted to the assembly August 12. The commission had done its work with reasonable promptness. If the assembly pushed forward the discussion with equal zeal, the object which Mayor Bailly had in view, namely the immediate organization of an effective administration, could be accomplished. But the assembly, distracted by its many tasks, did practically nothing. As the end of the month approached Bailly became restless. He noted signs of discontent also in the districts. His irritation was increased by the manner in which the assembly ignored him. None of its acts disturbed him as much as its repeated criticism of the committee of subsistence with which he constantly worked. He attributed these attacks partly to the presence on the committee of several electors who had never been formally super-

<sup>1</sup> The eight departments were: subsistence, police, public buildings, public works, hospitals, domain or finances, taxes, National Guard. There was a ninth, the *Tribunal contentieux*, a species of administrative court composed of the eight aldermen and presided over by the mayor.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of the plan was *Projet du plan de Municipalité de la Ville de Paris, présenté à l'Assemblée générale des Représentants de la Commune par ses commissaires* (Bibl. Nat. Lb<sup>o</sup> 1185, octavo, 52 pp.); see also *Motifs des commissaires, pour adopter le Plan de Municipalité, qu'ils ont présenté à l'Assemblée générale des Représentants de la Commune* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 185, and note 5, pp. 195-198.

Whether the commission altogether approved of Brissot's federalism or not, it did not decrease the powers he ascribed to Paris; on the contrary it added to them. In agreement with him Paris was to assess and collect all taxes, and even to supervise the Bank of Discount<sup>1</sup> and the postal service. But while he, consistent with his general theory, assigned to the local government no jurisdiction beyond the city and the faubourgs, the commission recommended that it assume the powers of the ancient *bureau de la ville*, and of the lieutenant-general of police, particularly in the matter of food supply. The assembly virtually acted on this recommendation when it applied to the government for the powers granted by the decree of September 7.

One of the significant features of the plan was the attempt to put an end to the constant meetings of the district assemblies. They were henceforward to be convened only for elections. Brissot argued that this provision was prompted by anxiety to save the time of the citizens. As a member of a district assembly he had in July claimed for it almost as much legislative and executive authority within its sphere as for the towns within their jurisdiction. After his election to the communal assembly his attitude changed, until a few months later he declared, "Since the districts have taken it into their heads to meet constantly, many of them have disputed the powers of their representatives at the commune, opposed decrees of the National Assembly, and even judged the judges."<sup>2</sup> The National Assembly agreed substantially with this feeling, although it took care not to express it so emphatically, for the municipal law given to Paris in 1790 provided that after the elections had been completed the district assemblies should be dissolved. The commission's plan struck two other blows at district aspirations after supremacy. It declared that each "representative" belonged to the commune as a whole and could not be revoked by the district assemblies. Furthermore the provision that the president of each district should be selected from its group of deputies gave the municipal assembly a direct hold on the districts.

The machinery of government provided for in the plan was in part actually set in motion in October and November and remained until the system voted by the National Assembly was substituted for

II. 258-260. When in November the National Assembly announced the intention of providing a special municipal law for Paris, Brissot insisted on the correctness of his theory though he waived its practice in view of the imperative need of harmony. See no. CXVIII. The *Révolutions de Paris* persisted in the original attitude; see no. XXI.

<sup>1</sup> The Bank of Discount had become a quasi-government institution.

<sup>2</sup> *Patriote français*, no. CCIX.



tion suited to their needs, making it consistent with the general principles of the new order already laid down, that is to say, national representation, union of the three orders, freedom of election, and the like. Although Mirabeau's original notion was not adopted, the new plan of municipal government was based on the same fundamental idea.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the plan was Brissot, who was a federalist in 1789, even if he was not in 1793 in the sense of the word used by his enemies.<sup>2</sup> Although the commission which had been appointed to present the plan departed in some notable details from his suggestions, their recommendations were in the main his work.<sup>3</sup> He was convinced of the right of a community to regulate its local affairs without the intervention of the national authority. In the preamble, written for the plan but not published with it, he declared that the inhabitants of any city, a term which he uses in the classical sense, "have the right . . . to establish an administration and a police for everything common to them as such." After defining the sphere of action of the cities in their union as provinces, and of the provinces as parts of the kingdom, he says that the two local administrations must be conformed in their principles to the national constitution, and that this conformity must be expressed in a sanction or charter of incorporation given by the national legislature, which is the *federal* bond uniting all parts of a vast empire. Paris, he added, was so large that it must be considered both as a city and as a province.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale*, July 23; "Dix-Neuvième Lettre du Comte de Mirabeau à ses commettans," *Courrier de Provence*, pp. 51 et seqq. Cf. Brissot, *Patriote français*, no. IX.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that the term "federal" in French Revolutionary history means almost the converse of "federal" in American history. It was used to imply a scheme to destroy the unity of the kingdom, later the "unity and indivisibility of the republic". Brissot's original federalism was not tinged with distrust of the central authority. He wished out of locally organized powers to create new channels for the exercise of executive authority, since the old channels were broken, "the intendants have disappeared, the tribunaux are dumb, the soldiers are against the executive power and for the people". See "Avis au Peuple Français," in *Patriote français*, no. XIV. 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is shown by a comparison of the final plan with Brissot's project, which was published November 15 when it became clear that the National Assembly was to provide a municipal law for Paris. The title was *Observations sur le plan de la Municipalité de Paris; suivies du Plan original et d'une déclaration des Droits des Municipalités*. See further, *Patriote français*, nos. XV. 4, XVI. 3, and Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 200-201. The *Courrier de Provence* attributed some influence to Sieyès, Castellane, and Montmorency, no. XXII. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Patriote français*, nos. XVI., XVII. Brissot had already set forth the same theory in a speech made in his district assembly July 21. *Discours*, etc. (Bibl. Nat., pièce). In his no. XXIII. he hints that his scheme was criticized as making a republic of Paris and defends the theory from such charges. Cf. Bailly, *Mémoires*,

## III.

The communal assembly had been brought together primarily to prepare a plan of municipal government. Its efforts are interesting especially because of the fundamental assumption upon which they rested. The uprising of Paris in July had compromised the authority of the old monarchy. Similar movements in other cities had created so many centres of resistance that the unity of the kingdom was temporarily destroyed. At the same time the French people, or rather the bourgeoisie, working with a common enthusiasm for a new order of things, were becoming more united and were gaining a spirit really national. From their successful resistance as well as from the actual exercise of power it was only a short step to the attitude that each town had a right to organize itself and that within the limits of its local affairs its authority was supreme. This tendency toward local autonomy—what in 1793 would have been called "federalism"—lost its original character as soon as it became clear that power had passed from the hands of the king into those of the National Assembly. Indeed the movement was transformed into a successful effort to federate, in spirit at least, these local centres of revolutionary activity, in order to strengthen the National Assembly against the forces of reaction. In the fall, the assertion of local authority against the Assembly was denounced as little short of treason.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the agitation over questions of municipal organization resulted in nothing more than administrations which were to continue until the National Assembly had provided by law the machinery of local government.

The question of the right of Paris or any other town to organize itself came up during the controversy over the efforts of the electors to give themselves successors. When Mirabeau proposed a delegation from the National Assembly to the districts of Paris to aid them in constituting an administrative committee, he also suggested that this committee should prepare a municipal constitution. Thereupon Mounier asked him if he meant to authorize all the towns to municipalize themselves after their own fashion. This task, added Mounier, belonged to the National Assembly; to abandon it to the towns would be to create states within the state and to multiply sovereignties. Such a danger did not alarm Mirabeau, and in his reply he cited the example of the United States, which left to the members of the Union the details of their government, provided these were not in contravention to the republican form; and argued that similarly the towns of France could provide the local organiza-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the case of Mounier and the Estates of Dauphiny; see also decree of October 26, Duvergier, I. 54.

ingly, the municipalities were authorized to use their own militia or to call upon the royal troops. For the quelling of riot the sword was definitely taken from the hands of the king by the provision that the officers of the army should swear never to employ their soldiers except on a réquisition from the civil authorities.<sup>1</sup>

The powers which Paris obtained over the means of securing a supply of food were, at least in spirit, contrary to the policy of the National Assembly, which, August 29, freed the grain-trade throughout the interior of the country from all the obstacles created by a paternal and arbitrary government. According to a project drawn up a few days later by the communal assembly, the Paris buyers were to have the preference at all grain-markets within twenty-five leagues, after the local needs had been supplied. The farmers were to carry every week a certain portion of their crop to these markets. To insure the success of the plan the municipality asked for the powers which had belonged to the lieutenant-general of police and to the royal commissioners. The National Assembly was evidently unwilling to revive one of the features of the old régime and referred the deputation of Paris to the king, who granted the request by a decree in council, September 7, although he provided that these powers should be valid only for the remainder of the year.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale* for August 5 and 10; Duvergier, *Lois*, I. 36-37. The oath read, "Nous jurons de rester fidèles à la nation, au roi, et à la loi, et de jamais employer ceux qui seront à nos ordres contre les citoyens, si nous n'en sommes requis par les officiers civils ou les officiers municipaux."

<sup>2</sup> The first form of the request, decided upon September 2, appears in the *procès-verbal* for that day, Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 454-455. The subject came up again September 4, *ibid.*, I. 473-474. On September 6 the assembly, after finding out that the National Assembly was disposed to do nothing further, referred the matter to the committee of subsistence, "pour être ensuite statué ce qu'il appartiendrait". The decree of the council is merely an approval of the request put in its final form, apparently by the committee of subsistence, for it does not appear in the *procès-verbal*. It is given, however, as from the *procès-verbal* in the *Mercure de France* of September 19. The original is preserved at the Arch. Nat., R. A. D. XI. 68. The assembly made prompt use of its powers, appointing twelve commissioners to compel the farmers to thresh their wheat and market the part provided for in the decree. Lacroix, I. 536-538; *Révolutions de Paris*, September 17. Loustalot regarded the scheme as vicious, and notes that the king in his decree had seemed more solicitous than the Paris authorities for the rights of other municipalities. He also notes the anomaly that the assembly had put below the decree "ordonne l'exécution". No. IX. 32-33. Bailly asked the communal assembly at this time to authorize him to solicit letters patent which should attribute to him the judicial powers formerly possessed by the lieutenant-general of police. The assembly was then on bad terms with the mayor and refused. Before this, late in August, he and four assessors were given the powers which had belonged to the Hôtel de Ville in its jurisdiction over merchants trading by the Seine and over offenses committed on the river or its bridges. Lacroix, I. 225-226, 232, 318-319; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 271.

road or at the markets. Sometimes agents despatched to other towns to buy for the city were arrested as suspected monopolists. Early in August Paris was obliged to send a force of four hundred men to Provins to secure the release of two such agents.<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally it was legislation of the National Assembly which multiplied the difficulties of the Commune. As soon as the decrees of August 4 abolishing feudal privileges were known, there was a general massacre of game in the neighborhood of Paris. The preserves at Vincennes, belonging to the Duke of Orleans, still a popular leader, were alone respected. Even the guards at the city gates deserted their posts to join in the sport, until the assembly sent special detachments of soldiers to stop this disorder.<sup>2</sup> The discussions of the question of granting the king a veto also caused trouble. The agitators at the Palais Royal attempted to organize a march upon Versailles, which, but for the promptitude and energy of the Commune, might have forestalled the events of October 5 and 6.<sup>3</sup> Under the circumstances, it is not surprising if the deputies repeatedly deferred the specific task which they had been asked to perform and if they did not altogether succeed in pleasing either the mayor who had called them or the districts that had sent them.

## II.

The government of the city remained provisional, resting for its authority upon the consent of the Parisians, and treated with deference by the National Assembly and by the whole country because of the triumphant part it had taken in the events of July. The royal government was not strong enough to dispute the powers of the victorious city, and the National Assembly was too busy during the summer to undertake the problem of municipal reorganization. From time to time and for specific purposes Paris received from Assembly or king grants of power. Early in August, when disorder had become general throughout the kingdom, the Assembly declared it to be the duty of the municipalities as well as of the National Guard to oppose attacks upon property and particularly upon convoys of grain. A few days later, after the Assembly had, by its decrees abolishing feudalism together with inequalities in taxation and many special privileges, promised to remove the most serious grievances, it was ready to use force to suppress disorder. This force it dared not intrust to the royal government. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 91-92, 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 148, 258; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. V., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. VIII., pp. 7 *et seqq.*; Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 423-425, 435-437; Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2671, fols. 10, 11.

Often an immediate answer seemed necessary under penalty of an uprising. Early in its career the assembly saw the Hôtel de Ville invaded, as under its predecessors, by a mob crying for blood, this time of one of the highest officers of the new government, the Marquis de la Salle, who had so patriotically effaced himself when Lafayette was named commander of the National Guard. The stock of powder at the arsenal had been depleted and the storage-room was partly filled by a quantity of powder useless for Paris but valuable in the trade with the coast of Guinea. The managers of the arsenal decided to send this powder to Essonnes, where was one of the principal powder factories, and to bring back a new supply for Paris. Lafayette was not at hand, and La Salle signed the order. Rumors spread through the city that it was simply another attempt to render Paris defenseless, and the crowd rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, demanding a victim. Fortunately, La Salle could not be found and the mob was finally dispersed by the National Guard.

The efforts of the assembly to preserve order were compromised by the increasing number of deserters from the royal army who hurried to Paris, hearing of the good fortune of the *gardes françaises*, the heroes of the July insurrection and the pets of the districts. These deserters not only swelled the size of each mob, but also quarreled with one another, threatening to turn the city streets into a battle-field. The only remedy was to order the soldiers at the city gates to turn back all deserters and to request the minister of war and the towns to arrest them on the roads leading to Paris.<sup>1</sup> An equally serious danger was the multitude of destitute men gathered at the government works on Montmartre. These had been established in the spring to relieve distress caused by the exceptional severity of the past winter. The trouble had been rendered more acute by the paralysis of industry and trade since July, so that by the second week of August this army of unemployed numbered between thirteen and twenty-one thousand. Necker threw the responsibility for its control upon the city, because the royal government was without force.<sup>2</sup> These dangers were increased by the constant menace of famine. Although the crops had been abundant, the farmers held back the grain for fear of being plundered on the

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 217, 223-224, 245, 273-274; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. VI., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> These works were finally closed August 23. The provincials were sent home, while Parisians were promised employment in the municipal works. Later in the fall many of the provincials were back in Paris. Lacroix, I. 168, 177, 192-193, 260-261; *Patriote français*, no. XX.; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 257; Godard, *Exposé des Travaux*, 20.

mittee of subsistence, for upon its efforts depended the food supply of Paris and, for this reason, the peace of the city. He informed the assembly that he could not always preside and asked that two vice-presidents be appointed to take his place. This was done, but the men who were chosen forgot the prefix when they signed the records and soon transformed themselves into his rivals.<sup>1</sup> Their names, not his, appeared at the bottom of acts. To such a degree was the practice carried that it excited protests from some of the districts. One of these sent a delegation to the assembly expressing in vigorous terms its disapproval. Its speaker told the members of the assembly that the commune had named Bailly "its mayor, that is, its chief, consequently the chief of this assembly." "Your districts", he added, "have deputed you to become his co-operators in the great work of municipal organization and not to exclude him from it."<sup>2</sup> Bailly was partly responsible for these rebuffs. His functions as mayor had never been precisely described, and in a measure it belonged to him to define their limits. Unhappily for the influence of his office, in cases where the exercise of authority was dangerous he often contrived to throw the necessity of decision upon the assembly and in this way increased its power to the detriment of his own.<sup>3</sup>

Such conflicts of authority are not surprising considering the utter ruin of the older institutions of local government and the distrust commonly born of revolutionary excitement. Moreover, government was something like a novel and dangerous toy, and these children in politics jostled one another in their eagerness to try their hand at it. The times were indeed difficult. Not a day passed but a new question was forced upon the attention of the deputies.

<sup>1</sup> Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 147, 195-197, 243-244; Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 24, 27, 28 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Procès-verbal du transport du Comité civil, de police, . . . des Enfants Rouges* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), August 6. On August 12 the Prémontrés sent in a similar protest, declaring "qu'il ne peut concevoir comment Monsieur Bailli, élu Maire, c'est-à-dire, Chef de la Commune, ne paraît cependant pas l'être de l'assemblée des représentants de cette Commune, puisque tous les actes qui émanent de cette Assemblée portent les noms de différens Présidens lorsque lui seul a été porté à cette place éminente, par le vœu unanime et le suffrage universel de ces Concitoyens." *District des Prémontrés*, 11 août, 1789 (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. Lacroix, I. 179.

<sup>3</sup> For example, August 20, when a deputation of actors from the Théâtre-français came to ask permission to give Chénier's *Charles IX.*, he would have refused had he dared to do so, for he thought such a play might compromise the good feeling toward the monarchy. He adds, "Je pris mon parti de renvoyer la décision à l'assemblée. Les assemblées ont cela de commode, leur responsabilité est si partagée, qu'elle est nulle." *Mémoires*, II. 287. It was equally characteristic of the man that, although he had retained the secretary of Flesselles, he dismissed him as soon as the Palais Royal began to murmur. *Ibid.*, 198-199.

assembly; later it was turned against the king and even against the national legislature.

# I.

The new assembly met July 25 and superseded the electors five days later. Early in August, to provide members for service on the committees, sixty more deputies were chosen, raising the total number to one hundred and eighty. Nearly half had served in the assembly of electors. In the committees, which were now reconstituted,<sup>1</sup> still other electors were retained on account of their experience. Although the assembly had been called together by Mayor Bailly to prepare a plan of government for Paris, it became, by virtue of the powers given to the deputies in their credentials and by the force of circumstances, primarily an administrative body. Bailly had little faith in salvation by speechmaking, and he thought that nearly all the work could be done in committees. Whether the assembly was authorized to legislate for the city was later a bitterly disputed question. Its claim to a representative character was made at once in the formal style adopted—Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune of Paris.

Bailly had called the assembly into being, but from the beginning it ceased to remember its creator. As an administrative body it should, so thought the Mayor, advise with him and with Lafayette, but, he bitterly recalled, it "accustomed itself readily and at once to administer alone, to forget him completely, and to act as if he had asked its formation in order to lay down his office". For example, he was not informed of the plan of military organization until public discussion in the districts brought it to his attention. If there was anything the deputies were expected to do in accordance with the letter of summons, it was to consult with him about a plan of municipal government; but their committee ignored him, and when he wished to learn the main features of the scheme, he was obliged to make inquiries. An incident, small in itself, revealed clearly the assembly's attitude. Bailly was in constant attendance at the com-

<sup>1</sup> The names of the committees were as follows: The *comité permanent* or *provisoire* of the electors had been divided into four sections or bureaux: 1, Distribution (of business); 2, Police; 3, Subsistence; 4, Military Affairs. The name *comité provisoire* was dropped August 2 apropos of a complaint against this committee because of its decree making printers responsible for anonymous publications, and the name *bureau* was substituted. Later in August four other committees were added: *comité d'administration des revenus et charges de la Ville*; *comité de rédaction*; *bureau de la répartition et de la perception des impôts*; *bureau des secours*. The *bureau des secours* was withdrawn September 10 because the treasury was empty, and all demands were referred to the *comité d'administration des revenus*. Lacriox, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, I. 81, 333 note 1, 345, 535.

## MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN PARIS IN 1789

THE municipal revolution in Paris in July, 1789, spared none of the ancient institutions of local government. An electoral assembly had been adapted hastily to the task of governing the city.<sup>1</sup> It had been assisted, and in some instances controlled, by assemblies of voters meeting in their districts. The irregularity of such a government became more and more apparent as the first excitement subsided. To the Parisians, however, this irregularity consisted not so much in the displacement of the legal authorities as in its contradiction of the new doctrine of popular sovereignty. Since the electors possessed no mandate to govern the city, the more eager district leaders demanded the election of another assembly to assume this work provisionally and to prepare a municipal constitution. Two officers—the mayor, Bailly, and the commander of the National Guard, Lafayette—had been chosen in one of the tumultuous gatherings of July and were now confirmed by the districts. This provisional government could render important services to the country, for upon the re-establishment of order in Paris depended the fate of the Revolution at the outset. Whether the Parisians possessed the right or had the capacity to reorganize their own municipal institutions was another question. For several months the field was clear. Not until the latter part of November did the National Assembly announce an intention of providing a municipal law for Paris. Even after that time the constitutional committee of the Assembly worked in sympathy with the committee of the Paris assembly, and the law which was enacted in May, 1790, was to some extent the joint work of the two. As the law did not go into effect until October, the provisional government which the Parisians had organized was long in control. They were engaged upon this task from the time when the electoral assembly was dismissed until the middle of November. The interest of the period centres in the manner in which they did the work and in their constitutional ideas. Furthermore, during this period was fashioned a remarkably effective instrument of revolutionary action, the use of the districts as a basis of agitation. In 1789 it was employed against the communal

<sup>1</sup> See the article in the *REVIEW* for January, 1905 (X. 280-308), entitled "Improvising a Government in Paris in July, 1789," by Henry E. Bourne.



the direction of souls which it had well-nigh lost, but there was taught the Quietist doctrine of divine grace to which the devotee surrendered all his faculties. This was allowed to operate without resistance, and Beccarelli held that Molinos was the only true teacher of Christian perfection; but we may safely reject as exaggeration the statement that carnal indulgence was regarded as earning a plenary indulgence, applicable to souls in purgatory. Cardinal Badoaro, then Bishop of Brescia, took every means to stamp out this recrudescence of the condemned doctrines; the leaders scattered to Switzerland, Germany, and England; while Beccarelli was tried by the Inquisition at Venice and was condemned to seven years of galley-service.<sup>1</sup>

Probably the latest victims who paid with their lives for their belief in the efficacy of mental prayer and mystic death were a Beguine named Geltruda and a friar named Romualdo, who were burned in a Palermitan *atto di fede*, April 6, 1724, as impenitent Molinists, after languishing in jail since 1699.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Laemmer, *op. cit.*, p. 427. Heppe, *Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik*, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Mongitore, *L'Atto pubblico di Fede celebrato a 6 Aprile, 1724* (Palermo, 1724).

the world so devoid of sense as a heretic, for, as he was deprived of faith, so also was he of reason. His first care was to remove from office and throw into irremissible prison every one who was in the slightest degree suspected of Molinism; in this he did not even spare his Apostolic camera, for he arrested an Apostolic Prothonotary, and, although in the Congregation of the Inquisition there were four kinsmen of the prisoner, zeal for the faith preponderated over blood.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately his pontificate lasted for only sixteen months, so that he had but limited opportunity for the gratification of his ardent fanaticism and scandalous nepotism.

In spite of all this, there were still found those who indulged their sensual instincts under cover of exalted spirituality. In 1698 there was in Rome the case of a priest named Pietro Paolo di San Giov. Evangelista who had already been tried by the tribunals of Naples and Spoleto, so that his career must have been prolonged; while references to a Padre Benigno and a Padre Filippo del Rio show that he was not alone. He had ecstasies and a following of devotees; he taught that communion could be taken without preliminary confession and that, when the spirit was united with God, whatever acts the inferior part might commit were not sins. He freely confessed to practices of indescribable obscenity with his female penitents, whom he assured afterward that they were as pure as the Blessed Virgin. He was sentenced to perpetual prison without hope of release and to a series of arduous spiritual penances, while Fra Benigno escaped with seven years of imprisonment.<sup>2</sup>

Another development of the same tendencies—probably a survival of the Pelagini—was discovered in Brescia in 1708. The sectaries called themselves disciples of St. Augustin, engaged in vindicating his opinions on predestination and grace, but they were popularly known as Beccarellisti, from two brothers, priests of the name of Beccarelli, whom they regarded as their leaders. For twenty-five years—that is, since the ostensible suppression of the Pelagini—the sect had been secretly spreading itself throughout Lombardy, where it was said to number some forty-two thousand members, including many nobles and wealthy families and ecclesiastics of position. They had a common treasury and a regular organization, headed by the elder Beccarelli as pope, with cardinals, apostles, and other dignitaries. The immediate object of the movement we are told was to break the power of the religious Orders and to restore to the secular priesthood the functions of confession and

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *op. cit.*, IV. 727-728.

<sup>2</sup> Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 209, fol. 67 *et seqq.* Cf. Phelippeaux, *Relation du Quiétisme*, II. 117, 154.

*Pastor* was not drawn up and signed until November 20, and was not finally published to the world until February 19, 1688. This recited the same series of propositions and the condemnation of Molinos and confirmed the decree of August 28. The propositions condemned consisted, for the most part, of the untenable extravagances of Quietism, including impeccability and the sinlessness of acts committed while the soul was absorbed with God, but it was impossible to do this without condemning much that had been taught and practised by the mystic saints, and there were no saving clauses to differentiate lawful from unlawful converse of the soul with its Creator. The Church broke definitely with Mysticism and by implication gave the faithful to understand that salvation was to be sought in the beaten track, through the prescribed observances and under the guidance of the hierarchical organization.<sup>1</sup>

This change of front was emphasized in various ways. Innocent's favor saved Cardinal Petrucci from formal prosecution. To the vexation of the Inquisition, his case was referred to four cardinals, Cibò, Ottoboni, Casanate, and Azzolini; he professed himself ready to retract whatever the pope objected to and, though the Inquisition held an abjuration to be necessary, he was not required to make it; he was relegated to Jesi and then recalled to Rome, where he was kept under surveillance. He could not, moreover, escape the mortification of seeing the books, which had been so warmly approved, condemned by a decree of February 5, 1688. Many other works, which had long passed current as recognized aids to devotion, were similarly treated: those of Benedetto Biscia, Juan Falconi, François Malaval, and of numerous others—even the *Opera della divina Gratia* of the Dominican Tommaso Menghini, himself Inquisitor-general of Ferrara and author of the *Regole del Tribunal del Santo Officio*, which long remained a standard guide in the tribunals. What had been accepted as the highest expression of religious devotion had suddenly become heresy.<sup>2</sup> Apparently it was not until May, 1689, that instructions were sent everywhere to demand the surrender of all books of Molinos and to report any one suspected of Molinism.<sup>3</sup>

Persecution received a fresh impulse when Cardinal Ottoboni, as Alexander VIII., succeeded Innocent XI., October 6, 1689. Bernino tells us that he appeared to him an angel in looks and an apostle in utterance when he declared that there was no creature in

<sup>1</sup> Innocentii PP. XI. Bull. *Coelestis Pastor* (Bullar., X. 212).

<sup>2</sup> Reusch, *Der Index*, II. 618. *Index Innoc. XI.*, Append., pp. 7, 28, 45, 47 (Romae, 1702).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. of Ambrosian Library, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 67 et seqq.

cious piazza in front and all the neighboring streets were crowded. An indulgence of fifteen days and fifteen quarantines had been proclaimed for all in attendance, but in Rome, where plenary indulgences could be had on almost every day in the year by merely visiting churches, this could not account for the eagerness which brushed aside the Swiss guards stationed at the portals, requiring a reinforcement of troops and resulting in considerable bloodshed. As the long sentence was read, with its detail of Molinos's enormities, occupying two hours, it was interrupted with the frequent roar of "Burn him! Burn him!" led by an enthusiastic cardinal and echoed by the mob outside. Through all this, we are told, his effrontery never failed him, which was reckoned as an infallible sign of his persistent perversity. The sentence concluded by declaring him convicted as a dogmatizing heretic, but, as he had professed himself repentant and had implored mercy and pardon, it ordered him to abjure his heresies and to be rigidly imprisoned with the *sanbenito* for life, without hope of release, and to perform certain spiritual exercises. This was duly executed, and he lingered, it was said repentant, until his death, December 28, 1696. The day after the *atto di fede* his disciples performed their abjuration. There was no desire to deal harshly with them, and they were dismissed with trivial penances, except the brothers Leoni. Simone the priest, who had been a popular confessor, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment; Antonio Maria, the tailor, who had been a travelling missionary and organizer, was incarcerated for life. There was still another victim, the secretary of Molinos, Pedro Peña, arrested May 9, 1687, for defending his master. He was fully convicted of Quietism and, on March 16, 1689, he was condemned to lifelong prison.<sup>1</sup>

There still remained the publication to Christendom of the new position assumed by the Holy See toward Mysticism. The sixty-eight propositions, condemned in the inquisitorial decree of August 28, were printed in the vernacular and placed on sale, but were speedily suppressed. There must still have been opposition in the Sacred College, or on the part of Innocent XI., for the bull *Coelestis*

<sup>1</sup> The account of the *atto di fede* is derived from the Casanatense MSS., X., vii, 45, and a relation printed by Laemmer, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, pp. 407 *et seqq.*, who also prints (pp. 412-422) the sentence of Pedro Peña.

The contemporary printed sources of the whole affair are *Trois Lettres touchant l'État présent d'Italie*, Cologne, 1688; *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant le Quietisme et les Quietistes*, Amsterdam, 1688; and Bernino, *Historia di tutte l'Heresia*, IV. 711 *et seqq.* The concise account by Reusch (*Der Index*, II. 611 *et seqq.*) is written with his accustomed thoroughness and careful use of all accessible sources. John Bigelow's *Molinos the Quietist* (New York, 1882) is a popular narrative which rejects the charges of immorality. See also Heppé, *Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik*, pp. 110 *et seqq.*, 260 *et seqq.* (Berlin, 1875).

told that these were propositions heretical, bestial, and scandalous, he replied that he submitted himself in all things to the Holy Office, recognizing that its lights were superior to his own.<sup>1</sup>

A sentence of condemnation was inevitable. It was drawn up, August 20, 1687; on the twenty-eighth an inquisitorial decree was signed, embodying sixty-eight propositions, drawn from the evidence and confessions, which were condemned as heretical, suspect, erroneous, scandalous, blasphemous, offensive to pious ears, subversive of Christian discipline, and seditious; they were not to be taught or practised under pain of deprivation of office and benefice and perpetual disability, and of an anathema reserved to the Holy See. All the writings of Molinos, in whatever language, were forbidden to be printed, possessed, or read; and all copies were, under the same penalties, to be surrendered to the inquisitors or bishops, who were to burn them.<sup>2</sup> This was posted in the usual places on September 3, the day fixed for the *atto di fede* in which Molinos was to appear.

Under a heavy guard he was brought, on the previous evening, from the inquisitorial prison to the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in which the *atto* was to be celebrated. In the morning, in a room next to the sacristy, he was exhibited to some curious persons of distinction, eliciting from him an expression of indignation, construed as indicating how little he felt of real repentance. This was confirmed by what followed, explicable possibly by Spanish imperturbability, but more probably by the Quietism which led him to regard himself as the passive instrument of God's will, and superbly indifferent to whatever might befall him, so long as his soul was rapt in the joys of the mystic death, which he had taught as the *summum bonum*. Called upon to order a meal, he specified one which in quantity and quality might satisfy the most voracious gourmet, and after partaking of it he lay down to a refreshing siesta, until he was roused to take his place on the platform, where, in spite of his manacles, his bearing was that of a judge and not of a convict.

The vast church was thronged to its farthest corner with all that was noble in Rome, including twenty-three cardinals; and the spa-

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., vii, 45, fol. 289. I cannot but regard this as a truthful report. It accords with the briefer abstract in the final sentence, which distinguishes between the articles proved by witnesses and denied by Molinos and those which he admitted. Reusch (*Der Index*, II. 617-618) states that the sentence has been printed in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, 6, 1653, and in the appendix to Francke's translation of the *Guida Spirituale*, published in 1687. I have a copy from the Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 185, and there is one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italien, 138, which also contains the 263 articles drawn from his correspondence, with his answers.

<sup>2</sup> D'Argentré, *Collect. Judic. de Novis Erroribus*, III., II., 357-362.

semblies were found, to abolish them forthwith, taking moreover especial care that this pestilence was not allowed to infect the monasteries.

There could be but one end to the trial. Every possible accusation was brought against Molinos, even to a foolish, self-laudatory speech made to the sbirri who arrested him, and his admiring certain anagrams made of his name. He seems to have responded with candor to the various articles, denying some and admitting others. Of the articles, the most important were his justifying the sacrilege of breaking images and crucifixes; depreciating religious vows and dissuading persons from entering religious Orders, saying that vows destroyed perfection; that, by the prayer of Quiet, the soul is rendered not only sinless but impeccable, for it is deprived of freedom and God operates it, wishing us sometimes to sin and offend him, and the demon moves the members to indecent acts; that the three ways of the spirit, hitherto described by the doctors, are absurd and that there is but one, the interior way; that he had formed conventicles of men and women and permitted them to perform immoral acts and to eat flesh on fast-days. He admitted excusing the breaking of images; he denied depreciation of solemn vows, but admitted it as respects private ones, and he had only dissuaded from entering religion those whom he knew would create scandal. He denied teaching that in Quietism the soul becomes impeccable, but only that it did not consent to the act of sin; and he said that he knew many persons practising it who lived many years without committing even venial sin. He denied also that Quietism deprived the soul of freewill, but said that, in that perfect union with God, it was God who worked and not the faculties, and when he said that God sometimes wished sin, he meant material sin; that the demon, as God's instrument to mortify the flesh and purify the soul, causes sometimes the hand and other members to perform lascivious acts. He denied condemning the three ways of the spirit, having meant only that the interior way was so much more perfect that the others were negligible by comparison. He denied forming conventicles in which lascivious acts were permitted and he had excluded some persons who would not refrain from them. He admitted eating flesh on prohibited days, but said that this was by license of his physician. He confessed that for many years he had practised the most indecent acts with two women, the details of which need not be repeated; he had not deemed this sinful, but a purification of the soul and that in them he enjoyed a closer union with God; these were merely acts of the senses, in which the higher faculties had no part, as they were united with God. When he was

before them, to which he of course was required to answer in detail, and these seem to have been condensed into nineteen for the consideration of the Congregation.<sup>1</sup>

Petrucchi was threatened and his elevation to the cardinalate, September 2, 1686, was ascribed to the desire of Innocent to save him from prosecution. Shortly afterward two of the principal assistants of Molinos, the brothers Leoni of Como, of whom Simone was a priest and Antonio Maria was a tailor, were arrested. Then, on February 9, 1687, followed the arrest of the Count and Countess Vespignani, of Paolo Rocchi, confessor of the Princess Borghese and of seventy others, causing general consternation, not diminished by the subsequent imprisonment of some two hundred more. The Congregation was doing its work thoroughly, and it was even said that, on February 13, it appointed a commission which examined the pope himself. A revolution in the traditional standards of orthodoxy could not be effected without compromising multitudes, and the victors were determined that their victory should be complete. On February 15 Cardinal Cibò, the secretary of the Congregation, addressed to all the bishops of Italy a circular stating that in many places there existed or were forming associations called spiritual conferences, under ignorant directors, who with maxims of exquisite perfection misled them into most pernicious errors, resulting in manifest heresy and abominable immorality. The bishops were therefore ordered to investigate and, if such as-

<sup>1</sup> *Trois Lettres touchant l'État présent d'Italie*, pp. 90-120 (Cologne, 1688). These nineteen errors are here printed with their confutations, but without indication of date or of the authority under which they were prepared. They are also contained, with a different series of confutations, in the mass of papers concerning the Pelagini, in the Ambrosian Library, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 28. This also contains (fol. 30) a series of instructions for detecting the Quietist heresy, consisting of a list of forty-three errors. Some of these set forth so concisely the leading tenets ascribed, with tolerable accuracy, to the Quietists that they are worth presenting here:

21. They seek to annihilate the memory, the intellect, and the will; to remember nothing, to understand nothing, and they say that when they have thus emptied themselves they are refilled by God.

22. They say that God operates in their souls without co-operation; that their spirit is identified with God, so that they are purely passive, surrendering their freewill to God, who takes possession of it.

23. Thus such souls are preserved from even venial sins of advertence and, if they commit some inadvertently, these are not imputed.

24. Also some proceed to claim impeccability, because they cannot sin when God operates in them without their participation.

25. If these souls commit sinful acts, they say it is through the violence of the demon, with the permission of God, for their torment and purgation.

28. Examination of conscience to ascertain if there has been consent to such acts is not expedient, for it distracts introversion and disturbs the quiet of the soul.

dangerous nature; that it destroys the Catholic faith and all the religious Orders; that in Jesi the canons and the cura of the cathedral keep a school for its propagation; that a rich and powerful citizen of Jesi threatens the witnesses and that a vigorous commissioner must be sent there; that the monasteries of Faenza and Ravenna are infected and one in Ferrara has a Quietist confessor; that this pestilence calls for fire and steel.<sup>1</sup> In a court presided over by so bitter a prosecutor, the judgment was foreordained.

For awhile the contending forces seem to have been equally balanced, and eight months were spent in gathering testimony sufficient to justify arrest. At last, on July 3, 1685, at a meeting of the Congregation, Cardinal d'Estrées insisted that no one should leave the chamber until the arrest was ordered and executed. This was agreed to; the sbirri were despatched and Molinos was lodged in the prison of the Inquisition.<sup>2</sup> Yet when, on November 9, the Spanish Holy Office condemned the *Guia Espirituale* as containing propositions savoring of heresy and Illuminism, the Congregation addressed to the pope a vigorous protest against its action on a matter which was still under consideration at headquarters.<sup>3</sup>

The influence of Queen Christina, we are told, was exerted to procure for Molinos better treatment than was usual with prisoners. Of the details of the trial we know little or nothing, for the secret records of that impenetrable tribunal have never seen the light, but, as torture was habitual in the Roman Inquisition, it is not probable that he was spared. As his books had not been condemned, the evidence employed was drawn exclusively from the immense mass of his correspondence and manuscripts which had been seized, the depositions of witnesses, and his own confessions, so that we are unable to judge how far it justified the conclusions set forth in the sentence, though, from the manner in which it discriminates between what he admitted and what he denied, it is but fair to assume that it represents correctly the evidence before the tribunal. The trial was necessarily prolonged. In his defense interrogatories were forwarded to Saragossa and Valencia, in 1687, where his witnesses were duly examined.<sup>4</sup> Two hundred and sixty-three erroneous propositions were extracted by the censors from the mass of matter

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *op. cit.*, IV. 726.

<sup>2</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., vii, 46, fol. 289 *et seqq.* This is an account of the affair by one evidently in position to have accurate knowledge of details.

<sup>3</sup> Archivo Historico Nacional de España, Inquisicion de Valencia, Legajo 1, n. 4, fol. 164. Archivo General de Simancas, Inquisicion, Legajo 1465, fol. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo Historico Nacional de España, Inquisicion de Valencia, Legajo 12, n. 1, fol. 106.



*Clavis Aurea* were condemned unconditionally, and Segneri's *Concordia*, while it escaped the *Index*, was quietly forbidden and he was instructed to revise it.<sup>1</sup>

The Jesuits, however, were not the only body interested in the downfall of Molinos. There is a curious anonymous tract devoted to explaining what it calls the secret policy of the Quietists, assuming their main object to be the destruction of all the religious Orders and especially of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Apparently taking advantage of the development of the Pelagini about this time, it asserts that the Quietists had organized conventicles and oratories throughout Italy; that they had a common treasury in which 14,000 ducats were found; that they flattered the secular clergy and sought to unite them in opposition to the regulars. In short, Quietism was a deep-laid conspiracy through which Molinos expected to revolutionize the Church and reduce the religious Orders to impotence.<sup>2</sup> The only importance of the tract is as a manifestation of the attitude of the regulars towards Molinos and of the hostility aroused by his success in winning from them, for his disciples, the directorship of souls which was their special province.

The enormous influence of the elements thus combining for his destruction left little doubt of the result. The first open attack was made in June, 1682, when Cardinal Caraccioli, Archbishop of Naples, a pupil of the Jesuits, reported to the pope that he found his diocese deeply infected with this new Quietism, subversive of the received prescriptions of the Church, and he asked instructions for its suppression, nor was he alone in this, for similar appeals came from other Italian bishops. Molinos was too firmly established in the papal favor for this to dislodge him, but the hostile forces gradually gathered strength and, in November, 1684, the Congregation of the Inquisition formally assumed consideration of the matter. At its head was Cardinal Ottoboni, a fanatic whose experience with the Pelagini, when Bishop of Brescia, had sharpened his hatred of Mysticism. The spirit in which he conducted the inquest is revealed in a memorandum in his handwriting of the points to be elaborated in the next day's meeting of the Congregation: that this heresy is the worst of all and if left alone will become inextinguishable; that it is spreading in Spain through the Archbishop of Seville and in France with many books of the most

<sup>1</sup> Reusch, *Der Index*, II. 612-614. Of these controversial works I have been able to examine only Segneri's *Lettera* and the *Clavis Aurea*. The chief impression made by these polemics is the elusiveness of these mystic dreams when an attempt is made at rigid definition and differentiation.

<sup>2</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., iv, 39, fol. 19 *et seqq.*

to nuns and worldly young women. Finally, he could not understand why so distinguished a member of the Society as Padre Bell'Uomo should have been brought before the Congregation of the Index, and he gave infinite thanks to God for defending him before it.

Promptly on the next day, February 29, Molinos replied to this discouraging epistle. At much length he disculpated himself for writings and sayings falsely attributed to him. He held meditation in the highest esteem as an exercise suited to all; the loftiest form of contemplation was a gift of God bestowed on the rare souls fitted for it. He again spoke of the persecution to which he was exposed and, as for Padre Bell'Uomo, whom he did not know, if his doctrine was as sound as represented by Oliva, God would enlighten his ministers to recognize it. Oliva's rejoinder to this, on March 2, would appear to be written in a style of studied obscurity, saying much and meaning little, but one passage reveals a source of Jesuit enmity, in alluding to the number of convents which had passed out of the direction of the Society to practise the new method.<sup>1</sup>

The effort of Molinos to propitiate his enemies had only encouraged them by its confession of weakness. Their next step was a dexterous one. Padre Paolo Segneri was not only the most popular Jesuit preacher in Italy, but his favor with Innocent XI. was almost as great as that of Molinos. He was selected as the next athlete and, in 1680, he issued a little volume—*Concordia tra la Fatica e la Quiete nell' Oratione*, in which he argued that the highest life is that which combines activity with contemplation. He was promptly answered by Pietro Matteo Petrucci, an ardent admirer of Molinos, who was rewarded by Innocent with the see of Jesi. Segneri rejoined in a *Lettera di Riposta al Sig. Ignacio Bartolini*, and the controversy was fairly joined. A more aggressive antagonist was the Minorite Padre Alessandro Reggio, whose *Clavis Aurea qua aperiuntur Erroris Michaelis de Molinos* appeared in 1682 and boldly argued that the *Guida* revived the condemned errors of the Begghards, that Quietism destroyed all conceptions of the Trinity, while the practice of prayer without works was destructive of all the pious observances prescribed by the Church, and the teaching that temptation should be endured without resistance was dangerous and contrary to Scripture and to the doctors. Petrucci responded vigorously, while Molinos remained silent. He had, at least, the advantage of official support, for Bell'Uomo's book was forbidden *donec corrigatur*; Segneri's *Lettera* and the

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., v, 27, fol. 231 et seqq.

safely partake of the sacrament without previous confession—a doctrine which, however theologically defensible, threatened, if extensively practised, largely to diminish the authority of the priesthood, while encouraging the sinner to settle his account directly with God.

To attack as a heretic a man so universally respected and so firmly entrenched as Molinos might well seem desperate, and it is not surprising that the credit for the work was attributed to the Jesuits as the only body daring and powerful enough. The current story is that, having resolved upon it, they procured Père La Chaise to induce Louis XIV. to order his ambassador, Cardinal d'Estrées, to labor unceasingly for the removal of the scandal caused by the teaching of Molinos. Whether this was so is doubtful, but it is certain that the first attack came from the Jesuits and that d'Estrées, who had professed the warmest admiration for Molinos, became his unrelenting persecutor. The campaign was opened in 1678, when Gottardo Bell' Uomo, S. J., issued at Modena a work on the comparative value of ordinary and of mystic prayer, which was duly denounced to the Inquisition. Molinos had been made to recognize in various ways the coming storm, and he sought to conjure it in a fashion which revealed his conscious weakness. February 16, 1680, he addressed to the Jesuit General Oliva a long exculpatory letter. He had not attacked the Society but had always held it in the highest honor; he had never decried the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola, but had recognized the vast good accomplished by them, though he held that, for those suited to it, contemplation was better than meditation. He had for some years been persecuted and stigmatized as a heretic in writing and preaching by the most distinguished members of the Society, but he rejoiced in this and only prayed God for those who reviled him, nor, in his defense of the *Guida*, had he sought aught but the glory of God and, so far from defending the Begghards and Illuminati, he had always condemned them. Evidently the work of the Jesuits in discrediting him had been more active and better organized than the records show, and he thought it wiser to disarm, if possible, rather than to struggle with adversaries so powerful. Oliva's answer of February 28 was by no means reassuring. He complimented Molinos on his Christian spirit in returning good for evil and on the flattering terms bestowed on the Society and its founder. He had never read the books of Molinos and could not speak of them with knowledge but, if they corresponded with his letter, his disciples were doing him great wrong in applying his system of contemplation, of which only the rarest souls were capable, indiscriminately

reach it he tells us the soul must abandon itself wholly to God; it must make no resistance to the thoughts or impulses which God might send or allow Satan to send; if assailed by intruding or sensual thoughts, they should not be opposed but be quietly condemned and the resultant suffering be offered as a sacrifice to God.<sup>1</sup> This was the Quietism pure and simple which was subsequently condemned so severely, and there is no question that it had its dangers if the senses were allowed to control the spirit, and the adversaries of Molinos made the most of it, but he taught that the soul must overcome temptation through patience and resignation. When souls have acquired control of themselves, he says, if a temptation attacks them they soon overcome it; passions cannot hold out against the divine strength which fills them, even if the violence is continued and is supported by suggestions of the enemy; the soul gains the victory and enjoys the infinite resultant benefit.<sup>2</sup>

All this Molinos was allowed to teach for years in the Holy City with general applause. In 1675, at the height of his popularity, he embodied his doctrine in the *Guida Spirituale*, a little volume which came forth with the emphatic approbation of five distinguished theologians—four of them consultors or censors of the Inquisition and all of them men of high standing in their respective Orders of Franciscans, Trinitarians, Jesuits, Carmelites, and Capuchins. The book had an immediate and wide circulation and was translated into many languages. Even in Spain there was a Madrid edition in 1676, one at Saragossa in 1677, and another at Seville as late as 1685, without exciting animadversion. Yet such a career as that of Molinos could not continue indefinitely without exciting hostility, none the less dangerous because prudently concealed. His immense success was provocative of envy and, if mystic contemplation was largely adopted as the surest path to salvation, what was to be the result on the infinite variety of exterior works to which the Church owed so much of its power and wealth? It was found that in many nunneries in Rome, whose confessors had adopted his views, the inmates had cast aside their rosaries and chaplets and depended wholly on contemplation. It was observed that at mass the mystic devotees did not raise their eyes at the elevation of the Host or gaze on the holy images, but pursued uninterruptedly their mental prayer. Molinos gave further occasion for criticism by a tract on daily communion, in which he asserted that a soul, secure that it was not in mortal sin, could

<sup>1</sup> *Guida*, Lib. I., n. 68-70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. III., n. 3, 40.

was not Mysticism and its long-accepted practices, but organization, more or less secret, under leaders outside of the hierarchy and free from its supervision, when heated brains, under divine inspiration, indulged in dreams of regenerating the Church. It was not until the case of Molinos had called attention to other dangers that there came from Rome strict orders for the suppression of all oratories and of the practice of mental prayer—that rapture of meditation which had been the distinguishing habit of mystics through the ages.<sup>1</sup>

Miguel de Molinos was a Spaniard, born probably about 1630 at Muniesa (Teruel). After obtaining at Coimbra the degree of doctor of theology, he came to Rome in 1665, in connection with a canonization—probably of San Pedro Arbués, who was beatified in 1668. There he speedily acquired distinction as a confessor and spiritual director. Innocent XI. prized him so highly as to give him apartments in the papal palace; the noblest women placed themselves under his care; his reputation spread throughout Italy and his correspondence became enormous. On the day of his arrest it is said that the postage on the letters delivered that day at his house amounted to twenty-three ducats; he made a small charge to cover expenses and, in the sequestration of his property, there were found four thousand gold crowns derived from this source. The letters seized were reported variously as numbering twelve or twenty thousand, of which two hundred were from Christina of Sweden and two thousand from the Princess Borghese. The mysticism which proved so attractive when set forth by his winning personality had in it—ostensibly at least—nothing that had not long since received the approbation of the Church in the writings of the great Spanish mystics and of St. François de Sales. It is true that Molinos dropped the machinery of ecstasies and visions, which loom so largely in the writings of Santa Teresa, and confined his way of perfection to the Brahmanical ideal of the annihilation of sense and intellect, the mystic silence or death, in which speech and thought and desire are no more and in which God speaks with the soul and teaches it the highest wisdom.<sup>2</sup> This spiritualized hypnotism was in no way original with Molinos, but was the goal which all the mystic saints sought to obtain. To

<sup>1</sup> Ambrosian MSS., *ubi sup.*, fol. 65, 82, 113, 117, 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Guida Spirituale*, Lib. I., n. 128: "Non parlando, non pensando, non desiderando, si giunge al perfetto silenzio mistico, nel quale Iddio parla con l'anima e à lei si comunica e le insegna nel più intimo fondo la più perfetta e alta sapienza." Cf. Osuna, *Abecedario Spiritual*, P. III., Trat. xxi., Cap. 3, fol. 203. Santa Teresa, *Libro de las Revelaciones*. San Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, II. vii.

expected it to spread through the world. Ricaldini, at Treviso, was busy in corresponding with the heads of the associations and receiving their visits. In Brescia, Bartolommeo Bona, priest of S. Rocco, presided over an oratory of sixty members and was even said to have six hundred souls under his direction. They were called Pellegrini di S. Rocco, they practised mental prayer assiduously, and had even procured an episcopal license for the association. In Verona, Giovanni Battista Bonioli guided a membership of thirty disciples, many of them persons of high consideration. For the most part the devotees seem to have been quiet and pious folk, humbly seeking salvation by the interior way, but there were some who were given to extravagance. Margarita Rossi had visions and revelations, strangely repeating portions of the fantastic theology of Borri and, when written out by a believer, Don Giovanni Antonio, it was not difficult to extract from them a hundred and thirty-four errors, concerning which she was tortured as to intention as well as *in caput alienum*. Two others, Cosimo Dolci and Francesco Nigra, had visions and prophetic insight, for which the latter was sentenced, in 1684, to five years' incarceration.<sup>1</sup>

The sect could not continue spreading indefinitely without discovery. In 1682 the Inquisition suddenly awoke to the necessity of action and it repeated an edict which it had issued in 1656, forbidding all oratories and assemblages for mental prayer. Ricaldini felt his position critical, for he had abjured *de vehementi* and was liable to the stake for relapse. He disappeared from Treviso, and all that the Inquisition could learn was that he was somewhere on the Swiss border. At length, in 1684, his retreat was found to be Chiuro, in the Valtelline; and Antonio Ceccotti, Inquisitor of Brescia, made fruitless attempts to induce the authorities of the Valtelline and the Podestà of Brescia to unite in procuring his extradition, but in March, 1685, Ceccotti had the mortification to learn that he had died on the previous October 6, having received all the sacraments and with the repute of a most pious Christian.<sup>2</sup>

The prominent Pelagini were duly prosecuted, but there seems to have been little vindictiveness felt towards them and little heresy attributable to them. The punishments inflicted were light, for we hear, in 1685, of Boná, one of the leaders, having returned to his district and living in retirement, and of Belleri, another, being in the Valcamonica, where the bishop had appointed him missionary for the whole district. Evidently the disciples must have escaped with a warning. What the ecclesiastical authorities objected to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 18, 22, 24, 34, 38-45, 49-51, 53, 54, 61, 81, 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 44, 54, 66, 81.

could preach and hear confessions, that indulgences were worthless, and that God through them would reform the world. In 1654, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (afterwards Alexander VIII.) obtained the see of Brescia and by accident discovered some colporteurs distributing the Catechism of Calvin, along with tracts of the Pelagini. In March, 1656, he sent to the Valcamonica three commissioners with verbal instructions and armed with full powers, who temporarily suppressed the oratories and made a number of arrests, but the Inquisition intervened, taking the affair out of his hands and prosecuting the leaders.<sup>1</sup>

We hear nothing more of Filippo, except that he never was condemned. He probably died early in the history of the sect and his memory was cherished as that of a saint with thaumaturgic power. In 1686, the Archpriest of Morbegno, in the Valtelline, was found to be distributing relics of him and collecting materials for his life and miracles, all of which he was obliged to abandon, after obeying a summons from Calchi, the Inquisitor of Como. There were also inquiries made of the Provost of Talamona as to his motives in keeping a picture of Filippo and whether it was prayed to.<sup>2</sup>

After Filippo's disappearance we hear of Francesco Catanei and of the Archpriest Marc Antonio Ricaldini as leaders of the sect, but Agostino Ricaldini, a brother of the latter and a married layman, was really the centre around which it gathered. In Ottoboni's persecution he was imprisoned in 1656, and thrice tortured and, on September 19, 1660, he was sentenced by the Brescia tribunal to exile from the Valcamonica and was relegated to Treviso. Persisting in his errors, he was again tried in Treviso, obliged to abjure *de vehementi*, and sentenced to perpetual prison, while a book which he had written was publicly burnt. How long his imprisonment lasted does not appear, but in 1680 we find him living in Treviso, under surveillance of the episcopal vicar-general.<sup>3</sup>

If Ottoboni and the Inquisition fancied that they had crushed the sect, they were mistaken. It maintained a secret existence for over twenty years, which enabled it to spread far beyond its original seat and, about 1680, it had associations and oratories for mental prayer established in Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, Padua, Pesaro, Lucca, and doubtless many other places, while its votaries

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *Historia di tutte l'Heresie*, IV. 722-726. MSS. of Ambrosian Library, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 14. This latter is a considerable body of documents from which are derived the facts that follow.

<sup>2</sup> Ambrosian MSS. *ubi sup.*, fol. 111, 113, 117, 119, 121, 135, 137, 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 58, 61, 66, 80, 83, 86.

special privileges. There he remained until his death, August 20, 1695—just a century before Cagliostro came to the same end.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Roman Inquisition issued no general denunciations, there was a surveillance kept over the votaries of mental prayer and contemplation, in view of the extravagances to which they might be led when, abandoning themselves wholly to God, they felt themselves irresponsible for what God might cause them to do. There was a little community of this kind formed in Genoa, where they were known as *Sequere me*, from the phrase used when addressing those whom they elected to join them. Under the lead of a Trinitarian friar, they bought a house in the suburbs, where they lived in the utmost austerity, devoting themselves to contemplation. Then came visions and revelations that the Church was to be reformed through them by a new pope, of whom they were to be the apostles. One of them communicated this to a vicar of the Inquisition, who promptly reported to the tribunal. They were all summoned before it; some went into ecstasies, and as a body they threatened the inquisitor with the vengeance of God and were thrown into prison. The Congregation of the Inquisition ordered their prosecution, which resulted in their being adjudged to be crazy rather than evil-minded. The friar was deprived of active and passive voice in his Order, and the rest were dismissed with threats of the galleys if they reassembled and continued to wear the habit which they had adopted.<sup>2</sup>

More persistent was the sect known as the Pelagini which, about 1650, developed itself in the Valcamonica and spread throughout Lombardy. Giacomo Filippo di Santa Pelagia was a layman of Milan, highly esteemed for conspicuous piety. From Marco Morosini, Bishop of Brescia (1645-1654), he obtained permission to found conventicles or oratories in the Valcamonica, but it shows that mental prayer was regarded as a dangerous exercise when Morosini imposed the condition that it should not be practised in these little assemblies. The prohibition was disregarded and the devotees largely gave themselves up to contemplation, with the result that they had trances and revelations; they threw off subjection to their priests and were accused of claiming that mental prayer was essential to salvation, that none but Pelagini could be saved, that those who practised it became impeccable, that laymen

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteca del R. Archivio di Stato in Roma, Miscellanea MSS., pp. 577-630. Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 185, pp. 13-26. *L'Ambasciata di Romolo a' Romani*, p. 689 (Colon., 1676). Collect. Decret. S. Congr. S. Officii, p. 7 (MS. *penes me*). Cantù, *op. cit.*, III. 330.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. of Ambrosian Library of Milan, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 140.



God, he changed his life. He soon had visions and revelations, from which he constructed a new theology, showing an intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of the Trinity and of the universe. He had been selected to found the Kingdom of the Highest, in which all mankind would be brought under papal rule; the philosopher's stone, of which he had the secret, would furnish the means of raising the papal armies, in the leadership of which he would be guided by St. Michael. Rome soon became dangerous for the new prophet, and in 1655 he transferred his propaganda to Milan, where he founded a secret mystical order, the members of which were trained in meditation and mental prayer, pledged themselves to shed their blood in the execution of the work, and, what was more to the purpose, contributed all their property to the common fund. The Milanese inquisitor got wind of the new sect and arrested some of the members; Borri thought of raising a tumult but decided in favor of the safer alternative of flight. His case was transferred to the Roman Congregation, which cited him, March 20, 1659, to appear within ninety days, and then tried him *in absentia* with the result that his effigy, with all his impious writings, was burnt on January 3, 1661. His dupes were duly prosecuted but seem not to have been severely punished.

Meanwhile he was starting on a fresh career in northern Europe, as a man possessed of all the secrets of alchemy and medicine, with a success that even Cagliostro might have envied. Strassburg and Amsterdam had reason to repent of his seductive arts. In Hamburg, Christina of Sweden furnished him with means to prosecute the work of the Grand Arcanum. Frederick III. of Denmark lavished large sums on him and even made him chief political adviser, which aroused the hatred of the heir-apparent, Christian V., on whose accession in 1670 he was obliged to save his life by flight. He sought to find refuge in Turkey, but in Moravia, when within a day's journey of the frontier, he was arrested by mistake, on suspicion of complicity in a conspiracy in Vienna. There the papal nuncio recognized and claimed him, but Leopold I., whose favor he had speedily acquired by his chemical marvels, only surrendered him on condition that his life should be spared. Before the Inquisition he confessed his errors and attributed them to diabolical inspiration, and his sentence, September 25, 1672, was merely to perpetual prison and certain spiritual penances. Even here his good luck befriended him, for Cardinal d'Estrées, the influential ambassador of Louis XIV., in dangerous illness asked to consult him, and, on recovery, procured his transfer to easier confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, where he was allowed

forced by the Inquisition were frequent, but this is probably the exaggeration so frequent with heresiologists.<sup>1</sup> A well-marked case, however, startled Florence in 1640, when the Canon Pandolfo Ricasoli, a highly respected member of the noble house of the Barons of Trappola and a man of wide learning and handsome fortune, was arrested, with his chief accomplice Faustina Mainardi, her brother Girolamo, and seven others. Some nuns of Santa Anna sul Prato were also implicated, but if they were prosecuted no knowledge of it was allowed to reach the public. They seem to have formed a coterie of Illuminists to whom Ricasoli taught that all manner of indecent acts conduced to purity, if performed with the mind fixed on God; they claimed special relations with heaven and were free from sin in whatever they did for the greater glory of God. This continued for eight years; rumors spread abroad and were conveyed to the Inquisition, when Ricasoli came forward and denounced himself with expressions of contrition. A public *atto di fede* was held, November 28, 1641, in the great refectory of the convent of Santa Croce, attended by the Grand Duke, the Cardinal de' Medici, the nuncio, and other notabilities. One of the culprits, Serafino de' Servi, had died in prison and appeared in effigy, the rest abjured *de vehementi*—for vehement suspicion of heresy. Ricasoli, Faustina, and the priest Giacomo Fantoni were condemned to perpetual irremissible prison, others to prison with the privilege of asking for pardon, while two, Cocchi and Borgeschi, had a private *atto di fede* and were confined in the Stinche prison at the pleasure of the Inquisition. Ricasoli, as he was led away, declared that he had acted foolishly and ignorantly and he asked pardon of the people for the scandal which he had caused; he lingered in his prison until July, 1657, when he died at the age of 78; there was some question as to his interment, but finally he received Christian burial. The inquisitor, Fra Giovanni Muzzarelli, was sternly rebuked for misplaced mercy by the Roman Congregation of the Inquisition and was speedily replaced by one of severer temper.<sup>2</sup>

Impostors likewise were not unknown, as appears in the career of Francesco Giuseppe Borri, a brilliant but dissolute scion of a noble Milanese house. A misadventure in Rome forced him to take asylum in a church, where, in recognition of the mercy of

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *Historia di tutte l'Heresie*, IV. 712 (Venezia, 1717).

<sup>2</sup> Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 185, pp. 1-7. Library of the Seminario della Curia arcivescovile di Firenze, Chiese, Spogli, Vol. I., pp. 407 *et seqq.* [Modesto Rastrelli], *Fatti attinenti all' Inquisizione*, pp. 173-177 (Venezia, 1782). Cf. Cantù, *Eretici d'Italia*, III. 336.

if it were important, to discriminate between the motives leading to such results. This tendency rendered suspicious the mental prayer, the meditation and contemplation, which were the distinguishing exercises of the mystics; it discredited their visions and revelations and served to justify the Spanish Inquisition in its persecution of Mysticism in general.

While Spain was thus active in repression, Rome had remained virtually quiescent. Mysticism had for centuries been recognized as a means to salvation, and its history was too full of names honored by the Church for it to be rashly condemned. There was in Italy no popular mania, as in Spain, to be cured, irrespective of the immoral extravagances to which it sometimes led. In the Edict of Denunciations of the Roman Inquisition, unlike that of the Spanish, there is no mention of Mysticism or Illuminism.<sup>1</sup> The elaborate folios of the systematic writers—Del Bene, Bordonio, Lupo, Dandino, Carena—are silent as to its eccentricities. Yet these were by no means unknown to the Holy Office, which took cognizance of them when brought to its notice, and occasionally some book too unreserved in its teachings found a place in the *Index*.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Scaglia (†1639), in his little manual of practice, which was circulated only in manuscript, when treating of the troubles customary in nunneries, says that, through giddiness of brain, or vainglory, or illusion, nuns often claim to have celestial visions and revelations and intercourse with God and the saints when, if the confessor is imprudently given to spirituality, he reduces their utterances to writing and, if learned, he defends them with propositions very often punishable by the Inquisition. Sometimes, he adds, sensuality is involved, leading to the assertion that carnal acts are not sinful but meritorious when, if the confessor desires to take advantage of this, he seeks with revelations and false doctrines to prove that they are lawful. Cases of this kind have occurred in the Holy Office, when priests who so justify themselves become liable to the penalties of heresy. Such cases also occur between women assuming to be spiritual and their confessors, who so teach them, even without revelations and visions, leading their spiritual daughters to believe these to be works of merit and mortification.<sup>3</sup>

Bernino tells us that, early in the seventeenth century, Illuminism was widely diffused throughout Italy, where abjurations en-

<sup>1</sup> Bordonio *Sacrum Tribunal Judicum*, p. 508 (Romae, 1648). Ign. Lupi Bergomens. *Nova Lux in Edictum S. Inquisit.* (Bergomi, 1648.)

<sup>2</sup> Reusch, *Der Index*, II. 610-611.

<sup>3</sup> Scaglia, *Prattica per le Cause del Sant' Officio*, cap. 25 (MS. *penes me*).

## MOLINOS AND THE ITALIAN MYSTICS

THE condemnation of Miguel de Molinos, in 1687, marks a profound change in the attitude of the Church towards Mysticism. It is true that long before, in the classic land of mystic reveries—Spain of the sixteenth century, the Inquisition had clearly seen the dangers of the doctrine which taught that the soul could deal directly with God and which despised the intervention of the priest and the outward observances held by the Church to be essential to salvation. Consequently, in spite of the great mystics, canonized and uncanonized—Santa Teresa, Francisco de Osuna, San Juan de la Cruz, San Pedro de Alcántara, and others who escaped condemnation—it waged unrelenting warfare with the crowd of adepts and performed a service in checking the growth of a tendency which threatened to subordinate religion to hypnotism. In this task it was strengthened by the aberrations of the Illuminati, who claimed that when they reached the desired goal of Union with God, their souls were illuminated with divine light and were abandoned to the divine influence, so that they became impeccable, secure that whatever they did was due to the promptings of God. This abandonment, known to the Spaniards as *Dejamiento* and elsewhere as Quietism, was not likely to lead to evil when practised by Master Eckart, Tauler, Rulman Merswyn, and Henry Suso in the fourteenth century, or by Santa Teresa and St. François de Sales in later times, but, in natures less pure, impeccability was apt to assume the meaning, not that evil was instinctively avoided, but that evil lost its character of sin when wrought under the presumed divine inspiration. The flesh sometimes triumphed over the spirit, even in those who honestly thought themselves to be treading the path of perfection. That spiritual exaltation shared by the two sexes might insensibly become carnal was no new experience, for, in the thirteenth century, the eloquent warning addressed by St. Bónaventura to his brethren shows by the vividness of its details that he must have witnessed more than one such fall from grace.<sup>1</sup> Nor were there lacking impostors who took advantage of these sublimated theories to gratify their brutal instincts with those who were confided to their spiritual guidance, and it was not easy, even

<sup>1</sup> S. Bonaventurae de *Puritate Conscientiae*, cap. 14.

Turks or in regard to the easiness of the task. He probably did not refer to the time of departure, to the need of contending against Antichrist,<sup>1</sup> or to the wearing of the cross.

The outline of the pope's speech, therefore, seems to have been as follows<sup>2</sup>: [Praise of the valor of the Franks]; necessity of aiding the brethren in the East; appeals for aid from the East; victorious advance of the Turks; [reference to Spain]; sufferings of the Christians in the East; (sufferings of the pilgrims); desecration of the churches and holy places; [expressions of contempt concerning the Turks]; special sanctity of Jerusalem; this is God's work; (rich and poor to go); grant of plenary indulgence; fight righteous wars instead of iniquitous combats; (evil conditions at home); promise of eternal and temporal rewards; let nothing hinder you; God will be your leader.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

<sup>1</sup> Antichrist is mentioned in the letter of Alexius. *A priori* it seems probable that the pope would have mentioned Antichrist. On the other hand, if such a mention had been made, it seems probable that more than one of the five versions would have preserved it.

<sup>2</sup> The subjects concerning which there seems to be no doubt are printed without inclosures; those which the pope probably used are in parentheses; those which he may have used are in brackets; the other subjects are, of course, omitted. The order is determined by a comparison of the different versions. It is only hypothetical, and the purpose of this paper would not be affected by a change in order.

no Christian kings. Therefore, it is necessary, for the fulfilment of the prophecy, for the Christians to conquer these countries so that there may be Christian kings to be destroyed. Possibly this was Guibert's way of stating the temporal rewards mentioned by the others.

*Reference to Spain.*<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by William, but by no one else. Guibert, however, does give in the preceding chapter, as one of the causes of the pope's preaching the crusade, that he had very often heard of the Saracens' attack upon Spain.<sup>2</sup> *Cross to be worn.* Mentioned by William.<sup>3</sup> Robert mentions this in the second address to the clergy.<sup>4</sup> The others mention it later but not as a part of the pope's speech.

In addition to the subjects already mentioned there is a subtle appeal to the ascetic spirit of the times, in the versions by Baldric, Guibert, and William; and an exhortation to follow the example of the Old Testament heroes, in the versions by Baldric and Guibert. It is probable that both subjects were referred to by Urban, but the vague and divergent references may be merely the work of the reporters. The references are of too slight weight to be used here.

Urban may have mentioned all these subjects, as well as some which have not been reported. Undoubtedly, his exhortation was much longer than any of the brief reports which have been preserved. But, judging from the material in existence, the following conclusions seem justified.

In addition to the points about which there can be no reasonable doubt, rich and poor may have been urged to go. If this was not expressly mentioned, it seems to have been taken for granted by the auditors. The evil conditions at home were probably dwelt upon. The only doubt in this case arises from a possible confusion of the first and second speeches in the various reports. Some mention of this subject would, however, naturally accompany the exhortation to fight just wars in place of unjust. The sufferings of the pilgrims were probably mentioned. There may have been some reference to Spain, as this might have been suggested by the conquests of the Turks. The valor of the Franks may have been praised by the pope. It is a matter of doubt whether Urban used any but commonplace expressions of contempt in describing the

<sup>1</sup> "Jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis," p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. II., ch. 1. It was chiefly on these statements by William and Guibert that Riant based his argument that the pope was influenced principally by the danger to Spain. Riant, *Alexii Epistola*, p. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> P. 396, l. 17.

<sup>4</sup> P. 730A.

christiana", etc.<sup>1</sup> Guibert has "Deo vos praeëunte, Deo pro vobis proeliante"<sup>2</sup>; and at the end of the exhortation "Christum fore signiferum . . . et praecursorem individuum." William's phrase is, "aderit Deus euntibus."<sup>3</sup>

*Praise of the Franks.* Robert begins his version with a reference to the Franks as the chosen people beloved by God. His statement does not carry very great weight because this is a favorite thought of his.<sup>4</sup> While a natural beginning under ordinary circumstances, it may not have seemed appropriate after the references to the evil conduct of the people in the previous address. This may have caused Fulcher<sup>5</sup> and Baldric to omit it even if it was a part of the pope's speech. Guibert has no mention of it in the speech, but uses similar language in a preceding chapter.<sup>6</sup> William refers to the "famosa Francorum virtus."<sup>7</sup>

*Special sanctity of Jerusalem.* Mentioned by Robert,<sup>8</sup> Baldric,<sup>9</sup> and Guibert<sup>10</sup> at great length. The Holy Sepulchre, in particular, and its profanation are cited. *Evil conditions at home.* Mentioned by all but Fulcher.<sup>11</sup> The latter may have omitted it because he had already given the pope's first speech, in which the evil conditions were discussed at length.<sup>12</sup> *Sufferings of the pilgrims.* Mentioned by Baldric<sup>13</sup> and at great length by Guibert.<sup>14</sup> *The task will be easy.* Mentioned slightly by Baldric,<sup>15</sup> and by William.<sup>16</sup> *Necessity of contending against Antichrist.* This is mentioned only by Guibert.<sup>17</sup> His argument is interesting. It may be summarized baldly: The coming of Antichrist is at hand. According to the prophets he will have his dwelling on the Mount of Olives and will destroy the three Christian kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia. But these countries are now pagan and there are

<sup>1</sup> P. 15A.

<sup>2</sup> P. 138C, 140D.

<sup>3</sup> P. 398, l. 17.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to four places in the exhortation where he mentions this. Cf. prologue and *Historia*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> But note p. 324C, "gentem omnipotentes Dei fide praeditam, et Christi nomine fulgidam."

<sup>6</sup> Bk. II., ch. 1.

<sup>7</sup> P. 396, ll. 28-29.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. 2 at the beginning, and p. 728C.

<sup>9</sup> P. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Passim*. A large portion of his version is devoted to this theme.

<sup>11</sup> Robert, "quoniam terra haec quam inhabitatis . . . numerositate vestra coangustatos . . . et vi sola alimenta suis cultoribus administrat," etc., p. 728E. Baldric, p. 14F; Guibert, p. 138E; William, pp. 393, 394; this passage may be, in part at least, a reminiscence of the pope's first speech.

<sup>12</sup> Cf., however, p. 324D.

<sup>13</sup> "Quantis afflictationibus vos, qui adestis, qui redestis, injuriaverint," etc., p. 14A.

<sup>14</sup> P. 139H to 140C.

<sup>15</sup> "Via brevis est, labor permodicus est," p. 15D.

<sup>16</sup> P. 394, l. 10. Cf. pp. 395, 396 on the ease of defeating the cowardly Turks.

<sup>17</sup> P. 138H to p. 139C.

*Fight righteous wars instead of the iniquitous combats in which you have been engaged.* Mentioned at some length by all.<sup>1</sup> *Promise of eternal rewards.* Mentioned by all.<sup>2</sup> *Promise of temporal rewards.* Indefinite in Fulcher,<sup>3</sup> but not in Robert<sup>4</sup> or in Baldric.<sup>5</sup> Guibert<sup>6</sup> and William of Malmesbury<sup>7</sup> have no parallel passages, but the same idea of the acquisition of the enemy's country is assumed. *The participants are not to let anything hinder them.* Fulcher barely mentions this.<sup>8</sup> Robert gives a much fuller statement,<sup>9</sup> that they are not to be hindered by ties of affection or care for property. Baldric has a passage of the same import.<sup>10</sup> Guibert has no mention of this, but William dwells upon it.<sup>11</sup> *Time of departure.* Mentioned only by Fulcher.<sup>12</sup> It seems probable that this was not mentioned in the exhortation but was fixed later. The time actually set for the departure was August 15, 1096.<sup>13</sup> *God will be your leader.* Mentioned by Fulcher, "Domino praevio",<sup>14</sup> as the last point in the pope's exhortation. Robert does not have this, but he may have had it in mind when he gave as the concluding sentence of the pope's second address to the clergy, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me." Baldric expressed it, "sub Jesu Christo, duce nostro, acies

<sup>1</sup> Fulcher, "contra infideles ad pugnam . . . dignam . . . qui abusive . . . contra fideles . . . consuescebant distendere," p. 324D. Robert, p. 728F. Baldric, p. 15A-B. Guibert, "Indebita hactenus bella gessistis . . . Nunc vobis bella proponimus quae in se habent gloriosum martyrii munus," etc., p. 138E. William, especially p. 396, ll. 25, 26, "illam fortudinem, prudentiam illam, quam in civili conflictu habere consuestis, justiori effundentes, proelio."

<sup>2</sup> Fulcher, "aeterna praemia nanciscantur," p. 324D; Robert, "immarcescibili gloria sequi coclorum," 729B; Baldric, "sanguine vestis purpurati, perenne bravium adipiscimini," p. 15C; Guibert, "gloriosum martyrii munus . . . aeternae laudis titulus," p. 138E. William, "perpetuae salutis statio," p. 394, l. 11; cf. p. 396, l. 22.

<sup>3</sup> "Pro honore duplici laborent, qui ad detrimentum corporis et animae se fatigabant," p. 324D-E.

<sup>4</sup> "Eamque vobis subjicite, terra illa . . . quae lacte et melle fluit," etc., p. 728F. This is contrasted with their poverty at home.

<sup>5</sup> "Facultates etiam inimicorum vestrae erunt: quoniam et illorum thesauros expoliabitis," p. 15C.

<sup>6</sup> But see p. 240, note 17, and corresponding text.

<sup>7</sup> When William urges them not to be detained by their patrimony because more ample ones are promised, the context seems to show that eternal rewards are referred to.

<sup>8</sup> "Ituris autem mora non differat iter, sed propriis locatis, sumptibusque collectis . . . transitem acriter intrent," p. 324E.

<sup>9</sup> P. 728E.

<sup>10</sup> "Non vos demulceant illecebrosa blandimenta mulierum nec rerum vestrarum," p. 15E.

<sup>11</sup> P. 378, ll. 4-10.

<sup>12</sup> "Cessante bruma vernoque sequente," p. 324E.

<sup>13</sup> Riant, *Inventaire, A. O. L.*, I. 114, 220.

<sup>14</sup> P. 324E.



attractive. Men and women of all classes, even children, started on the crusade. Occasionally some were restrained by the wisdom of their clerical advisers.<sup>1</sup>

*All who went on the crusade were to receive plenary indulgence or full remission of sins.*<sup>2</sup> This is clear from the canon of the Council,<sup>3</sup> from the statement of Pope Eugene III.,<sup>4</sup> and from the letters of Urban to the princes of Flanders<sup>5</sup> and to the people of Bologna.<sup>6</sup> It was reported in various forms by the contemporaries. Flucher limits it to those who died on the expedition<sup>7</sup>; Robert applies it to all who went.<sup>8</sup> Baldric inserts a rather indefinite statement concerning it in Urban's address to the clergy.<sup>9</sup> Guibert does not mention it in his account of the speech. William applies it to all.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to compare with these brief statements the very careful exposition of William of Tyre.<sup>11</sup>

*Expressions of contempt for the Turks.* The terms used by Fulcher,<sup>12</sup> Robert,<sup>13</sup> and Baldric<sup>14</sup> are commonplace enough. Guibert mildly calls them *nefandi*. William of Malmesbury,<sup>15</sup> on the other hand, has a long passage describing the cowardice and degeneracy of the Turks. His account accords with the general belief of the times.<sup>16</sup> If Urban used contemptuous expressions it would probably have been so much in agreement with their own ideas that his hearers would have paid little heed to this portion of his address. The crusaders were surprised at the bravery of the Turks when they met the latter in battle.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (ed. Privat), III. 484.

<sup>2</sup> These terms are used in their technical sense.

<sup>3</sup> "Quicumque, pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniae adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur." Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXII. 717.

<sup>4</sup> "Illam peccatorum remissionem, quam prefatus predecessor noster papa Urbanus instituit." Ottonis Fris. *Gesta Fr.*, MGSS., XX. 371.

<sup>5</sup> Riant, *Inventaire*, No. XLIX, *A. O. L.*, I., p. 113 and p. 220. This letter also confirms several of the other points.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. LVII.

<sup>7</sup> "Cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit," p. 324B.

<sup>8</sup> "Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum," p. 729B.

<sup>9</sup> P. 15F.

<sup>10</sup> "Ituri . . . omnium absolutionem criminum," p. 396.

<sup>11</sup> *Recueil*, I. 42, ll. 11-16.

<sup>12</sup> "Gens tam spreta, degener, et daemonum ancilla," p. 324C.

<sup>13</sup> "Gens prorsus a Deo aliena," p. 727D; "nefariae genti," p. 728F.

<sup>14</sup> "Turci spurii et immundi," p. 13B.

<sup>15</sup> P. 395, l. 31, to p. 396, l. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 73, and the contemptuous expressions in the *Gesta Francorum*, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, IX. 206-208.

briefly by Fulcher,<sup>1</sup> dwelt upon at great length by Robert,<sup>2</sup> to a lesser degree by Baldric<sup>3</sup> and William.<sup>4</sup> Guibert does not mention this subject, but does dwell upon the sufferings of the pilgrims.<sup>5</sup>

*Desecration or destruction of the churches and holy places.* Mentioned by Fulcher,<sup>6</sup> by Robert,<sup>7</sup> at great length by Baldric,<sup>8</sup> and slightly by William.<sup>9</sup> Guibert also mentions this, but treats it under the special sanctity of Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup>

*This is God's work.* Mentioned explicitly by Fulcher<sup>11</sup>; it is, in fact, the underlying thought in all the versions. Robert expresses this idea in his preface, "Hoc enim non fuit humanum opus, sed divinum." In his account of Urban's second speech to the clergy, the pope refers their unanimity to God's direct agency.<sup>12</sup> Other heads of the speech, to be noted later, bring out this idea forcibly.<sup>13</sup>

*Rich and poor alike ought to go.* Mentioned by Fulcher,<sup>14</sup> but not explicitly by the others. It seems probable that Urban aroused even greater enthusiasm than he desired. In his second address to the clergy<sup>15</sup> he stated that he did not desire old men, or those unfitted for war, or women without guardians. Clerks were not to go without the permission of their bishop, nor laymen without the blessing of their priest. These same limitations are brought out later in the letter of Urban to the inhabitants of Bologna.<sup>16</sup> But the pope's eloquence had been too persuasive, the project was too

<sup>1</sup> "Multas occidendo vel captivando," p. 324A.

<sup>2</sup> P. 727D to p. 728B. This may, however, be borrowed from the letter of Alexius.

<sup>3</sup> P. 12A-B. Note especially, "Siqui adhuc ibi latitant Christiani inauditis exquiruntur tormentis." Cf. note 4, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> P. 395, l. 12 to l. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See note 13, p. 240.

<sup>6</sup> "Ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando," p. 324A.

<sup>7</sup> "Ecclesiasque Dei aut funditus everterit aut suorum ritui sacrorum mancipaverit," p. 727E.

<sup>8</sup> P. 13. Note especially, "Ecclesiae in quibus olim divina celebrata sunt mysteria, pro dolor! ecce animalibus eorum stabula praelegantur."

<sup>9</sup> P. 395, ll. 10-11. But compare all the context for proof that this was in William's mind.

<sup>10</sup> See note 10, p. 240.

<sup>11</sup> "Qua de re supplicii prece hortor, non ego, sed Dominus . . . vos, Christi praecones, . . . Praesentibus dico, absentibus mando, Christus autem imperat," p. 324A-B.

<sup>12</sup> "Nisi Dominus Deus mentibus vestris affuisset, una omnium vestrum vox non fuisset," p. 729D.

<sup>13</sup> William, p. 396, ll. 15-16, "Praesentibus ex Dei nomine praecipio, absentibus mando," is evidently influenced by Fulcher. See note 11, above.

<sup>14</sup> "Ut cunctis cujuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus . . . suadeatis," p. 324A-B.

<sup>15</sup> Robert, ch. 2, p. 729E.

<sup>16</sup> Riant, Inventaire, A. O. L., I. 121; cf. p. 115, note 8.

when the same fact is cited by any of the others. Then the other speeches will be analyzed in the same manner, and in the following order: Robert, Baldric, Guibert, William of Malmesbury.

*Necessity of aiding the brethren in the East.* Found in all.<sup>1</sup>

*Appeals for aid from the East.* Found in Fulcher,<sup>2</sup> Robert,<sup>3</sup> and possibly in Baldric.<sup>4</sup> Guibert does not mention these appeals in his account of the speech, but refers, in the preceding chapter, to the gifts and prayers of the emperor by which Urban was moved.<sup>5</sup> This point is not referred to by William of Malmesbury.

*Victorious advance of the Turks.* Mentioned by Fulcher<sup>6</sup> and Robert.<sup>7</sup> Baldric<sup>8</sup> and Guibert have no such explicit mention, but all the earlier portion in each of their speeches presupposes the knowledge of such a conquest. On the other hand, William of Malmesbury has a long list of the provinces which the Turks had conquered.<sup>9</sup>

*Sufferings of the Christians in the East.* Mentioned very

<sup>1</sup> Fulcher, ch. 3: "Quoniam, o filii Dei, si pacem apud vos tenendam et Ecclesiae jura conservanda fideliter sustentare viriliter solito polliciti Deo estis, exstat operae pretium ut insuper ad quoddam aliud Dei negotium et vestrum, emendatione deifica nuper vegetati, probitatis vestrae valitudinem versetis. Necesse est enim, quatinus confratribus vestris in Orientali plaga conversantibus, auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato indigis, accelerato itinere succurratis." *Recueil*, III, 323. "O quanta impropria vobis ab ipso Domino imputabuntur, si eos non juveritis qui professione Christiana censeantur, sicut et vos!" *Ibid.*, 324. It is not necessary to quote special passages from the other speeches, as in each case this is the main purport.

<sup>2</sup> "Auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato." *Ibid.*, 323F.

<sup>3</sup> "Ab Iherosolimorum finibus et urbe Constantinopolitana relatio gravis emersit et saepissime jam ad aures nostras pervenit." *Ibid.*, 727C-D.

<sup>4</sup> "Audivimus, fratres dilectissimi, et audistis, . . . quantis calamitatibus, quantis incommoditatibus, quam diris contritionibus, in Jerusalem et in Antiochia et in ceteris Orientalis plagae civitatibus, Christiani . . . flagellantur, opprimuntur, injuriuntur. Germani fratres vestri, . . . aut inter nos mendicant." *Ibid.*, IV, 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> "Ab Alexi Graecorum principe magnis honoraretur exequiis et precibus . . . pulsaretur." *Ibid.*, 135 C-D. Note also his mention of Constantinople near the beginning of the speech.

<sup>6</sup> "Invaserunt enim eos, sicuti plerisque vestrum jam dictum est, usque mare Mediterraneum, ad illud scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii, Turci, gens Persica, qui, apud Romaniae fines, terras Christianorum magis magisque occupando, lite bellica jam septuplicata victos superaverunt," pp. 323-324.

<sup>7</sup> "Gens regni Persarum . . . terras illorum Christianorum invaserit," p. 727D. "Regnum Graecorum jam ab eis ita emutilatum est et suis usibus emancipatum quod transmeari non potest itinere duorum mensium," p. 728A.

<sup>8</sup> "Nequam homines sanctas praeoccupare civitates: Turci spurii et immundi nostris fratribus dominantur," p. 13B. Also the possession of Antioch and Jerusalem by the Turks is mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> "Syriam, Armeniam, omnem postremo Asiam Minorem, cujus provinciae sunt Bithinia, Frigia, Galatia, Lidia, Caria, Pamphilia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia, occupaverunt," p. 394. This may have been derived from the letter of Alexius.

G. Paris, about 1090; Vasiljevski, about 1091.<sup>1</sup> Chalandon says: "On ne peut savoir si ce sont les sermons d'Urbain qui ont servi de source à l'épistola ou si, au contraire, ce ne sont pas les rédacteurs de ces prétendus sermons qui ont utilisé cette dernière."<sup>2</sup> There is too great a resemblance between portions of the letter and passages in some of the versions for both to be original; *e. g.*, the account of the cruelties and the pollution of the holy places in Robert and in the letter.

It is to be noted, however, that if the letter was a source, no one in his version used it for more than a few points,<sup>3</sup> and in each case other accounts of the speech mention these same points in a manner that shows no influence of the letter. Consequently it seems almost certain that these subjects were mentioned by the pope, and hence the letter need not be considered in the analysis. It is not necessary, either, to discuss the question whether Urban was influenced by the letter or whether, on the other hand, the letter was based upon Urban's speech.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that the letter, whichever date is taken for its composition, was in existence before any of the versions which have parallel passages; and that the writers of these used it. Believing that Urban discussed a subject, it would be the most natural thing for Robert or Baldric or William to borrow from any source at hand either a pertinent account or a phrase which struck his fancy. This was such a common practice in the middle ages that it would have been remarkable if they had not done it. The letter, therefore, probably influenced the mode of expression in some versions, but not the general outline.

In order to ascertain what Pope Urban actually said it is now necessary to analyze each version of the speech, and to ascertain the separate facts given in each. It is to be expected *a priori* that the ideas will be expressed in different words and that each writer will dwell upon the portions of greatest interest to him, passing lightly over other portions. After such an analysis, it will be possible to select the facts which seem to be well vouched for and thus to determine the main outline of the pope's remarks. Accordingly the separate facts will now be taken up; those given in Fulcher's version will be used first; and in each case it will be noted

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 10-24.

<sup>2</sup> P. 330.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the example above, only a single point in Baldric, possibly one in Guibert, several in William. But each one, if he did use the letter, took a different part.

<sup>4</sup> It would be an easy but unprofitable task to build up an ingenious argument for either point of view.

informants were persons who had heard the speech.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no more reason for doubting this than any other uncorroborated statement, and his version ought certainly to be considered. The other reports of the speech are obviously copied<sup>2</sup> or fictitious. To the latter class belongs the speech in William of Tyre,<sup>3</sup> which has so often been regarded as the most correct version. It has no independent value.<sup>4</sup>

The reconstruction of the exhortation must be based upon the versions of Robert and Baldric, who say that they were at Clermont; of Fulcher and Guibert, who may have been present; and of William of Malmesbury, who says that his information was derived from persons who were present. All, except Fulcher, state that they do not reproduce the exact words of the pope.<sup>5</sup> All that can be attempted, therefore, is a reconstruction of the outline of the exhortation.

This reconstruction is somewhat difficult inasmuch as the three separate speeches<sup>6</sup> of the pope have been confused to some extent in the different versions. The task of reconstruction seems to be further complicated by the existence of points of resemblance between some versions of the speech and passages in the famous letter of the Emperor Alexius to Count Robert of Flanders.<sup>7</sup> The genuineness and date of the letter have long been subjects of controversy.<sup>8</sup> To quote only a few of the more important opinions: Riant thought the letter was based in part upon sermons of Urban II. and was the work of a forger in 1098-1099.<sup>9</sup> Chalandon believes the letter was forged in 1098-1099, but was based in part upon a genuine letter of 1088-1089.<sup>10</sup> Hagenmeyer dates it 1088;

<sup>1</sup> R. S., II. 393, "quem, sicut ab auditoribus accepi, placuit posteris transmittere integro verborum sensu custodito."

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, *Breviarium passagii in Terram Sanctam*.

<sup>3</sup> Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 239, "eine freie Erfindung, allerdings ein Meisterstück seiner Art".

<sup>4</sup> Among the subjects which he inserts in the speech is the letter which Peter the Hermit had brought from the East.

<sup>5</sup> Robert, "Haec et id genus plurima peroravit." *Recueil*, III. 729C. Baldric, "His vel hujus modi aliis a domino," *ibid.*, IV. 15G. Guibert, "His ergo, etsi non verbis, tamen intentionibus usus est," *ibid.*, 137E. Cf. William of Malmesbury, as cited in note 1, above.

<sup>6</sup> See note 16, p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> Best editions in Riant, *Alexii Comneni Epistola ad Robertum Flandrensem*; and in Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 130-136.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, 10-42; Riant, *op. cit.*, preface; and "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques", in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I. 71-89; Chalandon, *Règne d'Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène*, pp. 325-336.

<sup>9</sup> Inventaire, *A. O. L.*, I. 74.

<sup>10</sup> *Alexis*, p. 335.

the completion of the exhortation.<sup>1</sup> This portion of his account should be omitted in comparing it with the other versions. His version has frequently been preferred by later historians.

Baldric of Bourgueil, archbishop of Dol, probably wrote his *Historia Jerosolimitana* soon after 1107.<sup>2</sup> He states in two different passages that he was at the Council. He does not give the first speech of Urban to the clergy, but has a brief summary of the second. His account was regarded by Ranke as the best.<sup>3</sup>

Guibert, abbot of Nogent, wrote the first portion of his *Gesta Dei per Francos* not later than 1108.<sup>4</sup> Sybel,<sup>5</sup> Hagenmeyer,<sup>6</sup> and Röhricht<sup>7</sup> state that he was present at Clermont.<sup>8</sup> Guibert knew Fulcher's *Historia* and used it for the later portions of his work, but he did not copy Fulcher's version of the speech. His report differs decidedly from those given by the others. He makes no mention of either address to the clergy.

William of Malmesbury, although a contemporary, did not write his version until thirty or more years after the Council.<sup>10</sup> It has been regarded as of little value. Hagenmeyer and Röhricht<sup>11</sup> state that it is based upon Fulcher's account. This is true for portions but not for the whole of William's version. He has some points that he could not have drawn from Fulcher. He says that his

to take the cross. The third speech was to the clergy (*cf.* Baldric and Robert), probably on the following day, the last day of the Council (*Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, ed. Privat, III. 480). It consisted of practical directions to insure the success of the undertaking.

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil*, III. 729 to end of chapter. The two speeches, however, are represented by Robert as continuous.

<sup>2</sup> Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2120.

<sup>3</sup> "Inter omnes autem in eodem concilio, nobis videntibus," in *Recueil*, IV. 15G. "Solutum est concilium, et nos unus quisque properantes rediimus ad propria," *ibid.*, 16D.

<sup>4</sup> *Weltgeschichte*, VIII. 82.

<sup>5</sup> See Thurot, in *Revue Historique*, pp. 104-111, and in *Recueil*, IV. xv-xx.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (2d ed.), p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> HE, p. 89; *Peter der Eremita*, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>9</sup> They cite no reference, and I have not been able to find any proof of his presence. Some passages in his work would indicate that he was not present: (1) He gives the date for the Council as 1097 and the thirty-seventh year of Philip's reign; of course, this error may have been due to a copyist. Bongars corrected it in his edition of Guibert. (2) He apologized for his ignorance of the name of the bishop of Puy, who was appointed papal legate at Clermont. "De nomine autem Podiensis episcopi diu haesi, . . . non enim in meo habebatur exemplari." Preface, *Recueil*, IV. 121. "Podiensis urbis episcopo (cujus nomen doleo, quia neque usquam repperi nec audiui)." Bk. II., ch. 5, *ibid.*, 140.

<sup>10</sup> Stubbs's preface to Vol. I., R. S., p. xliii.

<sup>11</sup> HE, p. 89; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 239. The latter, however, quotes William's own statement as to his sources.

aroused by such a step. Two days before, they had again voted to take up the discussion of some scheme or of the Brissot plan. Brissot now made a move which if successful would have checkmated those who wished to begin the inquiry anew without giving chief attention to his plan. On the thirtieth he moved that an address be sent to the National Assembly explaining that Paris had been obliged by circumstances to organize a provisional government, that a committee had been asked to submit a plan for a new municipality, a part of which had been accepted provisionally by the districts, and that the "240" were actually engaged upon a further examination of this plan. The address was also to ask that the Assembly authorize its constitutional committee to consider this plan in conference with a committee to be appointed by the "240" in order that the project finally adopted might meet the special requirements of the capital as well as conform to the general principles of municipal law sanctioned by the National Assembly.<sup>1</sup> The news of this motion spread rapidly through the districts. Several of those which had already signalized themselves by their attacks on the communal assembly regarded the motion as a scheme to deprive the districts of any influence upon the result of the constitutional discussions. Violent remonstrances were sent in before the deputies had had time to complete their debate. One district sent a deputation to the other fifty-nine asking that delegates be sent to the next public session of the "240", to "summon them in full assembly to keep to the letter of their powers and even to withdraw without delay to the archbishop's palace to fulfil this duty". After a long discussion Brissot's motion was lost, but the action taken involved the same principle of co-operation with the constitutional committee of the National Assembly; for a new commission of twenty-four, which was given the task of preparing the bases for the municipal constitution, was authorized to confer with the committee of the National Assembly as often as it saw fit. A sop was thrown to Cerberus by voting that as each article was completed it should be sent to the districts for approval.<sup>2</sup>

#### VIII.

The appointment, December 2, of a new committee upon a municipal constitution marked the close of another period in the

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, III, 82-83, and note 3, 88 *et seqq.*; cf. *Patriote français* (December 4), no. CXVIII., and *Révolutions de Paris* (November 28-December 5), no. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, III, 96-99. Lacroix analyzes the action of the districts in notes 1, 2, and 3, pp. 103 *et seqq.* The chairman of the new committee was the Marquis de Condorcet. Brissot's motion is regarded by Lacroix as accounting for the distrust with which even the Condorcet committee was regarded by the districts.

## THE TRAVELS OF JONATHAN CARVER

It may be questioned whether any book of American authorship in the eighteenth century achieved a more instant or a more widespread international reputation than the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver. Published in London in 1778, at the turning-point in the American Revolution, it went into a second edition the next year and at the same time another edition was issued in Dublin. A German translation was published in 1780, and a French one in 1784, of which there were two issues. In 1796 it was translated into Dutch. In addition there were subsequent reissues in London and Edinburgh and American reprints at Philadelphia, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Boston, Walpole, New Hampshire, and New York. Pilling in his *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* describes sixteen editions and enumerates twenty-three. The book was not only widely popular, but it took high rank among descriptions of Indian life. In literary merit it is so far above the general level of American writing in that period that the late Moses Coit Tyler found it difficult to restrain his enthusiasm. He ascribes to it "unsurpassed value" for its "true and precise information concerning the 'manners, customs, religion, and language of the Indians' ". "Besides its worth for instruction, is its worth for delight; we have no other 'Indian book' more captivating than this. Here is the charm of a sincere, powerful, and gentle personality—the charm of novel and significant facts, of noble ideas, of humane sentiments, all uttered in English well-ordered and pure."<sup>1</sup> Surely a veritable oasis in the arid wastes of our literature in the Revolutionary period. But neither popular interest nor the enthusiasm of the literary historian reveals all the contribution of this unlettered Connecticut shoemaker and soldier to modern literature. From Carver's *Travels* Chateaubriand drew not a few of the descriptions of Indian customs for his fascinating and poetic *Voyage en Amérique*.<sup>2</sup> From the same source Schiller derived the language and thought for his "Nadowessiers Todtenlied", familiar to English readers through Bulwer-Lytton's translation as "The Indian Death-Dirge".

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, I. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Joseph Bédier, *Études Critiques* (Paris, 1903), the second part of his study, "Chateaubriand en Amérique: Vérité et Fiction, ou Les Sources," 194-214.



In the pages of Carver's *Travels* the youthful Bryant probably first met with the sonorous name which the traveller applied to the great river of the unexplored Pacific Northwest, and which the poet used so effectively in "Thanatopsis":

the continuous woods  
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,  
Save his own dashings.

Made familiar by the poem, this name, whose origin has baffled modern investigation, was soon transferred from the river to the territory through which it flowed.<sup>1</sup>

It is from Carver again that have been derived the ordinary accounts of the massacre of Fort William Henry in 1757, and the way in which Major Gladwin in Detroit was forewarned of the treacherous attack to be made upon him.<sup>2</sup> To the student of western exploration Carver appeals as the first traveller of English speech to explore any part of the interior west of the Mississippi River, and the *Travels* are therefore of primary interest to all interested in the early history of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Lake Superior region. A work so famous in the literature of travel and of such presumable importance among the early accounts of the Northwest may appropriately be subjected to a critical examination with a view to determine, if possible, its real value as an original work.<sup>3</sup>

The author of the *Travels* is described on the title-page of the first edition as "J. Carver, Esq., Captain of a Company of Provincial Troops during the late war with France". To the third edition, 1781, is prefixed "Some account of the Author", which would be supposed to have been derived from Carver himself. It reads as follows:

Jonathan Carver, the author of the following work, was grandson of William Joseph Carver, of Wigan in Lancashire, who was a captain

<sup>1</sup> The first definite proposal to name the region Oregon was made by John Floyd of Virginia in his bill for the occupation of the Columbia River country presented in the House of Representatives, January 18, 1822: "When the population of the settlement amounts to two thousand souls, all that portion of the territory of the United States north of the 42d degree of latitude, and west of the Rocky Mountains, is to constitute a territory of the United States, under the name of the Territory of Origion [sic]." *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXI. 350.

<sup>2</sup> On this account, which seems not to be authentic, see Charles Moore, *The Northwest under Three Flags* (New York, 1900), 113 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> I did not get access to the careful paper by John Goadby Gregory on *Jonathan Carver: His Travels in the Northwest in 1766-8* (Parkman Club Publications No. 5, Milwaukee, 1896) until after this paper was completed in its original form. I am indebted to Mr. Gregory's paper for two or three references which have been very serviceable in expanding it.

in the army under king William, and served in Ireland with such distinguished reputation, that that prince was pleased to reward him with the government of Connecticut in New-England, which appears to have been the first appointment to that station by the crown. Our author was born, anno 1732, at Stillwater, in the province of Connecticut, since rendered famous by the surrender of the army under General Burgoyne; his father, who resided at this place, and acted as a justice of the peace, died, when he was only fifteen years of age. He had received the rudiments of as liberal an education as could be procured in that neighbourhood, and, being designed for the practice of medicine, he was soon after his father's death placed with a gentleman of that profession in Elizabeth Town, in the same province. A profession that requires not only a close and regular attention, but likewise a steady perseverance, was not suited to that spirit of bold enterprize and adventure, which seemed to be the ruling passion of our author, who, at the age of eighteen, purchased an ensigncy in the Connecticut regiment, in which, as I have been informed, he acquired so much reputation, as to obtain the command of a company. Of this event, however, I have not found the least mention among his papers, nor, indeed, of any other important circumstance of his life till the year 1757.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly not an improbable biography of the author for English readers, but yet one which contains many perplexities for the American student until he discovers that it is fictitious! Instead of being the grandson of a distinguished English military officer, the first royal governor of Connecticut, and of having been born in Stillwater, Connecticut, where General Burgoyne surrendered, and instead of studying medicine at Elizabeth Town, Connecticut, and later purchasing an ensigncy in the Connecticut regiment, Jonathan Carver's extraction and early life were much more ordinary and even prosaic.<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to the Reverend Samuel Peters, the spicy and spiteful historian of Connecticut, for a more satisfactory clue to the birthplace of Jonathan Carver, and to an equally imaginary descent. In a deposition made in 1824 to forward the cause of the famous Carver claim in Congress Dr. Peters testified that he had known Carver since 1754. "He was born in Canterbury, in the colony of Connecticut, near where I was born; he is great grandson of JOHN CARVER, the first English governor that settled at Plymouth, in New England, A. D. 1620."<sup>3</sup>

After premising that Governor Carver left no male issue, we may trace briefly the career of Jonathan Carver of Canterbury, who

<sup>1</sup> *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years. 1766, 1767, and 1768.* By J. Carver, Esq., etc. (London, 1781), 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> There is no Stillwater in Connecticut, and Stillwater, New York, was not settled until 1750. There is no Elizabeth Town in Connecticut. As for the royal governor and the Connecticut regiment, comment is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Documents appended to article by D. S. Durrie on "Captain Jonathan Carver, and 'Carver's Grant'". *Collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society*, VI. 268.

appears to be the original of the traveller. Jonathan Carver of Canterbury, the date of whose birth is not known, married in that town Abigail Robbins in 1746. In 1753 he moved to Northfield, Massachusetts, where he is credited with having made twenty pairs of shoes for Moses Field in 1754. In the winter of 1756-1757 Major John Burk, of Northfield, raised a company of rangers, in the list of which occurs the name of Jonathan Carver, but with no place of residence recorded. The names of the members of Burk's company captured at Fort William Henry in 1757 have been preserved, but Carver is not included.<sup>1</sup> Of this Jonathan Carver and his wife seven children were born, the eldest in 1747 and the youngest in 1762. One son, Rufus Carver, was a Revolutionary soldier and died after 1837 in Sodus, New York. There are living descendants of the daughter Abigail, who married Joshua Goss in 1774. Nothing further in regard to the military career of this Jonathan Carver can be said with positiveness. That this Jonathan Carver is the traveller seems well established. Apparently he did nothing for and had nothing to do with his family after 1763, and in England he married again and had two children. His first wife lived until 1802. The Reverend Dr. Peters was no doubt kept in ignorance of that fact, for he avers in the deposition above mentioned that Carver "supported a brave character during that war, and ever after a moral character."

Turning now to the "Introduction" to the *Travels*, we are informed that after the treaty of peace in 1763 the author formed the project of exploring "the most unknown parts" of the territory acquired by England and particularly of familiarizing himself with "the Manners, Customs, Languages, Soil, and natural Productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi" in order to "ascertain the Breadth of that vast continent", and, having done so, to establish a trading-post on the northwest Pacific coast. Such a post would "facilitate the discovery of a Northwest Passage" and "open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies."<sup>2</sup>

The largeness of these ideas in 1763 is apparent and at first sight marks Captain Carver as a sort of forerunner of Jefferson and of Lewis and Clark. They were, however, substantially the plans of the French government in 1717, and the historian and explorer

<sup>1</sup>J. H. Temple and G. Sheldon, *History of Northfield, Massachusetts* (Albany, 1875), 300, 418; John Montague Smith, *History of Sunderland, Massachusetts* (Greenfield, Mass., 1899), 283. I am indebted for these references to Judge Daniel W. Bond of Boston.

<sup>2</sup>Carver's *Travels* (1781), i-vi, *passim*.

Charlevoix was commissioned to go to America and make the necessary preliminary studies and report.<sup>1</sup> The project, in the end, proved impracticable, and all that Carver was able to accomplish was a journey from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi by the Fox and Wisconsin River route, a voyage up the Saint Peter's or Minnesota River, and, upon his return, the exploration of northern Wisconsin and the north shore of Lake Superior. In England Carver vainly endeavored to enlist the Board of Trade in his plans for northwestern exploration. He went to England in 1769 carrying a letter of introduction from Samuel Cooper of Boston to Benjamin Franklin, who thanked his correspondent "for giving me the opportunity of being acquainted with so great a traveller".<sup>2</sup> After many vicissitudes he died January 31, 1780. The first edition of his *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* was published in 1778, and inscribed to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society. The work proper consists of an "Introduction," "A Journal of the Travels" comprising 164 pages, and a treatise "Of the Origin, Manners, Customs, Religion, and Language of the Indians" comprising 346 pages, with a short geographical appendix. It is this second and larger part, constituting a fairly complete natural history of the upper Mississippi valley, that has given Carver's *Travels* its position in the literature of primitive America. It is also this second part that invites a more detailed critical examination than it has yet received. My attention was first called to the matter some years ago when I came upon the following significant comment upon Carver and the *Travels* in a letter which Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, at that time Auditor of the Treasury of the United States, wrote in 1792 to the geographer Jedediah Morse. Wolcott remarks:

In describing the unsettled northern regions, I perceive Carver is cited as an authority. I know not whom you can take for a guide, more consistently with the present state of public opinion, and yet I suspect but little credit is due to the book published in his name. By information which I have obtained respecting Carver, I am satisfied that his book was compiled under very inauspicious circumstances. He doubtless resided a number of years in the western country, but was an ignorant man, utterly incapable of writing such a book. When in England he was in needy circumstances, and he applied to the government, stating that he had made important discoveries, for which he was entitled to receive compensation. His notes were inspected by a board, who pronounced them to be unimportant. A sum of money was however given him, more in charity to relieve his wants than as a reward for important

<sup>1</sup> Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (ed. 1897), II. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow ed.), IV. 239.

services. When his money was expended he renewed his application, but was refused. He then abused the administration for having obtained of him his work, without having paid a proper compensation. To silence his clamor, the notes which had been deposited with the officers of the government were restored, which were soon after pawned by Carver with a bookseller. There is reason to suspect, that the book styled *Carver's Travels*, is a mere compilation from other books and common reports, supported by some new remarks which Carver may possibly have made. It will therefore in my judgment be most safe for the future reputation of your book, that but little credit be given to *Carver's Travels*, except where his accounts are supported by some collateral authority.<sup>1</sup>

The source of Wolcott's information I am unable to give. It may possibly have come through his Connecticut friends and correspondents Joel Barlow and John Trumbull, who had been in London on different occasions before 1792. Noteworthy in any case is Wolcott's positive assertion that Carver was "an ignorant man, utterly incapable of writing such a book."

A year or two later, in reading Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, I ran across a more detailed and explicit impeachment of *Carver's Travels*. Greenhow declared that the longer second part, on the Indians, animals, and plants, etc.,

is extracted almost entirely, and, in many parts, *verbatim*, from the French journals and histories. The book was written, or rather made up, at London, at the suggestion of Dr. Lettsom and other gentlemen, and printed for the purpose of relieving the wants of the author, who, however, died there, in misery, in 1780, at the age of 48.<sup>2</sup>

Whether this positive assertion as to the origin of Carver's book rests upon definite information or is a deduction from internal evidence, I do not know, but Greenhow's convictions were positive. In his text he refers (pp. 144-145) to the vagueness of Carver's descriptions of places, peoples, and things, and to his "many and glaring plagiarisms" from authors he disparages. To justify this language Greenhow added the following résumé in a foot-note:

In proof that no injustice is here done to Carver's memory, read his magisterial and contemptuous remarks on the works of Hennepin, Lahontan, and Charlevoix, in the first chapter of his account of the origin, manners, etc., of the Indians; and then compare his chapters describing, as from personal observation, the ceremonies of marriage, burial, hunting, and others, of the natives of the Upper Mississippi countries, with those of Lahontan, showing the conduct of the Iroquois, of Canada, on similar occasions, by which it will be seen that *Carver has simply translated from Lahontan the whole of the accounts, even to the speeches of*

<sup>1</sup> George Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams* (New York, 1846), I. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California*, etc. (Boston, 1844), 142, note.

*the chiefs.* Carver's chapter on the origin of the Indians is merely an abridgment from Charlevoix's "*Dissertation*" on the same subject. His descriptions of the language, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi regions, are entirely at variance with those of the same tribes at the present day, as clearly shown by the observations of Pike, Long, and other persons of unquestionable character, who have since visited that part of America. Keating, in his interesting narrative of Long's expedition in 1823, expresses his belief that Carver "ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, that he saw the St. Peter, and that he may have entered it; but, had he resided five months in the country, and become acquainted with the language of the people, he would not have applied to them the name of *Naudowessies*, and omitted to call them the *Dacota Indians*, as they style themselves."

In regard to Keating's *Narrative* of Long's second expedition it may be added that in it the indebtedness of Carver's *Travels* to Lahontan was brought to public notice in 1824.<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest published impeachment of the originality of the *Travels* that I have met with. More specific were the charges noted by Henry R. Schoolcraft in his "Journal" under the date of April 9, 1823, upon completing a careful perusal of Hennepin, La Hontan, and Carver, undertaken when he expected to be selected to head the expedition to explore the St. Peter's River which was conducted by Long. Schoolcraft writes:

Carver, who went from Boston to the Mississippi in the latter part of the 18th century, is not an author to glean much from. I, however, re-perused his volume carefully, and extracted notes. Some of the stories inserted in his work have thrown an air of discredit over it, and caused the whole work to be regarded in rather an apocryphal light. I think there is internal evidence enough in his narrative to prove that he visited the chief portions of country described. But he probably neglected to keep diurnal notes. When in London, starvation stared him in the face. Those in office to whom he represented his plans probably listened to him awhile, and afterwards lost sight of, or neglected him. He naturally fell into the hands of the booksellers, who deemed him a good subject to get a book from. But his original journal did not probably afford matter enough, in point of bulk. In this exigency, the old French and English authors appear to have been drawn upon; and probably their works contributed by far the larger part of the volume after the 114th page (Philadelphia ed. 1796), which concludes the "Journal." I think it questionable whether some literary hack was not employed, by the booksellers, to draw up the part of the work "On the origin, manners, customs, religion, and language of the Indians." Considerable portions of the matter are nearly verbatim in the language of Charlevoix, La Hontan, and other authors of previous date. The "vocabulary of Chippewa," so far as it is Chippewa at all, has the

<sup>1</sup> William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc., etc., . . . under the command of Stephen H. Long* (Philadelphia, 2 vols., 1824), I. 323-324.

French or a mixed orthography, which it is not probable that an Englishman or an American would, *de novo*, employ.<sup>1</sup>

It is an interesting illustration of the elusiveness of much important historical information that not one of these four destructive criticisms of Carver's *Travels* ever caught Professor Tyler's eye during his many years of reading in American literature, and that not one of them is referred to in any of the articles in the many works of reference that I have consulted on Carver. Yet it is obvious that, if Greenhow's assertions are sustained, Carver's *Travels*, whatever their literary charm, must cease to be considered an original work.

That Carver's first chapter, on the "Origin" of the Indians, is merely an abridgment of Charlevoix's "Preliminary Discourse on the Origin of the Americans", with some additions from James Adair's *The History of the American Indians*, will not be disputed by any one who compares them. As this chapter, however, is a summary of scholarly opinion, it might be urged that the most to be said is that if Carver wrote it he was too careless of the rights of literary property. But if Carver borrows his learning from Charlevoix, he was not less dependent upon him and upon La Hontan for his observations of Indian life, although he asserts with some parade:

I am able to give a more just account of the customs and manners of the Indians, in their ancient purity, than any that has been hitherto published. I have made observations on thirty nations, and though most of these have differed in their languages, there has appeared a great similarity in their manners, and from these have I endeavoured to extract the following remarks.<sup>2</sup>

These, he further notes, are such particulars as he "thought most worthy of notice, and which interfere as little as possible with the accounts given by other writers".<sup>3</sup> There is little intimation here that the writer had Charlevoix's *Journal* and La Hontan's *New Voyages to North-America*, not to say other works, almost continually on the table, not indeed to enable him to avoid repetition, but to supply many details of intimate observation. For example, our author writes of the Indians: "their eyes are large and black, and their hair of the same hue, but very rarely is it curled; they have good teeth, and their breath is as sweet as the air they draw in."<sup>4</sup> La Hontan wrote: "Their Eyes are large and black as well as their

<sup>1</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1851), 168-169.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels* (1781), 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

Hair; their Teeth are white like Ivory; and the Breath that springs from their Mouth in Expiration, is as pure as the Air that they suck in in Inspiration."<sup>1</sup>

In regard to Indian composure Carver says:

If you tell an Indian that his children have greatly signalized themselves against an enemy, have taken many scalps, and brought home many prisoners, . . . his answer generally is, "It is well," and he makes very little further enquiry about it . . . if you inform him that his children are slain or taken prisoners, he makes no complaints, he only replies, "It does not signify;" and probably, for some time at least, asks not how it happened.<sup>2</sup>

La Hontan wrote:

If you tell a Father of a Family that his Children have signalized themselves against the Enemy, and have took several Slaves, his Answer is short, *That's Good*, without any farther Enquiry. If you tell him his Children are slain, he'll say immediately, *That signifies nought*, without asking how it happen'd!<sup>3</sup>

Almost the whole of chapter XII. in Carver, on Indian marriage ceremonies, is derived from La Hontan's chapter on "The Amours and Marriages of the Savages."

Perhaps the most notable single passage in Carver's *Travels* is the funeral speech to the corpse of the Indian warrior, made famous by Schiller in what Goethe held to be one of his finest creations, the "Nadowessiers Todtenlied." This address is merely a literary elaboration of the specimen funeral address given by La Hontan.<sup>4</sup>

If we turn to the chapter on the practice of war, the obligations to Charlevoix are not less considerable. The war speech of the chief, the ceremony with the wampum belt, and the account of the care of the prisoners are drawn from his narrative.<sup>5</sup>

In illustration, the two accounts of the Indian war march are here presented in parallel columns:

CHARLEVOIX.

They pitch their camp long before sun-set, and commonly leave in the front of it a large space, inclosed with a pallisade, or rather a kind of lattice-work, on which are placed their manitous,

CARVER.

They always pitch their tents long before sun-set; and being naturally presumptuous take very little care to guard against a surprise. They place great confidence in their Manitous, or hous-

<sup>1</sup> La Hontan, *New Voyages to North-America* (London, 1735), II. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 240.

<sup>3</sup> La Hontan, *New Voyages*, II. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 399-400; La Hontan, *New Voyages*, II. 53-54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Carver's *Travels*, 299-300 and 302-303, with Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America* (London, 1761), I. 329 and 331. Also Carver's *Travels*, 330-331, with Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 362-363.



turned towards that side on which their rout lies. They invoke them for the space of an hour, and the same thing is done every morning before they set out. This being done, they imagine they have nothing to fear, being persuaded that the genii take upon themselves the office of centinels, and the whole army sleeps securely under their safeguard. No experience is able to undeceive these barbarians, or to draw them out of their presumptuous confidence.<sup>1</sup>

hold gods, which they always carry with them; and being persuaded that they take upon them the office of centinels, they sleep very securely under their protection.<sup>2</sup>

Even the description of Indian acuteness in following a trail, a subject which Carver might well have been able to describe in his own language, is taken word for word from the English version of Charlevoix.

#### CHARLEVOIX.

On the smoothest grass, or the hardest earth, even on the very stones, they will discover the traces of an enemy, and by their shape and figure of the footsteps, and the distance between their prints, they will, it is said, distinguish not only different nations, but also tell whether they were men or women who have gone that way.

#### CARVER.

On the smoothest grass, on the hardest earth, and even on the very stones, will they discover the traces of an enemy, and by the shape of the footsteps, and the distance between the prints, distinguish not only whether it is a man or woman who has passed that way, but even the nation to which they belong.

Both writers are conscious that such extraordinary acuteness will seem incredible. Charlevoix remarks in support of his statement: "I was long of opinion that what I had been told of them was much exaggerated, but the uniform voices of all who have lived and conversed much with Indians, leave me no room to question the truth of them." The writer of Carver's *Travels*, reassured no doubt, follows his account with the comment: "However incredible this might appear, yet, from the many proofs I received whilst among them of their amazing sagacity in this point, I see no reason to discredit even these extraordinary exertions of it."<sup>3</sup>

So experienced a traveller as Carver might have ventured to describe the Indian sledge, the familiar toboggan, in words of his own, but instead the description is copied from Charlevoix.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 308-309.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 361; Carver's *Travels*, 327-328.

CHARLEVOIX.

Their sledges . . . are two small and very thin boards half a foot broad each, and six or seven long. The fore part is somewhat raised, and the sides bordered with small bands. . . . Let these carriages be ever so much loaded, an Indian draws it without difficulty, by means of a long thong or strap, which is pass'd round his breast, and is called a collar.<sup>1</sup>

CARVER.

Their sledges consist of two small thin boards about a foot wide when joined, and near six feet long. The fore part is turned up, and the sides are bordered with small bands. The Indians draw these carriages with great ease, be they ever so much loaded, by means of a string which passes round the breast.<sup>2</sup>

A veteran of the French and Indian war and a witness of the Fort William Henry massacre must have seen the operation of scalping many times, yet the author of Carver's *Travels* would seem to have been somewhat put to it to give an exact description of the process. He was no doubt relieved to find the following in James Adair's *History of the American Indians*:

This honourable service is thus performed—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dexterous scoops, soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes.<sup>3</sup>

The account in Carver's *Travels* reads:

At this business they are exceedingly expert. They seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the skin that covers the top of the head, they draw out their scalping knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpose, and with a few dextrous strokes take off the part that is termed the scalp. They are so expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required scarcely exceeds a minute.<sup>4</sup>

The real Carver must have seen the Indian game of lacrosse, and if capable of writing the *Travels* would have been able to describe the game; the case would seem to have been different with the author of the *Travels*, for his description of the game is copied from Adair.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 330–331.

<sup>3</sup> James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), 387–388.

<sup>4</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 328–329. Chateaubriand copied Carver's description of scalping, and lent an extra touch of realism by the added detail that the scalper deftly took off the top of the skull, leaving the brain bare, but untouched by the knife! See Bédier, *Études Critiques*, 248; Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique* (édition Pourrat, Paris, 1836), 218.

## ADAIR.

The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game. . . . The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews.—The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. . . . They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; etc.<sup>1</sup>

## CARVER.

As I have before observed, the Indians are greatly addicted to gaming, and will even stake, and lose with composure, all the valuables they are possessed of . . . but the principal and most esteemed among them is that of the ball. . . . The balls they use . . . are formed of a piece of deer-skin; which being moistened to render it supple, is stuffed hard with the hair of the same creature, and sewed with its sinews. The ball-sticks are about three feet long, at the end of which there is fixed a kind of racket, resembling the palm of the hand, and fashioned of thongs cut from a deer-skin. . . . They are so exceeding dextrous in this manly exercise, that the ball is usually kept flying in different directions by the force of the rackets, without touching the ground during the whole contention; for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. They run with amazing velocity in pursuit of each other. Etc.<sup>2</sup>

If we turn from the manners and customs of the Indians to the animals and products of Jonathan Carver's native land, we find the same disposition to rely upon his French predecessors. The buffalo, of which he must have seen in his residence among the Sioux more than Charlevoix ever did, is described in Charlevoix's words:

## CHARLEVOIX.

The buffalo of Canada is larger than ours; his horns are short, black, and low; there is a great rough beard under the muzzle, and another tuft on the crown of the head, which falling over the eyes, give him a hideous aspect. He has on the back, a hunch or swelling, which begins over his haunches, encreasing always as it approaches his shoulders. Etc.<sup>3</sup>

## CARVER.

This beast, of which there are amazing numbers in these parts, is larger than an ox, has short black horns, with a large beard under his chin, and his head is so full of hair, that it falls over his eyes, and gives him a frightful look. There is a bunch on his back which begins at the haunches, and increasing gradually to the shoulders, reaches on to the neck. Etc.

<sup>1</sup> Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 399-400.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 363-365.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 445-446.

among the Naudowessies, and that he acquired their language perfectly. We are inclined to doubt this; we believe that he ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, that he saw the St. Peter, and that he may even perhaps have entered it; but had he resided five months in the country, and become acquainted with their language, it is not probable that he would have uniformly applied to them the term of Naudowessies, and omitted calling them the Dakota Indians, as they style themselves. . . . In his account of the river St. Peter, Carver attributes to it a breadth of nearly one hundred yards for two hundred miles, whereas at the distance of one hundred and thirty miles it was but seventy yards wide, and was found to be rapidly diminishing in size. He also ascribes to it "a great depth," which is not the case at any distance above its mouth.

. . . It is scarcely possible that if Carver had ascended the St. Peter two hundred miles, he would have reported without contradicting them, the exaggerated accounts of the great extent of this river, or attributed to it a rise near the Shining, (Rocky,) Mountains; but besides these inaccuracies, some of which may perhaps be partly accounted for by his having seen the river at a time when it was unusually high, and when a mere brook may have been so much swollen as to be mistaken for a small branch of the river, yet we cannot place any confidence in him on account of the many misrepresentations contained in his work. Almost all that he relates as peculiar to the Naudowessies, is found to apply to the Sauks, or some other nation of Algonquin origin. Thus on reading to Renville, Dickson, (the son of the late Colonel Dickson,) and to several other of the half-Indian interpreters whom we saw on the St. Peter, that part of chapter 12th of his work, in which he relates that "the Naudowessies have a singular method of celebrating their marriages which seems to bear no resemblance to those made use of by any other nations that he passed through," these men all exclaimed that it was fabulous, that such a practice had never prevailed among any of the Dacotas, though they believed it to be in use with some of the Algonquin tribes. The practice of having a *totem* or family distinction, exists, as we have already stated, among the Sauks, etc. but it is quite unknown to the Sioux, to whom it is attributed by this writer. It is, we believe, clearly proved at present, that the land which he claimed by virtue of a grant from the Indians, was never conveyed to him by them. . . . When chapter 5th of Carver's work [on Indian government] was read to Renville and the other men, they denied the truth of its contents; but immediately recollected the designs of a snake and a tortoise, which were affixed to the treaty, no doubt to make it tally with the account of their family distinctions contained in that chapter of his travels. His vocabulary appears certainly to have been taken from the Dakota language; it may have been obtained from the Indians along the banks of the Mississippi, but was more probably copied from some former traveller, for a reference to old works will prove that Carver derived much of his information from them, though no credit is given to their authors for it.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from the evidence here presented that the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver can no longer be ranked as an authentic record of the observations of the supposed author. Schoolcraft's con-

<sup>1</sup> Keating, *Long's Expedition*, I. 323-325.

jectures as to the origin of the book, supported as they are by Wolcott's early testimony, probably give us the substantial facts. I may venture the conjecture that in its present form the *Travels* are the work of the editor, Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, who was a voluminous and facile writer and the charitable friend of Carver. A comparison of the style of the *Travels* with Dr. Lettsom's other works might settle the question, but they have not been accessible to me. This conjecture is in some measure supported by the following from Nichols's contemporary sketch of Lettsom:

To the publications before mentioned may be added, the *Travels* of the unfortunate Captain Carver, of which Dr. Lettsom was not only the Editor, and wrote the Life, but was at the expence of the publication, the benefits of which he appropriated to the amiable afflicted widow and fatherless offspring of that brave Officer; supplying the forlorn family, besides this, with the means of every comfort that humanity and friendship could administer, not only till the profits of the book could come round, but as long after as was necessary to their accommodation.<sup>1</sup>

If my conjecture should be shown to be a fact, we should have a curious instance of vicarious plagiarism producing a greater literary reputation for the supposed author than the real author acquired by his other works or was attained by any of the works from which he drew his material. In any case, Carver's *Travels* must now take its place in literary history beside Benzoni's *History of the New World* and *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*.<sup>2</sup>

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

<sup>1</sup> John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1817), II. 680.

<sup>2</sup> On Benzoni's *History of the New World*, cf. Marco Allegri's critique in the *Raccolta Colombiana* (Rome, 1892-1896), pt. 5, vol. 3, 137-154, summarized by the writer in Larned, *Literature of American History*, no. 763. On Sir John Mandeville, the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives the essentials.

## THE COLONIZATION OF THE WEST, 1820-1830

THE rise of the new West<sup>1</sup> was the most significant fact in American history in the years immediately following the War of 1812. Ever since the beginnings of settlement on the Atlantic coast a frontier of settlement had advanced, cutting into the forest, pushing back the Indian, and steadily widening the area of settlement and civilization in its rear.<sup>2</sup> There had been a West even in early colonial days; but then it lay close to the coast. By the middle of the eighteenth century the West was to be found beyond tide-water, passing toward the Allegheny mountains. When this barrier was crossed and the lands on the other side of the mountains were won, in the days of the Revolution, a new and greater West, more influential on the nation's destiny, was created. The men of the "Western Waters" or the "Western World", as they loved to call themselves, developed under conditions of separation from the older settlements and from Europe. The lands, practically free, in this vast area not only attracted the settler, but furnished opportunity for all men to hew out their own careers. The wilderness ever opened a gate of escape to the poor, the discontented, and the oppressed. If social conditions tended to crystallize in the East, beyond the Alleghenies there was freedom. Grappling with new problems, under these conditions, the society that spread into this region developed inventiveness and resourcefulness; the restraints of custom were broken, and new activities, new lines of growth, new institutions were produced. Mr. Bryce has well declared<sup>3</sup> that "the West is the American part of America. . . . What Europe is to England is to the rest of Europe, what America is to the Western States and Territories are to the Atlantic States. . . . The American spirit—the traits that have come to be most characteristic—was developed in the new

is with conditions explanatory of western action, not with other view, see the author's *Rise of the New West*, in the series (in press).

r, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," in the *Yearbook of the American Historical Association for 1893*, pp. 199-227, *Yearbook of National Herbart Society*; *id.*, "Problem of the Atlantic Monthly, LXXVIII. 289.

*Commonwealth* (ed. 1895), II. 830.

commonwealths that sprang into life beyond the seaboard. In these new western lands Americans achieved a boldness of conception of the country's destiny, and democracy. The ideal of the West was its emphasis upon the worth and possibilities of the common man, its belief in the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature, under conditions of social mobility. Western democracy was no theorist's dream. It came, stark and strong and full of life, from the American forest.<sup>1</sup>

The time had now come when this section was to make itself felt as a dominant force in American life. Already it had shown its influence upon the older sections. By its competition, by its attractions for settlers, it reacted on the East and gave added impulse to the democratic movement in New England and New York. The struggle of Baltimore, New York City, and Philadelphia for the rising commerce of the interior was a potent factor in the development of the Middle Region. In the South the spread of the cotton-plant and the new form which slavery took were phases of the westward movement of the plantation. The discontent of the Old South is explained by the migration of her citizens to the West and by the competition of her colonists in the lands beyond the Alleghenies. The future of the South lay in its affiliation to the Cotton Kingdom of the lower states which were rising on the plains of the Gulf of Mexico.

Rightly to understand the power which the new West was to exert upon the economic and political life of the nation in the years between 1820 and 1830, it is necessary to consider somewhat fully the statistics of growth in western population and industry.

The western states ranked with the Middle Region and the South in respect to population. Between 1812 and 1821 six new western commonwealths were added to the Union: Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). By 1830, the trans-Allegheny aggregate population of over 3,600,000, represented nearly a million and half in the decade. The percentages of increase in these new communities tell a striking story. The older sisters of the western group, like Kentucky, with twenty per cent., Louisiana, with forty-one, and Tennessee and Ohio, with sixty-one, showed a sharp contrast with the seaboard states outside of Georgia and Maine. But for the newer communities the percentages of gain are still more significant. The figures are as follows: Indiana, 133 per cent., Illinois, 185, Alabama, 142, and

<sup>1</sup> F. J. Turner, "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI. 83; *id.*, "The Middle West," *International Monthly*, IV. 794.

Mississippi, 81. Ohio, which, hardly more than a generation before, was "fresh, untouched, unbounded, magnificent wilderness",<sup>1</sup> now had a population of nearly a million, surpassing the combined population of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

A new section had arisen and was growing at such a rate that a description of it in any single year would be falsified before it could be published. Nor is the whole strength of the western element revealed by these figures for the western states. In order to estimate the weight of the western population in 1830, we must add six hundred thousand souls in the western half of New York, three hundred thousand in the interior counties of Pennsylvania, and over two hundred thousand in the trans-Allegheny counties of Virginia, more than a million, making an aggregate of 4,600,000. Fully to reckon the forces of backwoods democracy, moreover, we should include a large fraction of the interior population of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, North Carolina, and Georgia, and northern New York. All of these regions were to be influenced by the ideals of democratic rule which were springing up in the Mississippi valley.

In voting power the western states were even more important than the figures for population indicate. Not to speak of the representatives from the interior counties of the older states, who were also likely to be responsive to Western measures, the West itself had, under the apportionment of 1822, forty-seven out of the two hundred and thirteen members of the House of Representatives, while in the Senate its representation was eighteen out of forty-eight—more than that of any other section. Clearly, here was a region to be reckoned with. Its economic interests, its ideals, and its political leaders were certain to have a powerful, if not a controlling, voice in the councils of the nation.

At the close of the War of 1812 the West had much homogeneity. Parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio had been settled so many years that they no longer presented typical western conditions; but, for the most part, the West then was occupied by pioneer farmers, engaged in raising stock for a living, with but a small surplus to sell for a market. By the close of the period, however, differentiation between the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi valley had become clearly marked. The Northwest was passing to a land of farmers and town-builders, anxious for their grain and cattle; while the Southwest was becoming increasingly a cotton-raising section, swayed by the same

<sup>1</sup> See Webster's picture of Ohio in 1794, in his debate on Foot's Resolution, January 20, 1830, in his *Writings and Speeches*, V, 252.



impulses in respect to staple exports as those which governed the southern seaboard. Economically, the northern portion of the valley tended to connect itself with the Middle Region, while the southern portion came into increasingly intimate connection with the South. Nevertheless, it would be a radical mistake not to deal with the West as a separate region. With all these differences within itself, the West had a fundamental unity in its social structure and its democratic ideals, and at times its separate existence was revealed in no uncertain way.

The history of the occupation of the Mississippi valley is the history of the colonization of a region far surpassing in area the territory of the old thirteen states. The explanation of this movement into the interior is a simple one. It was, indeed, but the continuation of the advance of the frontier which had begun in the earliest days of American colonization. The existence of a great body of land, offered at so low a price as to be practically free, inevitably drew population toward the West. When wild lands sold for two dollars an acre, and, indeed, could be occupied by squatters almost without molestation, it was certain that settlers would seek them instead of paying twenty to fifty dollars an acre for farms that lay not much farther to the east—particularly when the western lands were more fertile. The introduction of the steamboat on the western waters in 1811, moreover, had revolutionized transportation conditions in the West.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the period of which we are treating, steamers were ascending the Mississippi and the Missouri, as well as the Ohio and its tributaries. By 1820 there were sixty steamboats on the Mississippi and Ohio; ten years later there were over two hundred and thirty. This explains some of the extension of settlement, for it was now possible to carry supplies up the river-courses and to secure a better outlet for agricultural products. Between the close of the War of 1812 and 1830, also, the Indian title was extinguished to vast regions in the West. Half Michigan was opened to settlement; the northwestern quarter of Ohio was freed; in Indiana and Illinois (more than half of which had been Indian country prior to 1816) all but a comparatively small region of undesired prairie lands south of Lake Michigan was gained; almost the whole state of Missouri was freed from Indian title; and, in the Gulf Region, at the close of the war

<sup>1</sup> James Flint, *Letters*, 260; Monette, in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, VII. 503; Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 236, 247; Lloyd, *Steamboat Disasters* (1853), 32, 40-45; Preble, *Steam Navigation*, 64; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV. 402; Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri*, ch. ix.

the Indians held but two isolated islands of territory, in western Georgia and eastern Alabama and in northern and central Mississippi. These ceded regions were the fruit of the victories of William Henry Harrison in the Northwest, and of Andrew Jackson in the Gulf Region.<sup>1</sup> They were, in effect, conquered provinces, now open to colonization.

The maps of the United States census, giving the distribution of population in 1810, 1820, and 1830,<sup>2</sup> exhibit clearly the effects of the defeat of the Indians, and show the areas that were occupied in these years. In 1810 settlement beyond the mountains was almost limited to a zone along the Ohio River and its tributaries, the Cumberland and the Tennessee. North of the Ohio, in the state of that name, settlement extended along half the southern shore of Lake Erie, and was pushing toward the central portion of the state. This population also crossed to the eastern edge of Indiana, and a line of pioneers had spread up the Wabash to the French village at Vincennes. With these exceptions, the northern bank of the Ohio was hardly touched by settlement. Illinois was also unoccupied, save where the settlers had come to the American Bottoms, in the vicinity of the former French settlements across from St. Louis. Population also spread west of the Mississippi, with St. Louis as its nucleus; and at Detroit there was the ancient French town. The rest of the Northwest was practically Indian country. In the Southwest, the vicinity of Mobile showed sparse settlement, chiefly survivals of the Spanish and English occupation; and, along the fluvial lands of the eastern bank of the lower Mississippi, in the Natchez region, as well as in the old province of Louisiana, there was a considerable area occupied by planters.

By 1820 the effects of the War of 1812 and the rising tide of westward migration became manifest. Pioneer settlement spread along the river-courses of the Northwest well up to the Indian Territory. The zone of settlement along the Ohio had ascended the river to the mouth of the Allegheny, and in the rush to the Boone's Lick country, toward the centre of the present state. From the settlements of middle Tennessee a pioneer farming area reached southward to connect with the settlements of Mobile, and the latter became conterminous with those of the lower Mississippi. Almost all of the most recently occupied area was but thinly settled. It represented the movement of the backwoodsman, with ax and rifle, advancing to the conquest of the forest. But closer to the old settlements a more highly developed

<sup>1</sup> See maps in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, II.

<sup>2</sup> *Statistical Atlas*, Twelfth Census, 1900, plates 4, 5, and 6.

agriculture was to be seen. Hodgson in 1821<sup>1</sup> describes plantations in northern Alabama in lands ceded by the Indians in 1818. Though settled less than two years, there were within a few miles five schools and four places of worship. One plantation had one hundred acres in cotton and one hundred and ten in corn, although a year and a half before then it was wilderness.

By 1830 large portions of the Indian lands, which had been ceded between 1817 and 1829, were settled by a repetition of the same type of colonization. The unoccupied lands in Indiana and Illinois were prairie country, then deemed unsuited for settlement because of the lack of wood and drinking-water. It was the hardwoods that had been taken up in the Northwest, and, for the most part, the tracts a little back from the unhealthy bottom-lands, but in close proximity to the rivers, which were the only means of transportation before the building of good roads. A new island of settlement had appeared in the northwestern portion of Illinois and the adjacent regions of Wisconsin and Iowa, due to the opening of the lead-mines. Along the Missouri valley and in the Gulf Region the areas possessed in 1820 had increased in density of population. Georgia had spread her settlers into the Indian lands, which she had so recently secured by threatening a rupture with the United States; but there still remained in the Gulf Region two great areas of Indian country, surrounded by these white settlements. This incongruous Indian element was to be swept away by the presidency of Andrew Jackson.

Translated into terms of human activity, these shaded areas, encroaching on the blank spaces of the map, meant much for the history of the United States. In the main they represent the migration of Southern people. New England, after the distress following the War of 1812 and the hard winter of 1816-1817, had sent many settlers into western New York and Ohio; the Western Reserve had increased in population by the immigration of Connecticut people; Pennsylvania and New Jersey had sent colonists to the north and central Ohio, with Cincinnati as the commercial center. In Ohio the settlers of Middle State origin were decidedly more numerous than those from the South; and New England's share was distinctly smaller than that of the South. In the Ohio legislature in 1822 there were thirty-eight of Middle State birth, thirty-three of Southern (including Kentucky), and twenty-five of New England. But Kentucky and Tennessee (now sufficiently settled to need larger and cheaper farms for the rising generation), together with the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), I. 269; Riley (editor), "Autobiography of Lincecum," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, VIII. 443.

up-country of the South, contributed the mass of the pioneer colonists to most of the Mississippi valley prior to 1830.<sup>1</sup> Of course a large fraction of these came from the Scotch-Irish and German stock that in the first half of the eighteenth century passed from Pennsylvania along the Great Valley to the up-country of the South. Indiana, so late as 1850, showed but ten thousand natives of New England; and twice as many persons of Southern as of Middle State origin. In the early history of Indiana, North Carolina contributed a large fraction of the population, giving to it its "Hoosier" as well as much of its Quaker stock. Illinois in this period had but a sprinkling of New-Englanders, engaged in business in the little towns. The Southern stock, including settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee, was the preponderant class. The Illinois legislature for 1833 contained fifty-eight from the South (including Kentucky and Tennessee), nineteen from the Middle States, and only four from New England. Missouri's population was chiefly Kentuckians and Tennesseans.

The leaders of this Southern element came, in considerable measure, from well-to-do classes, who migrated to improve their conditions in the freer opportunities of a new country. Land speculation, the opportunity of political preferment, and the advantages which these growing communities brought to practitioners of the law combined to attract men of this class. Many of them, as we see, brought their slaves with them, under the systems of indentured servitude which made this possible. Missouri, especially, was sought after by larger planters with their slaves. But it was the poorer, more democratic, non-slaveholding element of the South, and the great bulk of settlers north of the Ohio. Prior to the decade the same farmer type was in possession of the Gulf Region; but here, through the whole of our country, non-slaveholding planters came in increasing numbers.

The families which left Kentucky for the newer country in the next twenty years will illustrate the movement. The Lincoln family<sup>2</sup> reached that state by migration from the North with the stream of backwoodsmen which bore along with it the Calhouns and the Boones. Abraham Lincoln was born in a hilly, barren portion of

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is based on a study of local history, travels, and newspapers, as well as upon the statistical evidence furnished by the tables of the Census of 1850 showing nativity, and by the evidence of the nativities of members of the state legislatures in the period 1820-1830. See, for Ohio, *Niles' Register*, XXI. 368 (legislature of 1822), and *National Republican*, January 2, 1824; for Illinois in 1833, *Western Monthly Magazine*, I. 199; for Missouri convention of 1820, *Niles' Register*, XVIII. 400; for Alabama in 1820, *ibid.*, XX. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, I., chaps. I.-IV.; Herndon, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. I.-IV.; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. I.-III.

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Kentucky in 1809. In 1816, when Lincoln was a boy of seven, his father, a poor carpenter, took his family across the Ohio on a raft, with a capital consisting of his kit of tools and several hundred gallons of whisky. In Indiana he hewed a path into the forest to a new home in the southern part of the state, where for a year the family lived in a "half-faced camp", or open shed of poles, clearing their land. In the hardships of the pioneer life Lincoln's mother died, as did many another frontier woman. By 1830 Lincoln had become a tall, strapping youth, six feet four inches in height, able to sink his ax deeper than other men into the opposing forest. At that time his father moved to the Sangamon country of Illinois with the rush of land-seekers into that new and popular region. Near the home of Lincoln in Kentucky was born, in 1808, Jefferson Davis,<sup>1</sup> whose father, shortly before the War of 1812, went with the stream of southward movers to Louisiana and then to Mississippi. Davis's brothers fought under Jackson in the War of 1812, and the family became typical planters of the Gulf Region.

Meanwhile, the roads that led to the Ohio valley were followed by an increasing tide of settlers from the East. "Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward", wrote Birkbeck in 1817, as he passed on the National Road through Pennsylvania.

We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track, towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us. . . . A small waggon (so light that you might almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils and provisions, and a swarm of young citizens,—and to sustain marvellous shocks in its passage over these rocky heights) with two small horses; sometimes a cow or two, comprises their all; excepting a little store of hard-earned cash for the land office of the district; where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one fourth of the purchase-money. The waggon has a tilt, or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or the weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party. . . . A cart and single horse frequently affords the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and pack-saddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects and his wife follows, naked-footed, bending under the hopes of the family.<sup>2</sup>

McLean of Ohio said in the House of Representatives in 1825:

In a favorable season for emigration, the traveller upon this highway will scarcely lose sight of passengers, of some description. Hundreds of families are seen migrating to the West, with ease and comfort. Drovers from the West, with their cattle, of almost every description, are seen passing eastward, seeking a market on this side of the mountains. In-

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, I. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey from Virginia to Illinois* (London, 1818), 25-26.

deed, this road may be compared to a great street, or thoroughfare, through some populous city—travellers on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, are seen mingling on its paved surface.<sup>1</sup>

The Southerners who came by land along the many bad roads through Tennessee and Kentucky usually traveled with heavy, schooner-shaped wagons, drawn by four or six horses.<sup>2</sup> These family groups, crowding roads and fords, marching toward the sunset, with the canvas-covered wagon, ancestor of the prairie-schooner of the later times, were typical of the overland migration. The poorer classes traveled on foot, sometimes carrying their entire effects in a cart drawn by themselves.<sup>3</sup> Those of more means took horses, cattle, and sheep, and sometimes sent their household goods by wagon or by steamboat up the Mississippi.<sup>4</sup>

The routes of travel to the western country were numerous. Prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, the New England element either passed along the Mohawk and the Genesee turnpike to Lake Erie; or crossed the Hudson and followed the line of the Catskill turnpike to the headwaters of the Allegheny; or, by way of Boston, took ship to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, in order to follow a more southerly route. In Pennsylvania the principal route was the old road which, in a general way, followed the line that Forbes had cut in the French and Indian War from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by way of Lancaster and Bedford. By this time the road had been made a turnpike through a large portion of its course. From Baltimore the traveller followed a turnpike to Cumberland, on the Potomac, where began the Old National Road across the mountains to Wheeling on the Ohio, with branches leading to Pittsburg. This became one of the great arteries of western migration and commerce, connecting, as it did, at its eastern end, with the Shenandoah valley, and thus affording access to the Ohio for large areas of Virginia. Other routes lay through the passes into West Virginia, easily reached from the divide between the waters of North Carolina and of West Virginia. Saluda Gap, in northwestern South Carolina, led the way to the great valley of eastern Tennessee. In Tennessee and Kentucky many routes passed to the Ohio in the region of Cincinnati or Louisville.

*Abridgment of Debates*, VIII. 253

*History of Grundy County, Illinois*, 149; *Early History of Sangamon County, Illinois*.

*Niles' Register*, XXI. 320.

W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio, 1813-1840*, 86; Jones, *Illinois and the West*, 31; *History of Grundy County, Illinois*, 149; *Early History of Sangamon County, Illinois*, 13.

When the settler arrived at the waters of the Ohio, he either took a steamboat, or placed his possessions on a flatboat, or ark, and floated down the river to his destination. From the upper waters of the Allegheny many emigrants took advantage of the lumber-rafts, which were constructed from the pine forests of southwestern New York, to float, with themselves and their belongings, to the Ohio. With the advent of the steamboat these older modes of navigation were, to a considerable extent, superseded. But navigation on the Great Lakes had not sufficiently advanced by the end of the decade to afford opportunity for any considerable movement of settlement, by this route, beyond Lake Erie.

In the course of the decade the cost of reaching the West varied greatly with the decrease in the transportation rates brought about by the competition of the Erie Canal, the improvement of the turn-pikes, and the development of steamboat navigation. The expense of the long overland journey from New England, prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, made it extremely difficult for those without any capital to reach the West. The stage rates on the Pennsylvania turnpike and the Old National Road, prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, were about five or six dollars a hundredweight from Philadelphia or Baltimore to the Ohio River; the individual was regarded as so much freight.<sup>1</sup> To most of the movers, who drove their own teams and camped by the wayside, however, the actual expense was simply that of providing food for themselves and their horses on the road. The cost of moving by land is illustrated by the case of a Maryland family, consisting of fifteen persons, of whom five were slaves. In 1835 they traveled about twenty miles a day, with a four-horse wagon, three hundred miles, to Wheeling, at an expense of seventy-five dollars.<sup>2</sup> The expense of traveling by stage and steamboat from Philadelphia to St. Louis at the close of the decade was about fifty-five dollars for one person. By steamboat from New Orleans to St. Louis cost thirty dollars, including food and lodging; for deck-passage, without food or lodging, the charge was only eight dollars.<sup>3</sup> In 1823 the cost of passage from Cincinnati to New Orleans by steamboat, taking about eight days, was twenty-five dollars; from New Orleans to Cincinnati (sixteen days) fifty dollars.<sup>4</sup> In the early thirties one could go from New Orleans to Pittsburg, as cabin passenger, for from thirty-five to forty dollars.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Pedestrian Tour*, 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Niles' Register*, XLVIII. 242.

<sup>3</sup> *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, II. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Niles' Register*, XXV. 95.

<sup>5</sup> *Emigrants' and Travellers' Guide through the Valley of the Mississippi*, 341.

Arrived at the nearest point to his destination on the Ohio, the emigrant either cut out a road to his new home, or pushed up some tributary of that river in a keel-boat. If he was one of the poorer classes, he became a squatter on the public lands, trusting to find in the profits of his farming the means of paying for his land. Not uncommonly, after clearing the land, he sold his improvements to the actual purchaser, under the customary usage, or by pre-emption laws.<sup>1</sup> With the money thus secured he would purchase new land in a remoter area, and thus establish himself as an independent landowner. Under the credit system<sup>2</sup> which existed at the opening of the period, the settler purchased his land at two dollars per acre, by a cash payment of fifty cents and the rest in instalments running over a period of four years; but by the new law of 1820 the settler was permitted to buy a tract of eighty acres from the government at a minimum price of a dollar and a quarter per acre, without credit. The price of labor in the towns along the Ohio, coupled with the low cost of provisions, made it possible for even a poor day-laborer from the East to accumulate the necessary amount to make his land-purchase.<sup>3</sup>

Having in this way settled down either as a squatter or as a landowner, the pioneer proceeded to hew out a clearing in the midst of the forest.<sup>4</sup> Commonly he had selected his lands with reference to the value of the soil, as indicated by the character of the hardwoods, but this meant that the labor of clearing was the more severe. Under the sturdy strokes of his ax the light of day was let into the little circle of cleared ground.<sup>5</sup> With the aid of his neighbors, called together under the social attractions of a "raising", with its inevitable accompaniment of whisky and a "frolic", he erected his cabin. If he was too remote from neighbors or too poor to build a cabin, as in the case of Lincoln's father, a rude half-faced log shed served the purpose for the first months of his occupation. As Birkbeck wrote, "was bred in a cabin."

After securing a foothold, the settler next proceeded to "fence" or "deaden" an additional forest area, preparatory to his farming operations. This consisted in cutting a ring through the bark around the lower portion of the trunk, to prevent the sap

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 180; Kingdom, *America*, 56; J. M. Peck, *New Guide for Emigrants to the West* (1837), 119-132.

<sup>2</sup> Emerick, *The Credit System and the Public Domain* (Vanderbilt Southern History Society, Publication no. 3).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Peck, *New Guide for Emigrants to the West*, 107-134; Bradbury, *Travels* (London, 1817), 296.

<sup>4</sup> Kingdom, *America*, 10, 54, 63; J. Flint, *Letters*, 206; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 152-155; W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 98, 101, 145. *Notes on Journey*, 94.



from rising. In a short time the withered branches were ready for burning, and in the midst of the blackened stumps the first crop of corn and vegetables was planted.<sup>1</sup>

In regions nearer to the East, as in western New York, it was sometimes possible to repay a large portion of the cost of clearing by the sale of pot and pearl ashes extracted from the logs, which were brought together for burning into huge piles.<sup>2</sup> This was accomplished by a "log-rolling", under the united efforts of the neighbors, as in the case of the raising. More commonly in the West the logs were wasted by burning, except such as were split into rails, which, laid one above another, made the zigzag "worm-fences" for the protection of the fields of the pioneer.

When a clearing was sold to a later comer, fifty or sixty dollars in addition to the government price of land was commonly charged for forty acres, inclosed and partly cleared.<sup>3</sup> It was estimated that the cost of a farm of three hundred and twenty acres at the edge of the prairie in Illinois, at this time, would be divided as follows: for one hundred acres of prairie, two hundred dollars; for fencing a forty-acre field with rail-fence, one hundred and sixty dollars; for breaking it up with a plow, two dollars per acre, or three hundred and twenty dollars; eighty acres of timber land and eighty acres of pasture prairie, two hundred dollars. Thus it cost a little over a thousand dollars to secure an improved farm of three hundred and twenty acres. But the mass of the early settlers were too poor to afford such an outlay, and were either squatters within a little clearing, or owners of eighty acres, which they hoped to increase by subsequent purchase. Since they worked with the labor of their own hands and that of their sons, the cash outlay was practically limited to the original cost of the lands and articles of bandry. A competent authority<sup>4</sup> estimated the cost of an Illinois farm of eighty acres of land, with two horses, two or three cows, a few hogs and sheep, and farming utensils, at about a thousand dollars.

The peculiar skill required of the axman who entered the hardwood forests, together with readiness to undergo the privations of the life, made the backwoodsman in a sense an expert engaged in a special calling.<sup>5</sup> Frequently he was the descendant of generations

<sup>1</sup> Often the settler did not even burn the girdled trees, but planted his corn under the dead foliage. J. Flint, *Letters from America* (Edinburgh, 1808).

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Thurlow Weed* (Autobiography), I. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Kingdom, America*, 10, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Tanner (publisher), *Guide*.

<sup>5</sup> J. Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 101; cf. Chastellux, *Travels in America* (London, 1787), I. 44.

of pioneers, who, on successive frontiers, from the neighborhood of the Atlantic coast toward the interior, had cut and burned the forest, fought the Indians, and pushed forward the line of civilization. He bore the marks of the struggle in his face, made sallow by living in the shade of the forest, "shut from the common air",<sup>1</sup> and in a constitution often racked by malarial fever. Dirt and squalor were too frequently found in the squatter's cabin,<sup>2</sup> and education and the refinements of life were denied to him. Often shiftless and indolent, in the intervals between his tasks of forest-felling he was fonder of hunting than of a settled agricultural life. With his rifle he eked out his sustenance, and the peltries furnished him a little ready cash.<sup>3</sup> His few cattle grazed in the surrounding forest and his hogs fed on its mast.

The backwoodsman of this type represented the outer edge of the advance of civilization. Where settlement was closer, co-operative activity possible, and little villages, with the mill and retail stores, existed, conditions of life were ameliorated, and a better type of pioneer was found. Into such regions circuit-riders and wandering preachers had carried the beginnings of church organization, and schools were started. But the frontiersmen proper constituted a moving class, ever ready to sell out their clearings in order to press on to a new frontier, where game more abounded, soil was reported to be better, and where the forest furnished a welcome retreat from the uncongenial encroachments of civilization. If, however, he was thrifty and forehanded, the backwoodsman remained on his clearing, improving his farm and sharing in the change from wilderness life.

Behind the type of the backwoodsman came the type of the better farmer. Equipped with a little capital, he often, as we have seen, purchased the clearing, and thus avoided some of the initial hardships of pioneer life. In the course of a few years, as sawmills and frame-houses took the place of the log-cabins; the clearing, with its stumps, gave way to well-tilled fields; crops were planted; livestock roamed over the enlarged clearing, and an agricultural surplus was ready for export. Soon the adventurous speculator offered corner lots in a new town-site, and the rude beginnings of a city were seen.<sup>4</sup>

Thus western occupation advanced in a series of waves:<sup>5</sup> the In-

<sup>1</sup> Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey* (London, 1818), 105-114.

<sup>2</sup> R. Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life* ("Journals and Correspondence of J. M. Peck"), 101.

<sup>3</sup> Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey*, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 90, 91.

<sup>5</sup> See the excellent descriptions of the frontiersmen and their successors in J. M. Peck, *New Guide to the West* (Cincinnati, 1848), chap. iv., and T. Flint,

dian was sought by the fur-trader; the fur-trader was followed by the frontiersman, whose cattle exploited the natural grasses and the acorns of the forest; next came the wave of primitive agriculture, followed by more intensive farming and city life. All the stages of social development went on under the eye of the traveller as he passed from the frontier toward the East. Such was the process which was steadily pushing its way into the American wilderness, as it had for generations.

While thus the frontier folk spread north of the Ohio and up the Missouri, a different movement was in progress in the Gulf Region. In the beginning precisely the same type of occupation was to be seen. The poorer classes of Southern emigrants cut out their clearings along rivers that flowed to the Gulf and to the lower Mississippi, and, with the opening of this decade, went in increasing numbers into Texas, where enterprising Americans had secured concessions from the Mexican government.<sup>1</sup> But while this movement of log-cabin pioneers was entering the Gulf Plains, caravans of slaveholding planters were advancing from the seaboard to the occupation of the cotton-lands of the same region. As the free farmers of the interior had been replaced in the upland country of the South by the slaveholding planters, so now the frontiersmen of the Southwest were pushed back from the more fertile lands into the pine hills and barrens. Not only was the pioneer unable to refuse the higher price which was offered him for his clearing, but, in the competitive bidding of the public land sales,<sup>2</sup> the wealthier planter secured the desirable soils. Social forces worked to the same end. When the pioneer invited his slaveholding neighbor to a "raising", it grated on his sense of the fitness of things to have the guest appear with gloves, directing the gang of slaves which he contributed to the functions.<sup>3</sup> Little by little, therefore, the old life tended to retreat to the less desirable lands, leaving the slaveholder in possession of the rich "buck-shot" soils that were the central Alabama and Mississippi and the fat alluvium.

*Geography and History of the Western States*, 350; J. Flint, *Letters to America*, 206; cf. Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, 214; McMane, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 152-160; Kingdom, *America*, 214.

<sup>1</sup> Garrison, *Texas*, chaps. XIII., XIV.; Wooten (editor), *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I., chaps. VIII. and IX.; Kuykendall, "Reminiscences of Early Texans," in *Quarterly of Texas State Historical Association*, VII., no. 1, 29; Bugbee, "Texas Frontier," in *Publications of the Southern History Association*, March, 1900, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Alabama* (published by Smith and De Land), 249; W. G. Brown, *History of Alabama*, 129-131; *id.*, *Lower South*, 24-26.

<sup>3</sup> Susan D. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 67.

the eastern bank of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> Even at the present time, the counties of dense negro population reveal the results of this movement of segregation.

By the side of the picture of the advance of the pioneer farmer, bearing his household goods in his canvas-covered wagon to his new home across the Ohio, must therefore be placed the picture of the Southern planter, crossing through the forests of western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, or passing over the free state of Illinois to the Missouri valley, in his family carriage, with servants, packs of hunting-dogs, and a train of slaves, their nightly camp-fires lighting up the wilderness where so recently the Indian hunter had held possession.<sup>2</sup>

But this new society had a characteristic Western flavor. The old patriarchal type of slavery along the seaboard was modified by the western conditions in the midst of which the slaveholding interest was now lodged. Planters, as well as pioneer farmers, were exploiting the wilderness, and building a new society under characteristic Western influences. Rude strength, a certain coarseness of life, and aggressiveness characterized this society, as it did the whole of the Mississippi valley.<sup>3</sup> Slavery furnished a new ingredient for Western forces to act upon. The system took on a commercial tinge: the plantation had to be cleared and made profitable as a purely business enterprise; the slaves were purchased in considerable numbers from the older states instead of being introduced into the family. Slave-dealers passed to the Southwest, with thousands of negroes brought from the outworn lands of the old South. It was estimated in 1832 that Virginia annually exported ten thousand slaves for sale to other states.<sup>4</sup> An English traveller, Blane, reported in 1823 that every year from ten to fifteen thousand slaves were sold from the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and sent to the South.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, illicit importation of slaves through New Orleans reached an amount estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand a year.<sup>6</sup> It was not until the next

<sup>1</sup> The Natchez region was long settled and prosperous. See description in Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), I. 184; Cumming, *Tour to the West* (Pittsburg, 1810), 293.

<sup>2</sup> Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I. 138; Niles' Register, XLIV. 222; Susan D. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 52-54; Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States*, II. 350, 379 (slaveholding migration into Missouri).

<sup>3</sup> Baldwin, *Flush Times in Alabama*; cf. Gilmer, *Sketches of Georgia, etc.*; Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes*; Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, chap. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Excursion through United States*, 226; Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I. 194, says 4,000 to 5,000 per annum from Maryland and Virginia to New Orleans.

<sup>6</sup> Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 44.

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decade that this incoming tide of slaves reached its height, but by 1830 it was clearly marked and was already transforming the Southwest. Mississippi doubled the number of her slaves in the decade, and Alabama nearly trebled hers. In the same period the number of slaves in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina remained practically stationary.

The comparative statistics of development of cotton culture in the South and Southwest illustrate the increase of the slaveholding plantations, and the gradual transformation of the lower South into the Cotton Kingdom. The following table shows the progress of this crop:

COTTON CROP (in million pounds).<sup>1</sup>

|                      | 1791 | 1801 | 1811 | 1821  | 1826  | 1834  |
|----------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| South Carolina ..... | 1.5  | 20.0 | 40.0 | 50.0  | 70.0  | 65.0  |
| Georgia .....        | .5   | 10.0 | 20.0 | 50.0  | 75.0  | 75.0  |
| Virginia .....       |      | 5.0  | 8.0  | 12.0  | 25.0  | 10.0  |
| North Carolina ..... |      | 4.0  | 7.0  | 10.0  | 10.0  | 9.5   |
| Total .....          | 2.0  | 39.0 | 75.0 | 122.0 | 180.0 | 159.5 |
| Tennessee .....      |      | 1.0  | 3.0  | 20.0  | 45.0  | 45.0  |
| Louisiana .....      |      |      | 2.0  | 10.0  | 55.0  | 62.0  |
| Mississippi .....    |      |      |      | 10.0  | 70.0  | 85.0  |
| Alabama .....        |      |      |      | 20.0  | 45.0  | 85.0  |
| Florida .....        |      |      |      |       | 2.0   | 20.0  |
| Arkansas .....       |      |      |      |       | .5    | .5    |
| Total .....          |      | 1.0  | 5.0  | 60.0  | 217.5 | 297.5 |
| Grand total .....    | 2.0  | 40.0 | 80.0 | 182.0 | 397.5 | 457.0 |

After 1830 the differences between the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi valley were accentuated. From New York and New England came a tide of settlement, in the thirties, which followed the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, and began to occupy the prairie lands, which had been avoided by the Southern axmen. This region became an extension of the Greater New England already to be seen in New York. The Southern pioneers in the Northwest formed a transitional zone between this northern area and the slave states south of the Ohio. In the Gulf Plains a Greater South was in process of formation, but by no means completely established. As yet it was a mixture of pioneer and planter, slave and free, profoundly affected by its Western traits.<sup>2</sup> The different states of the South were steadily sending in their colonists. In Alabama, for example, the Georgians settled, as a rule, in the

<sup>1</sup> De Bow, *Review*, XVII. 428; cf. MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics*, 462; von Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, 169. There are discrepancies; the figures are to be taken as illustrative rather than exact.

<sup>2</sup> Curry, "A Settlement in East Alabama," in *American Historical Magazine*, II. 203.

east; the Tennesseans, moving from the great bend of the Tennessee River, were attracted to the northern and middle section; and the Virginians and Carolinians went to the west and southwest, following the bottom-lands near the rivers.<sup>1</sup>

By 1820 the West had developed the beginnings of many of the cities which have since ruled over the region. Buffalo and Detroit were hardly more than villages until the close of this period, when Buffalo counted over 8,000 souls. They waited for the development of steam navigation on the Great Lakes and the opening of the prairies. Cleveland was but a hamlet during most of the decade. By 1830 the construction of the canal connecting the Cuyahoga with the Scioto increased her prosperity, and her harbor began to profit by its natural advantages. As the metropolis of the Western Reserve, it had an important future; but at the beginning of the decade of which we write its population was only one hundred and fifty, and at its close only one thousand.<sup>2</sup> Chicago and Milwaukee were mere fur-trading stations in Indian country until the close of the decade. Pittsburg, at the head of the Ohio, was losing its old pre-eminence as the gateway to the West, but was finding recompense in the development of its manufactures. By 1830 its population was about twelve thousand.<sup>3</sup> Foundries, rolling-mills, nail-factories, steam-engine works, and distilleries were busily at work; and the city, dingy with the smoke of soft coal, was already dubbed the "young Manchester" or the "Birmingham" of America.

By 1830 Wheeling had intercepted much of the overland trade and travel to the Ohio, profiting by the Old National Road and the wagon trade from Baltimore. As the head of navigation during low water and by its location below Pittsburg, it gave readier access to the Ohio valley. By 1830 it was about the same size as Buffalo. Over one hundred and thirty steam-mills, within twenty-five miles of the city, produced nearly a million dollars' worth of flour annually. It was also the site of a few cotton-mills and woolen-mills and some iron-works. Cincinnati was rapidly rising to the position of the Queen City of the West. Situated where the river reached a great bend toward the interior of the Northwest, in the rich farming country between the two Miamis, and opposite the Licking River, it was the commercial centre of a vast and fertile region

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Brown, *History of Alabama*, 129-130; *Northern Alabama* (published by Smith and De Land), part iv. 243 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland*, 456; Kennedy, *History of Cleveland*, chap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Thurston, *Pittsburgh and Allegheny in the Centennial Year*, 61.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Gazetteer of Virginia*, 407.

of Ohio and Kentucky.<sup>1</sup> Its population was recruited chiefly from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and it had a reputation for cleanliness and thrift, and for its newspapers and periodicals, its educational facilities, and its churches.<sup>2</sup> By 1830, with 24,800 souls and some three thousand dwellings, mostly brick,<sup>3</sup> it was the most populous city of the West, with the exception of New Orleans. The centre of steamboat-building, it also received extensive imports of goods from the East and exported the surplus crops of Ohio and adjacent parts of Kentucky. Its principal industry, however, was pork-packing, from which it won the name of "Porkopolis".<sup>4</sup> By the close of the decade its annual exports averaged over \$1,500,000 and its imports over \$4,000,000. When the canals between Lake Erie and the Ohio were opened, about 1830, it profited by the trade of the central portion of the state. Louisville, at the Falls of the Ohio, was an important place of transshipment, and the export centre for large quantities of tobacco. There were considerable manufactures of rope and bagging, products of the Kentucky hemp-fields, and new cotton and woolen factories were struggling for existence.<sup>5</sup> By 1830 it had a population of about ten thousand. St. Louis occupied a unique position, as the entrepôt of the important fur-trade of the upper Mississippi and the vast water system of the Missouri, as well as the outfitting-point for the Missouri settlements. The French element was still important, but was gradually giving way to adventurous Americans. St. Louis's interests included the far-off region of the Columbia and the ancient Spanish settlements about Santa Fé. It was the capital of the Far West, and the commercial centre for Illinois. Its population at the close of the decade was about six thousand.

Only a few villages lay along the Mississippi between St. Louis and New Orleans. Memphis and Vicksburg were small centres for the neighboring planters, but without particular significance at this time; Natchez was an old settlement, reminding visitors of a West-Indian town. New Orleans was the emporium of the whole Mississippi valley. As yet the direct effect of the Erie Canal was chiefly limited to the state of New York. There was only the beginning of steam navigation on the Great Lakes, and the Ohio

<sup>1</sup> Melish, *Information to Emigrants*, 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Cincinnati Directory* (1829), 141; Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826*, chaps. III.-XVII.

<sup>3</sup> Cumings, *Western Pilot*, 40; Ogden, *Letters from the West*, 19; Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, chaps. v.-xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826*, 70; *Winter in the West*, I. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Durrett, *Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club Pubs., No. 8), 50-101; *Louisville Directory*, 1832, 131.

was not connected with them by canals until the close of the period. The great bulk of western exports passed down the tributaries of the Mississippi to New Orleans. It was, therefore, the centre of foreign exports for the valley, as well as the port from which the coastwise trade in the products of the whole interior departed. In 1830 its population was nearly fifty thousand.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of an agricultural surplus was transforming the West and preparing a new influence in the nation. It was this surplus and the demand for markets that developed the cities just mentioned. As they grew, the price of land in their neighborhood increased; roads radiated into the surrounding country; and farmers, whose crops had been almost worthless from the lack of transportation facilities, now found it possible to market their surplus at a small profit. While the West was thus learning the advantages of a home market, the extension of cotton and sugar cultivation in the South and Southwest gave them a new and valuable market. More and more, the planters came to rely upon the Northwest for their food supplies and for the mules and horses for their fields. Cotton became the engrossing interest of the plantation belt, and, while the full effects of this differentiation of industry did not appear in our decade, the beginnings were already visible.<sup>2</sup> In 1835 Pitkin<sup>3</sup> reckoned the value of the domestic and foreign exports of the interior as far in excess of the whole exports of the United States in 1790. Within forty years the development of the interior had brought about the economic independence of the United States, and transferred to interstate trade the larger part of the trade which had formerly sought the Old World.

During most of the decade the merchandise to supply the interior was brought laboriously across the mountains by the Pennsylvania turnpikes and the Old National Road, or, in the case of especially heavy freight, was carried along the Atlantic coast into the Gulf and up the Mississippi and Ohio by steamboats. The cost of transportation in the wagon trade from Philadelphia to Pittsburg and Baltimore to Wheeling placed a heavy tax upon the consumer. In 1817 the freight charge from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was estimated at as high as seven to ten dollars a hundredweight;<sup>4</sup> a few years later it dropped to four to six dollars;<sup>5</sup> and in 1823 it had

<sup>1</sup> Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, III., ch. VII.; Waring and Cable, *New Orleans* (Tenth Census, Social Statistics of Cities), 43-47.

<sup>2</sup> Callender, "Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1902 (XVII. 3-54).

<sup>3</sup> *Statistical View*, 534.

<sup>4</sup> Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey*, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Ogden, *Letters from the West*, 8; Cobbett, *Year's Residence*, 337; Evans, *Pedestrian Tour*, 145.



fallen to three dollars.<sup>1</sup> It took a month to wagon merchandise from Baltimore to central Ohio.<sup>2</sup> Transportation companies, running four-horse freight wagons, conducted a regular business on these turnpikes between the eastern and western states. In 1820 over three thousand wagons ran between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, transporting merchandise valued at about eighteen million dollars annually.<sup>3</sup>

The construction of the National Road had reduced freight rates to nearly one-half what they were at the close of the War of 1812, and the introduction of steam navigation from New Orleans up the Mississippi had cut water-rates by that route to one-third of the former charge. Nevertheless there was a crying need for internal improvements, and particularly for canals, to provide an outlet for the increasing products of the West. "Even in the country where I reside, not eighty miles from tidewater", said Tucker,<sup>4</sup> of Virginia, "it takes the farmer one bushel of wheat to pay the expense of carrying two to a seaport town."

The bulk of the crop, as compared with its value, practically prevented transportation by land farther than a hundred miles.<sup>5</sup> It is this that helps to explain the attention which the interior first gave to making whisky and raising livestock; the former carried the crop in a small bulk with high value, while the livestock could walk to a market. Until after the War of 1812, the cattle of the Ohio valley were driven to the seaboard, chiefly to Philadelphia or Baltimore.<sup>6</sup> Travellers were astonished to see on the highway droves of four or five thousand hogs, going to an eastern market. It was estimated that over a hundred thousand hogs were driven east annually from Kentucky alone.<sup>7</sup> Kentucky hog-drivers also passed into Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas with their droves.<sup>8</sup> The swine lived on the nuts and acorns of the forests; thus they were peculiarly suited to pioneer conditions. At first the cattle were taken to the plantations of the Potomac to fatten for Baltimore and Philadelphia, much in the same way that, in recent times, the cattle of the Great Plains are brought to the feeding-grounds in the corn belt of Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa.<sup>9</sup> Toward the close

<sup>1</sup> *Philadelphia in 1824* (Philadelphia, 1824), 45. <sup>2</sup> Searight, *Old Pike*, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Mills, *Treatise on Inland Navigation* (Baltimore, 1820), 89, 90, 93, 95-97; *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., I. 991; Searight, *Old Pike*, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Speech in House of Representatives, March 6, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 sess., I. 1126.

<sup>5</sup> McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III. 464.

<sup>6</sup> *Life of Ephraim Cutler*, 89; Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey*, 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Excursion through United States* (London, 1824), 90.

<sup>8</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Michaux, *Travels*, 191; J. Palmer, *Journal of Travels*, 36.

of the decade, however, the feeding-grounds shifted into Ohio, and the pork-packing industry, as we have seen, found its centre at Cincinnati,<sup>1</sup> the most important source of supply for the hams and bacon and salt pork which passed down the Mississippi to furnish a large share of the plantation food. From Kentucky and the rest of the Ohio valley droves of mules and horses passed through the Tennessee valley to the South to supply the plantations.

Statistics at Cumberland Gap for 1828 gave the value of livestock passing the turnpike gate there at \$1,167,000.<sup>2</sup> Senator Wayne, of South Carolina, declared that in 1824 the South was supplied from the West, through Saluda Gap, with livestock, horses, and hogs, to the amount of over a million dollars a year.<sup>3</sup>

It was the outlet from the West over the roads to the East and was but a subordinate element in her internal commerce. It was the Father of Waters, with its ramifying tributaries, which carried the products of the great valley and brought them to New Orleans. Down the Mississippi floated a multitude of craft: lumbermen's rafts from the Allegheny, the old-time arks, with cattle, flour, and bacon, hay-boats, keel-boats, and skiffs, all mingled with the steamboats which plied the western waters.<sup>4</sup> Flatboatmen, raftsmen, and deck-hands constituted a turbulent and reckless population, living on the country through which they passed, fighting and drinking in true "half-horse, half-alligator" style. Prior to the steamboat, all of the commerce from New Orleans to the upper country was carried on in about twenty barges, averaging a hundred tons each, and making one trip a year. Although the steamboat did not drive out the other craft, it revolutionized the commerce of the river.<sup>5</sup> Whereas it had taken the keel-boats thirty to forty days to descend from Louisville to New Orleans, and about ninety days to ascend the fifteen hundred miles of navigation by poling and warping upstream, the steamboat had shortened the time, by 1822, to seven days down and sixteen days up.<sup>6</sup> As the steamboats ascended the

<sup>1</sup> J. Hall, *Statistics of the West* (Cincinnati, 1836), 145-147.

<sup>2</sup> *Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West* (Philadelphia, 1834), 194.

<sup>3</sup> Speech in Senate in 1832, *Register of Debates in Congress*, VIII., part 1. 80; cf. *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., I, 1411.

<sup>4</sup> For descriptions of the navigation of the Mississippi see T. Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 101-110; E. S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-five Years* (Hartford, 1840), I, 290-293; *Report on Internal Commerce*, 1888; Hall, *Statistics of the West* (Cincinnati, 1836), 236; *History of Alexander, Union, and Pulaski Counties, Illinois*, 269; W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 85; Schultz, *Travels*, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Hall, *The West: its Commerce and Navigation*, 168.

<sup>6</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 2 sess., 407; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 166; *National Gazette*, September 26, 1823 (list

various tributaries of the Mississippi to gather the products of the growing West, the pioneers came more and more to realize the importance of the invention. They resented the idea of the monopoly which Fulton and Livingston wished to enforce prior to the decision of Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*—a decision of vital interest to the whole interior.<sup>1</sup>

They saw in the steamboat a symbol of their own development. "An Atlantic cit", boasted a writer in the *Western Monthly Review*,<sup>2</sup>

who talks of us under the name of backwoodsmen, would not believe, that such fairy structures of oriental gorgeousness and splendor, as the Washington, the Florida, the Walk in the Water, the Lady of the Lake, etc. etc., had ever existed in the imaginative brain of a romancer, much less, that they were actually in existence, rushing down the Mississippi as on the wings of the wind, or plowing up between the forests, walking against the mighty current 'as things of life,' bearing passengers, sailors, laborers, merchants, dandies, fine ladies, every thing real, and every thing affected, in the form of humanity, with pianos, and stocks of money, and cards, and dice, and flirting, and love-making, and drinking champagne, and on the deck, perhaps, three hundred fellows, who have seen alligators, and neither fear whiskey, nor gun-powder. A steamboat, coming from New Orleans, brings to the remotest villages of our western streams, and the very doors of the cabins, a little Paris, a section of Broadway, or a slice of Philadelphia, to ferment in the minds of our young people, the innate propensity for fashions and finery. Within a day's journey of us, three distinct canals are in respectable progress towards completion: . . . Cincinnati will soon be the centre of the 'celestial empire,' as the Chinese say; and instead of encountering the storms, the sea sickness, and dangers of a passage from the gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic, whenever the Erie canal shall be completed, the opulent southern planters will take their families, their dogs and parrots, through a world of forests, from New Orleans to New York, giving us a call by the way. When they are more acquainted with us, their voyage will often terminate here.

By 1830 the produce which reached New Orleans from the Mississippi valley was estimated to amount to twenty-six million dollars.<sup>3</sup> In 1822 three million dollars' worth of goods was estimated to have passed the Falls of the Ohio on the way to market, (of steamboats, rates of passage, estimate of products); *Excursion through the United States*, 119.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Travels through the Western Country*, 62; *Alexandria Herald*, June 23, 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy Flint's *Western Monthly Review*, May, 1827 (I. 25-26).

<sup>3</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII. 20; cf. Pitkin, *Statistical View* (1835), 534-536, giving the figures of the annual surplus for the various areas of the West, 1832-1834. He gives to Tennessee over six million dollars; to Kentucky five and a quarter millions; to Ohio ten millions; and to the Wabash valley, Indiana, one million.

representing much of the surplus of the Ohio valley. Of this, pork amounted to \$1,000,000 in value; flour, to \$900,000; tobacco, to \$600,000; and whisky, to \$500,000.<sup>1</sup> The inventory of products reveals the Mississippi valley as a vast colonial society, producing the raw materials of a simple and primitive agriculture. The beginnings of manufacture in her cities, however, promised to bring about a movement for industrial independence in the West. In spite of evidences of growing wealth, there was such a decline in agricultural prices that, for the farmer who did not live on the highways of commerce, it was almost unprofitable to raise wheat for the market.<sup>2</sup>

These are the economic conditions that assist in understanding the political attitude of Western leaders in our period. The cry of the East for protection to infant industries was swelled by the little cities of the West, and the demand for a home market found its best support beyond the Alleghenies. Internal improvements and lower rates of transportation were essential to the prosperity of the Westerners. Largely a debtor class, in need of capital, and, in addition, and an expansion of the currency, they resented attempts to restrain the reckless banking which their optimism fostered.

But the political ideals and actions of the West are explained by social, quite as much as by economic, forces. It was certain that this society, where equality and individualism flourished, where assertive democracy was supreme, where impatience with the old order of things was a ruling passion, would demand control of the government, would resent the rule of the trained statesmen and official classes, and would fight nominations by Congressional caucus and continuance of presidential dynasties. Besides its susceptibility to change, the West had generated, from its Indian fighting, forest-felling, and expansion, a belligerency and a largeness of outlook with regard to the nation's territorial destiny. As the pioneer, widening the ring-wall of his clearing in the midst of the stumps and marshes of the wilderness, had a vision of the lofty buildings and crowded streets of a future city, so the West as a whole de-

<sup>1</sup> *National Republican*, March 7, 1823; cf. *National Gazette*, September 26, 1823; *Excursion through the United States*, 119.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 138. "Fifty cents a bushel was a great price for it [wheat] at the river; and, as two horses and a man were required for four days to make the journey [thirty-five miles, to the Ohio], in good weather, with thirty-five or forty bushels of wheat, and a great deal longer if the roads were bad, it was not to be expected that we could realize more than twenty-five cents in cash for it. But there was no sale for it in cash. The nominal price for it in trade was usually thirty cents." On the price of wheat, see M'Culloch, *Commercial Dictionary* (Philadelphia, 1852), I. 683, 684; Hazard, *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, I. 251; O'Reilly, *Sketches of Rochester*, 362.

veloped ideals of the future of the common man, and of the grandeur and expansion of the nation.

The West was too new a section to have developed educational facilities to any large extent. The pioneers' poverty, as well as the traditions of the southern interior from which they so largely came, discouraged extensive expenditures for public schools.<sup>1</sup> In Kentucky and Tennessee the more prosperous planters had private tutors, often New England collegians, for their children.<sup>2</sup> So-called colleges were numerous, some of them fairly good. In 1830 a writer in the *American Quarterly Register*<sup>3</sup> made a survey of higher education in the whole western country and reported twenty-eight institutions, with seven hundred and sixty-six graduates and fourteen hundred and thirty undergraduates. Less than forty thousand volumes were recorded in the college and "social" libraries of the entire Mississippi valley. Very few students went from the West to eastern colleges. But the foundations of public education had been laid in the land-grants for common schools and universities. For the present this fund was generally misappropriated and was not so good as it might have been. But the ideal of a democratic education was held to be the first constitution of Indiana, making it the duty of the legislature to provide for "a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."<sup>4</sup>

Literature did not flourish in the West, although the newspaper press<sup>5</sup> followed closely after the retreating savage and many short-lived periodicals were founded.<sup>6</sup> Lexington, Kentucky, and Cincinnati made rival claims to be the "Athens of the West". In religion, the West was partial to those denominations which prevailed in the democratic portions of New England. Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians took the lead.<sup>7</sup> The religious life of the West

<sup>1</sup> McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 370-372.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Amos Kendall was tutor in Henry Clay's family. See Kendall, *Autobiography*.

<sup>3</sup> November, 1830, III. 127, 131.

<sup>4</sup> Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, part I. 508 (art. ix., sec. 2 of Constitution of Indiana, 1816).

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Perrin, *Pioneer Press of Kentucky* (Filson Club Publications).

<sup>6</sup> Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, ch. III.; W. B. Cairns, "Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833", in *Bulletin of University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series*, I. 60-63.

<sup>7</sup> *American Quarterly Register*, III. 135, November, 1830, gives an estimate of the number of churches and communicants of the various sects in the Mississippi valley; see also, Schermerhorn and Mills, *Correct View of that Part of the United States West of the Allegany Mountains* (Hartford, 1814); *Home Missionary*, 1827, pp. 78, 79, 1830, p. 172; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV. 550-555.

frequently expressed itself in the form of emotional gatherings, in the camp-meetings and the revivals, where the rude, unlettered, but deeply religious backwoods preachers moved their large audiences with warnings of the wrath of God. Muscular Christianity was personified in the circuit-rider, who, with his saddle-bags and Bible, threaded the dreary trails through the forest from settlement to settlement. From the responsiveness of the West to religious excitement, it was easy to perceive that here was a region capable of being swayed in large masses by enthusiasm. These traits of the camp-meeting were manifested later in political campaigns.

Thus this society beyond the mountains, recruited from all the older states and bound together by the Mississippi, constituted a region swayed by common impulses. By the march of the Westerners away from their native states to the public domain of the nation, and by their organization as territories of the United States, they lost that state particularism which distinguished many of the old commonwealths of the coast. The section was nationalistic and democratic to the core. The West admired the self-made man and was ready to follow its hero with the enthusiasm of a section more responsive to personality than to the programmes of trained statesmen. It was a self-confident section, believing in its right to share in government; and troubled by no doubts of its capacity to rule.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

## DOCUMENTS

### I. *A Virginian Minister's Library, 1635*

JOHN GOODBORNE (or Goodbarne), a minister of the Church of England, sailed from England in 1635 as a passenger in the *Globe* for a plantation in Virginia called Merchant's Hope, in which John Sadler, William Guyney, and others were the adventurers. He died on the voyage, and his effects were delivered by Jeremy Blackman, the master of the *Globe*, to William Barker, who put them into a storehouse ashore. Blackman and Barker returned to England, where Peter Goodborne, father of John Goodborne, sued them in the High Court of Admiralty and obtained a sentence for the value of the goods. The following schedule of John Goodborne's books and wearing apparel is appended to the libel and appears to be in his own handwriting. The schedule is in tabular form, and the values of the items, in columns, are written thus: 00<sup>l</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>. In the transcript below, some contractions have been extended, and the values are given in modern form. The documents are among the records of the Admiralty Court in the Public Record Office in London: Libels 94, No. 204; Libels 95, Nos. 137, 138; Examinations 115, June 17 and July 7, 1637. R. G. MARSDEN.

[Nearly all the titles have been identified, either by Mr. Marsden or by the managing editor. Foot-notes have been appended only in the case of those entries which do not sufficiently show the character of the book, or where the identification presented some difficulty.]

#### *A particular note of my bookes.*

P. Martirs Common places, 10s; his Comment[aries] on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 of the Kinges, 8s; on Judges, 5s; of the Eucharist, 4s; on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 to Corinth[jans], 8s; on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 of Samuell, 8s; on the Romans, 4s; Leo papa, — the workes of Chrisoloras, Fulgentius, Valerianus, Maximus Tyrius, in one volume,<sup>1</sup> 18s; Fulke on the Romish Testament,<sup>2</sup> 12s; Davenant on the Colossians, 6s; Byfield on the Colossians, 6s;

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the emigrant had the fifth volume of Margarinus de La Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Cologne, 1619).

<sup>2</sup> William Fulke, *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holie Scriptures into the English Tong* (London, 1583, 1617, 1633).

Wilson on the Romanis, 6s; Knights Concordance,<sup>1</sup> 4s; Cottons Concordance,<sup>2</sup> 8s; Allens doct[rine] of the Gospell, 6s; Hockers Ecclesiastig. policy,<sup>3</sup> 8s; Baines on the Proverbs, 4s; Austin of the Citty of God, English, with Ludovicus Vives,<sup>4</sup> 10s; Plutarchs lives, English, 17s; Prospers workes, 4s; Vorsii [*qu. Voetii*] theses, 4s; Pagina interlin. raris [?] versis Psalmorum, Proverb., Cant. Cantic., Ruth, Hester, Job, Ecclesi., Threnorum, 2s 6d; Amesii Coronis, 1s 4d, Medulla, 1s 6d, Bel-lar[minus] Enervatus, 2 volumes, 5s 1d, Cases, 1s 6d, Antesynodalia,<sup>5</sup> 1s 6d; Echardi, facicul. Controversiarum,<sup>6</sup> 1s 6d; Moses unveiled, by W. Guild, 10d; Bucans Common places, 2s; Austins Enchiridion, with Danaus,<sup>7</sup> 2s; Militis Christiani Encheiridion Erasmo autore, 6d; Ainsworth in Pentateuchid., Psalmos, 10s; Acta Synodi Dordrachen[sis], 6s; Erasmi Paraphrasis in N. T., 2s; Parks [?] on James, 2s; Mayer on James,<sup>8</sup> 2s; Harmony Epist[olarum] Pauli, 1s 4d; Dionysius Carthusius in Epist[olas] Pauli, 1s 4d; Jewell on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 of Thessal[onians], 1s; Buchanan's latin psalmes, 1s 2d; Lactantii opera, 1s 6d; Austins<sup>9</sup> Meditacons, latin, 1s 2d; Alstedii logica Theologic.,<sup>10</sup> 8d; An explanation of the Common Catechisme, 1s 6d; Hunnius in Johannem, 1s 6d; Psalmes in 4<sup>r</sup> partes, 1s 6d; In Habackuk and Soponiam, Brevis Dilucidatio, incerto autore, 3d; Piscator in Evangelia, Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Pauli, Epistolas Canonicas, 5s; Two g[r]eeke testaments, one with the English psalmes, 3s; Talle booke, 2d; Kempusii<sup>11</sup> opusculum, 4d; Salviani opera, 1s; Ainsworths Communion of Saints, 2s; Bedae [a]xiomata philosophica, 6d; Henricii institucones med., 1s; Reuchlin de verbo mirifico, 1s; Vincentius contra Hereses, 1s; Dr Sutton on the Sacrament of the lords supper, 10d; His two treatises, lear[n]e to live, learne to die, 1s 4d; Brinsleys Grammer schoole, lent to Mr Cleark, 1s; Theologicall rules [for] mysticall cases, 6d; Willsons dictionary<sup>12</sup> with white paper betwene every leafe, in 3 volumes, 6s; Tolet de Anima,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William Knight, *A Concordance Axiomaticall . . . of . . . Holie Scripture* (London, 1610).

<sup>2</sup> Clement Cotton, *A Complete Concordance to the Bible* (London, 1631).

<sup>3</sup> Meaning Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

<sup>4</sup> St. Augustine of the Citty of God; with the learned Comments of J. L. Vives. Englished by J. H[ale]y (London, 1610).

<sup>5</sup> William Ames, *Coronis ad Collationem Hagensem, Medulla Theologica, De Conscientia et ejus Jure vel Casibus* (Amsterdam, 1634; the English translation did not appear till 1639), *Antisynodalia Scripta* (Amsterdam, 1633).

<sup>6</sup> H. Eckhard, *Fasciculus Controversiarum Theologicarum* (Leipzig, 1611).

<sup>7</sup> Divi Aur. Augustini Liber de Haeresibus, L. Danaei opera emendatus, etc. (Geneva, 1578).

<sup>8</sup> John Mayer, *Exposition upon the Epistle of St. James* (London, 1629).

<sup>9</sup> St. Augustine.

<sup>10</sup> Probably J. H. Alstedii *Lexicon Theologicum* (Hannover, 1620).

<sup>11</sup> Sc. Thomas a Kempis.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionary, opening the Significations of the chiefe Words dispersed generally through Holy Scriptures*.

<sup>13</sup> Cardinal Fr. Toledo's commentaries on Aristotle *De Anima*, many eds.



rs; Scharpii Simphonia,<sup>1</sup> 2s 6d; Biblia Tremellii et Junii,<sup>2</sup> 7s 6d; Calvin on the psalmes, 5s; Pelasheri analysis Typ., 5s; Fonsecae Metaph:<sup>3</sup> Tom. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2s; Calvin on the 1 and 2 epist. in the Corinth., 2s 6d; Dent on the Revelations,<sup>4</sup> 1s; Goesii opus histori[cum], 8d; Yates his modell of divin[ity], 1s 4d; Allens Concordancy of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, 1s; Doctor Twine's translation of Virgill in Meeter, 8d; Prideaux his lectures, 1s; Bulkley his appollogy for the Church of Englands Religions, 4d; Terence in English, by Barnard, 1s 4d; Masons treatis of fastinge,<sup>5</sup> 1s; Byfielde on part of 1<sup>st</sup> epistle of Peter, 1s 4d; E[u]sebio historia, 2s; Polani parct. theolog.,<sup>6</sup> 1s; Marlorati thesaurus,<sup>7</sup> 1s; A concordance, 6d; Pagnini lexicon Hebr., 1s; Aelian de Animal., 2s; the Booke of Canons, 10d; Senecae opera, 3s; Caesaris comentaria, 1s; Justini historia, 1s; the booke of Articles, 4d; Pindari opera, 1s 6d; Homeri Ilias, 2s; poetae minores, 1s 6d; Bellarmini Gra[mma]t. Hebr., 1s 6d; Buxtorfii Epitome,<sup>8</sup> 1s; Camdeni Grammata Graeca, 4d; Cleonardi Grammata Graeca, 1s 6d; Scapulae Lexicon,<sup>9</sup> 9s; Stobai sententiae et al[ia] Grecolat[ina], 3s; Tullii orationes cum variis commentar. fol., 6s; Erasmus Adagia, 9s; Plutarchi vitae lat., 4s; Aristotelis opera Graecol[atina], 2 volumes, 12s; Dictionarium poeticum, 3s; Tullii opera, 4s; Calvini catechesis, 1s 6d; Ursini catechesis, 2s; Summa consiliorum, 1s 6d; Vogelii thesaurus, 2s; Lombardi sententiae,<sup>10</sup> 3s 6d; Calvini Institutiones, 3s; Stockwoods disputacons,<sup>11</sup> 8d; Quintilians declamacons, 2s 6d; Pasors Lexicon,<sup>12</sup> 1s 6d; Thucydides lat., 2s 6d; Natalis Com[itum] Mytholog[ia], 2s 6d; Ovidii opera 4<sup>v</sup> volumes, 2s 6d; Garthii lexicon, 1s 6d; Philosophy, bookes unperfect, 6d; Juvenall and Persius, 1s 4d; Horace with Bond,<sup>13</sup> 1s 8d; Magi Physick, 1s 6d; Kettermans Phisick, 1s 6d; Kaeckermans log., 1s 4d; Scaliger de subtil., 1s 8d; Keckermans Mathemat., 1s 4d; Walaei Ethica Christiana, 1s 4d; Templeei Metaph., 1s 6d; A treatise of Christs Sufferings, 6d; Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae,<sup>14</sup> 6d; De Ecclesiae Catholicae

<sup>1</sup> J. Scharpius, *Symphonia Prophetarum et Apostolorum* (Geneva, 1625).

<sup>2</sup> *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra . . . Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti . . . ab J. Tremellio et F. Junio* (London, 1580, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Peter da Fonseca's commentaries on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, many eds.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Dent, *The Ruine of Rome: or an Exposition upon the whole Revelation* (London, 1603, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> Henry Mason, *Christian Humiliation, or a Treatise of Fasting* (London, 1625).

<sup>6</sup> Amandus Polanus, *Partitiones Theologicae* (Basel, 1599).

<sup>7</sup> Augustin Marlorat, *Propheticae et Apostolicae . . . Scripturae Thesaurus* (1574).

<sup>8</sup> J. Buxtorf, *Epitome Radicum Hebraicarum et Chaldaicarum* (Basel, 1607).

<sup>9</sup> Joannes Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*.

<sup>10</sup> The *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

<sup>11</sup> John Stockwood, *Disputatiuncularum Grammaticalium Libellus* (London, 1619).

<sup>12</sup> George Pasor, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*.

<sup>13</sup> *Quinti Horatii Flacci Poemata, scholiis a Joanne Bond illustrata* (London, 1606, etc.).

<sup>14</sup> Probably that of Bishop John Jewel.

notis . . . e Libel.,<sup>1</sup> 4d ; Lodoici exercitia,<sup>2</sup> 6d ; Plautus, 1s 6d ; Virgill with notes and pic[t]ures, 2s ; Mongotii Postillae, 2s ; Terence, 10d ; Suetonius, 1s ; Poselii syntaxis,<sup>3</sup> 1s ; Calvini grammat[a] Graec[a], 1s 4d ; Porta Linguarum,<sup>4</sup> 1s 8d ; Cornelii a Lapide opera, 6 voluminibus, 4l 10s 0d ; Estius in Epistolas,<sup>5</sup> 16s ; Maldonate in Evangelia, 12s ; Stella in Lucam, 10s ; Barnadi opera, 1l 0s 0d ; Pierii hieroglyphica, 10s ; Theodoreti opera, 17s ; Davenants determinacon,<sup>6</sup> 4s 6d ; D<sup>r</sup> Tweese his controversie,<sup>7</sup> 6s ; Augustini epitome, 4s ; Brightman in Cantica, 1s 6d ; Barnard on the common . . . h,<sup>8</sup> 2d ; D<sup>r</sup> Prestons workes in 6 volumes,<sup>9</sup> 1l 4s 0d ; Otes on the Epistle of Jude, 7s ; Doctor Gibbs his workes in 3 volumes, 6s 10d ; Gifford on the Canticles, 1s 4d ; Isocratis orationes Grecolat., 1s 6d ; Tho. Aquinatis summa, 2 volumes old print, 8s ; Boltens Instructions,<sup>10</sup> 5s ; An Englishe bible, 4s ; Halfe a Rheame of white writinge paper, 3s 4d. Summa totall. 32l 16s 6d.

*A particular note of my apparell and other things*

Two hatts, the one old which is worth 6s, the other new which cost 14s ; An old cloth coate lined with cotton Bayes, 1l 0s 0d ; A cloath gowne and two Cassocks, the one cloth and the other stuffe, all newe, 5l 14s 0d ; A stuffe cloake and suite, both newe, 4l 0s 0d ; Two old cloth suits, and a new cloth Jackett, 2l 0s 0d ; A pewter candle stick, 10d ; An old cloth Cloake, 1l 10s 0d ; A redd scarlett capp laced, 1s ; A newe silke girdle, 5s ; A newe payer of Buckes leather gloves, 4s 4d ; One newe paire of gray wollen stockings, 2s ; Two newe payer of black wollen stockings, 6s ; A payer of newe Gloves with black silke trimminge, 2s ; One newe paire of worsted stockings, 5s ; One old payer of worsted stockings, 2s 6d ; One newe redd cotton wascoate, 2s 6d ; An old one, 1s ; fower neckclothes, 1s 6d ; A newe quilted cappe, 1s 6d ; 3 other newe payer of gloves, 2s 9d ; An old payer of Cordivant gloves, 1s 6d ; an old quilted capp, 9d ; A new sattin cappe, 3s 6d ; 4 linnen cappes without lace, 3s ; A new Coverlett, 1l 10s 0d ; 12 bands, 10s ; An old Coverlett, 8s ; 9 shirts, 2l 7s 0d ; A newe Blanckett, 8s ; 13 newe handkercheefes, 6s 6d ; A tinder box, 2d ; 12 old handkercheefes, 3s ; 8 or 9 payer of old cuffes, 1s ; A newe leather cappe lined with Taffety, 1s 9d ; 8 payer of newe sockes, 4s 6d ; A payer of newe bootes, 7s ; An old lookinge glasse, 4d ;

<sup>1</sup> Probably Theodore Beza, *De veris et visibilibus Ecclesiae Catholicae Notis* (Geneva, 1579).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Gottfried Ludwig, *Exercitatio Historica Theologica*.

<sup>3</sup> *Joannis Posselii Syntaxis Graeca*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the well-known work of Comenius.

<sup>5</sup> Gulielmus Estius, *In Epistolas. D. Pauli ad Romanos*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> J. Davenant, *Determinationes Quaestionum quarundam theologicarum* (Cambridge, 1634).

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps William Twiss, *A Discovery of D. Jackson's Vanity*.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps William Bavaunde, *Good Ordering of a Commonwealth*.

<sup>9</sup> Probably Dr. John Preston.

<sup>10</sup> Probably R. Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a comfortable Walking with God* (London, 1624, etc.).

Two payer of newe shoes, and a payer of pumpes, 6s 6d; two payer of old shoes, 1s 6d; fether bed, boulster, and matt, 3l 0s 0d: 3 payer of pillowe beare[r]s, 6l 6s 0d; 2 payer of flaxen shee[t]s, 1l 4s 0d; 6 towells, 3s; a payer of courser sheets, 6s; one sheete, 3s; 9 napkins, 4s—Summa totall. 27l 13s 8d.

At the foot of Barker's answer is a list of books and effects which he admits having received. It contains most of the items enumerated in the schedule to the libel, together with the following books which are not in the schedule. Barker's list is full of mistakes, and is evidently drawn up by an illiterate pleader; several of his items defy attempts to identify.

Farnabe Bartholomeus uppon the Counsell; Ascams plaine way of Teachin[ge]<sup>1</sup>; Everinus Phisicke; Roberts uppon the 130 Psalme; Drusius his Apothegmes; A marriage prayer; Leyes and Dods Sermons; Tossanius Compendium<sup>2</sup>; A Table of Scripture; A Short Catechism; Dennisons Sermon; Coelius his Institutions; Goffs Sermons; Hornes Sermons; A smalle booke of meditacions; Goodwin uppon Moyses and Aron; An Hebrew booke; A Greek grammar; Paulus Oretius<sup>3</sup>; Pastinus his Expositions; Wilsons rules<sup>4</sup>; Wilsons tracte; A Dicksionary uppon the Revelacion; A smalle Treatis of our Saviours Descention to Hell<sup>5</sup>; Balthasarius Lexicon; Yeates Sermons; Desputerius<sup>6</sup>; Conradus Phisicks; Rodulphus uppon the Proverbs; A Cynnoctical Annotatiō; Ricardus uppon Luke; Ricktherus uppon the Scripture; Brandimlierius.

2. *Letters of John Quincy Adams to Alexander Hamilton Everett, 1811-1837*

(Second Installment.)<sup>7</sup>

XVI.

(Private and Confidential)

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> New-York

WASHINGTON 28. May 1825<sup>8</sup>

*My dear Sir.*

Accept my thanks for your Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> and for its enclosure. I had not the least uneasiness that the latter should remain

<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster or Plaine Way of Teaching*.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Tossanus, *A Synopsis or Compendium of the Fathers* (London, 1635).

<sup>3</sup> Qu. ? Orosius.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* (London, 1552, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> Probably Adam Hill, *The Defence of the Article: Christ descended to Hell* (London, 1592).

<sup>6</sup> Qu. ? Johannes Despauterius, *De Accentibus et Punctis*.

<sup>7</sup> For the letters of 1811-1818, I.-XV., see the preceding number of the REVIEW, XI. 88-116.

<sup>8</sup> Among President Adams's first nominations had been that of A. H. Everett as minister to Spain.

in possession of your brother; but it was too full of egotism, for me to be willing that it should fall into unfriendly hands. I am also much gratified with the scraps of newspapers, containing some of your publications the last Autumn.

If the failure of the Union ticket at the late Boston election,<sup>1</sup> is to be regretted, it is not to be wondered at, considering the manner in which it was composed. "Nullum Numen Adest, ni sit Prudentia."

It is customary for Ministers Plenipotentiary, on delivering their Credential Letters into the hands of the Sovereign to whom they are directed, to address him in a short speech; more or less formal, according to the dispositions of the Speaker and Hearer. With this custom you will do well to conform. The Address is complimentary, and adapted to the time and circumstances of its delivery. One or two instances have occurred here during the late Administration of Ministers who read their Addresses from written papers but this is not a general usage, nor as I ever heard the practice at the Spanish Court. The Minister reports to his Government the substance, and sometimes the words of his Address—and also the purport of the Answer, which he receives to it.

I enclose a Letter for Mr Brown, at Paris.<sup>2</sup> He will shew you a copy of a recent Instruction to Mr Middleton,<sup>3</sup> relating to the Affairs of Spain and South-America. I pray you to write me freely and confidentially as often as you shall find it convenient and agreeable. My best wishes will follow you, for the success of your Mission, and for your personal comfort and welfare.

Yours affectionately J. Q. ADAMS.

XVII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

WASHINGTON 15. April 1830.

Dear Sir.

I received a few weeks since, and have read with great satisfaction your pamphlet upon the British Opinions on the protecting system<sup>4</sup>; which are indeed the opinions of many among ourselves. I had read those wise lucubrations of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviewers,<sup>5</sup> which you have so effectually discussed, and had remarked the tone of dogmatism and the visage of Wisdom with which the Sophist of Dun

<sup>1</sup> The election of representatives from Boston to the Massachusetts legislature, May 10, had resulted in the choice of twenty regular Federalists, and in the defeat of a "union ticket" prepared by the Republicans and such Federalists as would join with them.

<sup>2</sup> James Brown of Louisiana, minister to France 1823 to 1829.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Middleton of South Carolina, minister to Russia 1820 to 1830.

<sup>4</sup> *British Opinions upon the Protective System* (Boston, 1830); reprinted from the *North American Review*, XXX. 160.

<sup>5</sup> "The American Tariff," *Edinburgh Review*, December, 1828; "Commerce of the United States and West Indies," *Quarterly Review*, January, 1829.

Edin dealt out his ignorance and absurdity. But the exposure of them in your Article surpasses my expectation. Your brother informs me that the author of the Edinburgh Article is a Lecturer upon Political Economy.<sup>1</sup> I take it for granted he will see either the Article in the North American, or your pamphlet, and that we shall hear from him again on the subject. Handled as he has been it is scarcely possible that he should reply without falling into a passion—and then he will make an auditory to witness his discomfiture.

You quote in a note, a paragraph in my last Message to Congress,<sup>2</sup> with a question of its correctness. My position was not intended as you conjecture, for particular or local application; and was disconnected entirely from any reference to Navigation. I believe the difference between us must be found in the definition of the words *value* and *equivalents*. You are so much deeper in the theories of political economy than I have been, that I distrust my own judgment, and suspect I may have uttered an error, where I should rather have expected to be charged with having propounded a truism.

During the twelve years which succeeded my last return from Europe, my time was so totally absorbed in official Studies and duties that I had none left for devotion to general Literature; nor even to pursue the progress of the Science of Political Economy. After reading your controversy with Malthus,<sup>3</sup> I had set him aside, as very doubtful authority; and although I had for several years Ricardo's book upon my shelf, I never found a moment to look into it, nor even into that of our Countryman Mr Raymond. Neither of these Books is now within my reach—nor Say, nor my friend Count De Stutt Tracy; and my utter inability to follow the course of the renowned Periodicals, till within the last four Months has left me so to seek on this momentous subject that I knew nothing even of Malthus's Definitions,<sup>4</sup> till I perceived in this new Article of your's that there was such a book, and that it had been reviewed by you, in the North-American. I then hunted up the North American for last April,<sup>5</sup> and there to be sure I find much discussion upon the value of value, and some disagreement between you and Mr Malthus about it. I discover moreover that there is a book in sundry Chapters, called "a Critical Dissertation upon Value"<sup>6</sup> which, if I should ever get a sight of it, I hope will not perform the office of that antient Judge in the Paradise Lost who "by decision more embroils the fray". My meaning of the word Value was much nearer the surface.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. McCulloch.

<sup>2</sup> A paragraph affirming it to be "a general law of prosperous commerce, that the real value of exports should by a small, and only a small, balance exceed that of imports, that balance being a permanent addition to the wealth of the nation." See *North American Review*, XXX. 198.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Everett, *New Ideas on Population, with Remarks on the Theories of Malthus and Godwin* (Boston, 1823, 1826).

<sup>4</sup> *Definitions in Political Economy* (London, 1827).

<sup>5</sup> "Political Economy," *North American Review*, XXVIII. 368.

<sup>6</sup> [Samuel Bailey], *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures and Causes of Value* (London, 1825).

I take this occasion to assure you of the pleasure with which I learnt that you had taken the *North American* into your own hands. I thought it was falling into bad management, especially upon certain topics of our revolutionary history and of present domestic policy. I do not flatter myself that I shall be able to concur in all the doctrines political, metaphysical or poetical, which will mark the future career of this miscellany; but I shall be relieved from the apprehension that it will become the medium for the circulation of time-serving morality or perverted history.<sup>1</sup>

Your brother mentioned to me, that you had applied to him for an Article for the July number of the Review, upon the Tape-worm debate in the Senate of the United States, which is voiding all the sense and nonsense, all the wit and dulness, all the Patriotism and Scoundrelism of that body, with its commingled fragrance and fetidity to salute the nostrils of the Nation, and he asked me to undertake this service in his stead. I desired him to excuse me<sup>2</sup>; first from a doubt whether the whole worm would ever be evacuated, Secondly from a probability that its parcels will be still appearing at least during all the present Session of Congress, but thirdly and chiefly because I believed such an Article as I should write, would not suit your views, nor perhaps the temporal Interests of the Review itself. If I should write the Article it would be too bold for the temper of the Times, and would adapt itself to no one of the political parties militant. It would deal with them all more in truth than, in policy, and would mask neither the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, nor the Hartford Convention Resolutions of 1815. Nor the Colleton<sup>3</sup> and Edgefield<sup>4</sup> Resolutions of 1829.<sup>4</sup> They are all Chips of the same Block, and there is no great political party in this Country but at some time or other has made to itself a God, of this "inutile lignum".

I know not whether your brother or you will even think it advisable fully to expose the mutual surrender of the Public Lands to the West, and of the American System to the South, both at the expense of all the rest of the Union, of which this debate has revealed the project. This is the practical application of the doctrine that any one State has a right to nullify any act of Congress which the State Legislature may please to pronounce Unconstitutional. This is the Key to the creed that Robbery is an attribute of Sovereignty, and that a State may declare itself the owner of all the Lands within its borders. Georgia by virtue of this doctrine, nullifies the Laws of Congress and the Treaties that promise protection to Indian tribes; South-Carolina nullifies the Tariff.

<sup>1</sup> From 1824 to 1830 Jared Sparks had edited the *North American Review*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Adams seems never to have contributed to the *North American Review*.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is probably made to "An Address of sundry Citizens of Colleton district to the people of the state of South Carolina," drawn up June 12, 1828 (the Walterborough address). See *Niles' Register*, XXXIV. 288.

<sup>4</sup> The Edgefield, South Carolina, resolutions of July 26, 1828, are found *ibid.*, XXXV. 60.

Missouri nullifies all the Land Laws—and takes the Lands into her own keeping. They all nullify the Power of the Supreme Court. The Executive of the Union bows in submission; and majorities of both Houses present that beautiful Spectacle of a Government disrobing itself, of its own powers. Meantime Massachusetts is mulcted in a Million of dollars, because her Legislature and judges nullified an Act of Congress sixteen or seventeen years since, and the Hartford Convention, for *recommending* the nullification of certain other Acts of the same body, is turned over to an Independent Court Martial and the second Section. Whether you will take this view of the Senatorial debate or not, it is in my mind by far the most important light in which it is to be considered; for if the sacrifice of the property in the Public Lands, and of the cause and interest of free labour, is not already consummated beyond redemption, nothing can save them but a complete and fearless exposure of the nefarious conspiracy now in the full tide of successful experiment against them.

For the sake of the Union, and of honest Politics, I rejoice that this Subject must occupy, and summon to action all the faculties of your mind, and all the virtues of your heart—if not as a Reviewer, at least as a Legislator—and this is one of my Reasons for congratulating our Country and our native Commonwealth upon your Election to the Senate of the State.<sup>1</sup> I have just received your "*Politics of Europe*"—but have only space to assure you of the continued regard and attachment of your friend.

J. Q. ADAMS.

#### XVIII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

WASHINGTON II. May 1830

Dear Sir

They used to tell a Story of a Bailly in some village of France, who upon the passage of Henri quatre through his jurisdiction felt himself under the awkward necessity of apologizing for the omission of a cannonade in his honour. He commenced a set Speech to His Majesty by assuring him that there were seven reasons why they had not welcomed his arrival by the sound of the Cannon—the first of which was that they had no Cannon to fire. Whereupon Le Roi Henri gravely observed to the village Magistrate that he would dispense with the assignment of the six remaining Reasons, being altogether satisfied with the first.

I have at least as many reasons as the worthy Bailly, for withholding the promise to furnish you regularly with an Article for the successive numbers of your Review; and I hope you will be as indulgent to me, as the Béarnois was to him, when I say that the condition of my health is the first. And as a portion of my health, there must be included a certain waywardness of disposition, humouring caprices in the

<sup>1</sup> Everett served in the Massachusetts legislature from 1830 to 1835.

<sup>2</sup> *North American Review*, XXX. 399, Everett's third article of that title for that journal.

application of my time—So that instead of refusing like Shakespear's Knight to give Reasons upon compulsion, I am more likely to give them in no other manner. I hope and trust it may be in my power to supply you occasionally with an Article; but whether for so soon as October, may be doubtful. I intreat you therefore to make provision for that number, without depending upon me; and if I should have one prepared so that it might come into that number, it shall be at your service to employ then or for the number next ensuing as may suit your convenience.

The subject upon which my own inclination at present dwells, as that which it would be most agreeable to me to treat would be a biographical account of our late Charge d'Affaires at the Court of Brazil, William Tudor. Biography, does not come strictly within the plan of your Review; but it seems to me that a short account of the life of him who was the founder, first proprietor and Editor of the work itself, far from being out of place, would be peculiarly suited to it. The establishment and continuance to this time of the North-American Review, forms itself an Epocha in the history of our Literature, the occasion of advertising to which would naturally present itself in a Life of Mr Tudor; and some critical, perhaps some political observations would naturally arise from an appropriate notice of the Articles in the Review written by him, as well as of his other published writings.

Mr Tudor's Mother and Sister Mrs Stewart, are my next-door neighbours at this place. In compliance with a request from them, I have written a short notice for the National Intelligencer, but which is a mere newspaper Article. The one which I should propose for the Review, would perhaps be as long as one of your usual Articles. But to prepare it I should want much information which is to be obtained only from the friends and acquaintance of Mr Tudor in Boston. If you approve of my design, I shall need your assistance to procure it.

I am very glad to learn that Charles is entering upon the field with you, and particularly that he begins with Grahame's history.<sup>1</sup> It is incomparably the best account that has ever been published of our early Settlements, and as he is the first historian who has done Justice to our forefathers I hope the North-American Review will be the first to do ample Justice to him.

I thank you for the kind expression of your opinions and dispositions with regard to the new trust in which we both stand associated in the Government of the concerns of our University.<sup>2</sup> Some improvement in the regulation of its affairs has been generally thought necessary, and expected by the public. Mr Quincy has also been sensible of this necessity, and as I have understood is impressed with the Spirit rather

<sup>1</sup> Grahame's *History of the United States* was reviewed by Charles Francis Adams in the *North American Review*, XXXII. 174.

<sup>2</sup> President Adams had lately been chosen a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University.



of renovation than of innovation. I shall be happy to give him for that purpose all the aid in my power.

I had fully intended and expected to be at my residence in Quincy a month earlier than this; but a very comfortable situation here, and an obstinate Catarrhal complaint succeeded by rhumatic symptoms, have detained me for some weeks, though I still purpose to migrate northward before the close of this Month. I shall rely upon the pleasure of seeing you upon my return, and shall be glad to receive the subsequent numbers of the North-American Review, there, rather than here.

Do you intend to suffer the Article in the last number, upon the Jefferson Correspondence,<sup>1</sup> to pass for the New-England critical and political *judgment* concerning that work?

Yours faithfully

J. Q. ADAMS.

### XIX.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston.

WASHINGTON 24 May 1830.<sup>2</sup>

Dear Sir.

I reply to your Letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> though at the eve of my return to Quincy, where I hope to arrive at a time when you will be much occupied with public business. But as the Session of the Legislature will be short I expect to see you not long after my arrival,—and we may then freely converse upon topics too comprehensive to be discussed in Letters of *conscionable* dimensions.

I had no intention to write an Article upon the Jefferson Correspondence for the Review, but I was certainly not satisfied with the Article upon it, in the last number. Mr Jefferson had a *mind*. I did hope to see in the North-American Review at least traces of a *Mind* capable of grappling with it. In the published Article, there is abundance of liberality. But the errors of Mr Jefferson in Religion and Politics are not of that harmless Class which may be encountered with equivocal opposition or hesitating dissent. There is a mode of defending which has the effect of surrendering a Cause. The Reviewer professes to disapprove some of Mr Jefferson's Religious opinions, but does not tell us what they are—but he approves his practice and recommendation of free enquiry, or free thinking—admires his total disregard of all human authority, and his studious avoidance of quoting the opinion of any other as the motive or foundation of his own; and is half-inclined to regard this lofty consciousness of superiority over other minds as a new discovery in religious morals.

<sup>1</sup> Article in the *North American Review*, XXX. 511, for April, 1830, by A. Ritchie, on the Randolph edition of the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*.

<sup>2</sup> Most of this letter, and one passage in the next, was printed, without mention of the person addressed, in *Old and New* for February, 1873, VII. 135–136. Nevertheless, for the sake of continuity, it is here reprinted.

The writer of the Article, favours his readers with much commonplace argument, upon the reasonableness of free and unlimited enquiry, and commends Mr Jefferson, for advising his young friend to examine the first-principles of *natural* religion for himself, and not to adopt without examination the principles of *another*.

It is not difficult to discern where all this leads. The Reviewer does not or will not discern it. But observe—*Examination* is one thing—*Rejection* of all human authority is another. Mr Jefferson examined much less than he rejected. He never examined the evidences of Christianity. He rejected it as an imposture. Rejected it, not by the dictate of his own mind, but upon mere perusal of the bible, under the influence of the infidel School of his own and the immediately preceding age—Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, and the rest of that gang. What he meant by examination, was treating the Bible like Tooke's Pantheon—studying all the fashionable atheists of the age; and never looking into the writers in favour of Christianity. So far was Mr Jefferson from encouraging or recommending examination into the truth of the Christian Religion, that he founded his University, with a cold, professed, and systematic exclusion of all theological studies from the institution.

He who recommends to a young man, a total rejection of human authority in the pursuit of his enquiries after religious truth, ought if not in Modesty, at least in consistency to include his own authority with the rest. And perhaps it would be quite as good advice to the natural impetuosity of youth to guard the juvenile enquirer against the possible illusions of his own mind, as against the opinions of *all* the rest of mankind. The rejection of all human authority, in the formation of our religious opinions, is as unphilosophical, as the blindest confidence in an infallible Church. Examination is good; but it must be thorough. An University without theological Studies, however favourable to free thinking is but a sorry commentary upon free Inquiry.

Mr Jefferson was not willing that all his opinions upon Religion should be known to the world in his Life-time. He sometimes intrenched himself in his Castle, and insisted upon his right to keep his opinions to himself. When Dr Priestley was a *political* Apostle for him, he was prepared to pass for a Unitarian, and preferred the moral precepts of Jesus to those of Moses, or of Socrates or of any other antient philosopher. But he was always as hostile to the whole system of Christianity as the temper of popular opinion in this Country would endure. He occasionally *betrayed* his belief in the independent existence of matter, and he had no faith in a future state of retribution, though he never very explicitly avowed this part of his doctrines.

His opinions upon the judiciary, and his rancour against all judges, deserve searching scrutiny and fearless exposure, nearly as much as his religious infidelity. And the nullification doctrine, which may shiver this Union to atoms is the child of his own conception. It was like most of his political opinions a doctrine adopted and propagated to promote

his own views and prospects of ambition, at a particular time; and did effectually promote them. As to his Construction of the Constitution and his tender regard for State Rights, his annexation of Louisiana to the Union, by Acts of Congress, with his signature, and his Cumberland Road, are quite as authoritative of what he could *do*, as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of what he could *say*.

Mr Jefferson's *infidelity*, his *anti-judicialism*, and his *nullification*, were three great and portentous Errors. I did hope that the Cause of the Cross, the Cause of *Justice*, and the Cause of the American Union, would have found in the North-American Review, a head and heart capable of defending them against the insidious and therefore more formidable assault of his posthumous Correspondence. As to the Lamb-like meekness with which the remnants of the Hartford Convention stomach his new, and gross denunciations of them, let it pass, if so my friend shall think just and fair, for *liberality*.

That these great Errors should be probed to the bottom, and exposed in their naked nature I do believe to be highly necessary. We have had recent experience here, of the use which some of the most desperate profligates upon Earth are making of his name and authority, to kindle a conflagration in the confusion of which they may consummate their schemes of public robbery, and enthrall the free blood of this Union in bondage to its Slavery. Now is not a time for New-England to close her eyes, upon what is passing in this Confederation before them, nor to wink at the jugglery practising upon her simplicity, under the name, the countenance and the authority of Jefferson.

For the Mulatto doctrine of political economy, which proves that two thirds of the federal revenue consists of a tax upon the *export* of Cotton, I commend you to the speech of Mr M'Duffie now in a course of publication in the National Intelligencer. You will see that this rare political economist falls foul of you among others. He is also one of the champions of nullification, and tells some of our good natured members that if Congress will not repeal the Tariff, the Legislature of South-Carolina will. I am told that Mr Gorham and Mr Davis<sup>1</sup> answered both his argument and his swaggering, but their speeches have not yet been published. I have heard much also of a Speech of your brother's—but that was perhaps on the Indian question, which is prejudged. I have not seen him, I think for more than a Month. He is so much and so well engaged that I would not intrude upon him.

Your faithful friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XX.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston—

QUINCY 18. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1831.

*My dear Sir,*

In compliance with my promise and your request I send you the Manuscript which I had prepared in reply to Mr H. G. Otis and his

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Gorham and John Davis, of Massachusetts.

twelve confederates, or rather to himself alone, he being on that occasion my only real adversary.<sup>1</sup> It was written under circumstances so deeply afflictive and feelings so far beyond the reach of his pigmy Soul to excite, that it would not be fit for public inspection without severe revisal. It was never intended for publication without such revisal, and I now commit in friendly confidence its perusal to you, only with the condition that you will return it, with all the passages marked, of which you would advise the omission, and with such other observations as your friendship and judgment may suggest.

I am well pleased that your proposed Article upon Nullification in the North American Review, should be postponed, to embrace the examination of Mr Calhoun's new Theory, in connection with my Oration.<sup>2</sup> This has already been severely criticised from various quarters, and among the rest from Head-quarters. I am told that a critic in the Salem Gazette, charges me with having borrowed my expositions of the *united* Declaration of Independence from Mr Dane. I did not borrow them from Mr Dane, but from the Paper itself, and from personal knowledge of the Time. Mr Dane had the same opinion drawn from the same Sources: he no more borrowed it from me than I borrowed it from him, as is well known to Judge Story. But if you will read with attention what Mr Dane says upon the subject, in his Supplement,<sup>3</sup> you will see an intelligible concession that this doctrine was somewhat overlooked at the Hartford Convention.

Mr Dane has so nobly redeemed that error, both by this concession, and by his magnificent benefaction to our University, that base would be the heart which could reproach him with it now; and among my motives for suppressing hitherto my enclosed manuscript, not the least has been, a reluctance, at baring thus to the bone, in the face of the world, the character and proceedings of an Assembly of which we know that he was an unwilling member.

I have sent to Mr Calhoun a copy of my Eulogy upon Mr Monroe, and with it one of my Oration, which I had not at first done; lest he should think it was meant as a cast of the glove. With the two pamphlets, I have written him a few lines disclaiming all other than friendly intentions in offering them, but with the hope that his answer may give opening to a further exposition by himself of his present Sentiments with regard to the Union.

<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet alluded to is the famous *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams, Esquire, President of the United States, and several Citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the Charge of a Design to dissolve the Union* (Boston, 1829) put forth by Otis and others. The manuscript alluded to, Adams's "Reply to the Appeal of the Massachusetts Federalists," first saw the light of print in 1877, when published by Mr. Henry Adams in his *Documents relating to New England Federalism*.

<sup>2</sup> Adams's oration at Quincy, July 4, 1831, in which he inveighed against the nullifiers.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix to Vol. IX. of Dane's *Abridgment*.

Mr Madison's Letter to your brother<sup>1</sup> upon the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. and 1799. also contains a concession which I deem of no trivial importance. "It may often happen, says he, as experience proves, that erroneous constructions, not anticipated, may not be sufficiently guarded against in the language used." I consider him also as substantially admitting that the great object of those Resolutions was *electioneering* for Mr Jefferson. That this was their great object I have always believed, and as he remarks it was effectually answered. Neither your brother,<sup>2</sup> nor Mr Webster has ventured in treating of those Resolutions *now*, to analyse them with a critical scrutiny of their language and import as affected by this purpose for which they were prepared; to which they were adapted, and by which they were stimulated. I know not whether it will be within *your* plan to subject them to the discipline of *that* investigation, but I will not disguise the opinion, that no unanswerable refutation of the nullification principle can be exhibited without it. I presume it might be conducted with all the respect, and even delicacy so justly due to Mr Madison.

Mr Jefferson too is entitled to great Respect—though after the conduct of his last days and the posthumous publication of his writings, delicacy towards him from New-England, is an exemplification of something more than Christian meekness and forbearance. The Review of that work in the North-American, I have heard was written at the solicitation of his grand-daughter's husband, and that is the best way that I know of accounting for its character. "Time, (says Voltaire)" which vindicates the characters of great men, finishes by "rendering even their faults respectable.[""] Of such respectability Mr Jefferson has a very unreasonable share, and if the prudent servility of New-England Literature suffers it to accumulate without energetic remonstrance *she* will feel its consequences, in every vein and artery and sinew and bone of her population. Your brother has noticed his courteous reason for preserving the Union—to keep New-England, as a plaything to buffet, and quarrel with; and the complimentary anecdotes about leading New-England federalists in the *Ana*—but I have seen those same federalists, not ashamed of linking themselves to the crazy Chariot wheels of My Lord Mayor, that he might ride over my neck, at the moment when he thought me prostrate forever; and silent—silent—chap-fallen as the skull of Yorick the King's jester, under charges in these writings of Jefferson, that their darling champions were bribed by British gold.

You will find in the enclosed manuscript that I have handled him not quite so gently as your brother Edward. He deserves nothing but rigorous Justice from *me*—and that he shall always have. He was a great Man—but his characteristic vice was duplicity—a vice which originated in his overweening passion for popularity, and his consequent

<sup>1</sup> Letter of August, 1830, to Edward Everett. See it in *Letters and other Writings of James Madison*, IV. 95-105.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Everett's article on the "Debate in the Senate", *North American Review*, XXXI. 462.

desire to be all things to all men. As to his Constitutional puritanism—to say nothing of the Cumberland Road, the man who with the Oath of God upon his Soul, after writing his Letter to Dr Sibley upon the Louisiana purchase, could sign the Bills extending the Laws of the United States over that Territory comes with an ill-grace to claim a narrow Construction of the Powers of Congress.

I need not add the assurance or the injunction of perfect Confidence in which this Letter is written, by your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXI.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

QUINCY 18. August 1832

*Dear Sir.*

It may not be in my power to meet you according to your kind invitation at 4 in the afternoon of Monday, but I shall probably visit Boston in the course of the week, and will then not fail to call at your house, where I shall be happy to converse with you on the subject to which your Letter refers. I regretted much last year that the Anti-Masons of this Commonwealth, thought it necessary to nominate and support for Governor a Candidate other than the incumbent,<sup>1</sup> and expressly declined their nomination, declaring my approbation of the general course of his Administration. Could I now contribute to his re-election for the ensuing year, I would most cheerfully yield every suitable aid in my power.

With regard to the Electoral ticket for the Presidential Election, I incline to the opinion that having reference to both my Situations past and present I ought not to meddle with it at all. I have been earnestly solicited to deliver a public address to the Anti-Masons, to attend as a delegate at their projected Convention at Worcester, or to countenance them merely by my presence; all which I have declined. At the Election of 1824, it was a received Moral and Political Maxim of the National Republicans, that Caucusing by members of Congress, for the Election of a President was improper; and virtually forbidden by the Constitution, which disqualifies them from serving in the Electoral Colleges. I was of that opinion myself and avowed it. I have seen no occasion to change the opinion, and see none now.

With respect to conciliating the Anti-Masons in this Commonwealth, though it is rather late for the National Republicans to begin; it may be better late than never. I most sincerely and heartily wish that they would. The National Republicans of this Commonwealth have not understood—they do not and I fear *will not* understand the State of the

<sup>1</sup> Levi Lincoln. The history of antimasonry in Massachusetts, and of Adams's relation to it, may be followed in Dr. Charles McCarthy's monograph, "The Antimasonic Party," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902*, I. 516-525.

Masonic and Anti-Masonic Question. About a year ago the Grand Lodge of Rhode-Island, published a formal *defence of Masonry*, in which they said they could not tell whether Morgan had been murdered or not for *they knew nothing about it*. I have read a declaration published on the last day of the last year, signed by twelve hundred Masons of this our own State who speak of a high state of excitement which *had been* in the public mind, carried to it "by the *partial and inflammatory* representations of *certain offences* committed by a *few misguided members* of the Masonic Institution in a Sister State". The National Republicans of Massachusetts know nothing about these *certain Offences*, but they have for two years past taken most especial care to turn out of office every Anti-Mason upon whom they could lay their hands, all the while, bitterly complaining of the persecuting and proscriptive Spirit of political Anti-Masonry.

The cause of Anti-Masonry must and will survive the next Presidential-Election. And if the National Republicans of Massachusetts really wish for the co-operation of Anti-Masons, I have no doubt they can obtain it. Whether they can agree upon a ticket for the Presidential Election now so near at hand is doubtful in my mind, but I take it for granted that for this time the National Republicans can carry their Elections without them. The Masonic Declaration of last Winter, to which I have alluded considers the Anti-Masonic excitement as having subsided, and they certainly did appear then to have lost ground in this State, and at least to have gained none in the States of New-York and Pennsylvania. There is now an apparent Union of the two parties in New-York, but whether it will be cordial or successful is very problematical. The National Republicans there, are more sanguine than the Anti-Masons, and there are wounds between them not easily to be healed. You know how it is here.

Upon the Subject of Anti-Masonry, I have not suffered myself to be excited, although there has been no lack of provocations. But I *do* know something about the *Masonic* Murder of Morgan, and the *Cluster* of Crimes perpetrated for the suppression of his Book. I know something also of the Laws, Oaths, Obligations and Penalties of Masonry, and I have not been unobservant of their practical effect, from murder under the sealed obligations down to the prevarication of pretending that to have the throat cut from ear to ear *means* expulsion from the Lodge. If the Masonic controversy were now raging in Cochinchina, and the name of Hiram Abiff had never been heard upon this Continent, the Subject would be worthy of investigation as a philosophical enquiry into the mysteries of human nature. I have endeavoured to consider it as a question upon the first principles of morals. I have sought for the facts from the Masonic as well as from the Anti-Masonic side, and have read Henry Brown as well as Avery Allyn and David Bernard.<sup>1</sup> Coll

<sup>1</sup> Henry Brown, *Narrative of the Anti-Masonick Excitement in the Western Part of the State* (Batavia, New York, 1829); David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, 1829).

Stone's Letters,<sup>1</sup> which you have doubtless seen, were addressed to me, in consequence of enquiries which I had addressed to a brother Mason of his in Philadelphia, which were communicated to him. Stone is a Knight Templar, and as you know a very ardent National Republican. His Masonic Spirit lingers with him through his whole book, but he is an honest man, unperverted, even by the fifth libation; and a bold one, or he never would have dared to proclaim the Truths contained in those Letters. I ask your particular attention to the Letters from 21. to 25 inclusive, and to the 48<sup>th</sup> and I wish you would recommend the perusal of them, to those of your National Republican friends who are accessible to reason upon this Subject. I abstain purposely from any public manifestation of opinion upon this topic, to avoid all appearance of interfering with the approaching Presidential Election.

Faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

QUINCY 23. July 1833

*My dear Sir*

I have delayed answering your friendly Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> under an expectation of the pleasure of meeting you in Boston; or here, and of conversing with you freely on the subject to which it relates.

But as this may be farther delayed, I write to relieve you from all suspense with regard to the arrangements which you may deem it expedient to make.

Reflection tends from day to day to confirm my impressions against consenting to be a candidate for the Office of Governor of the Commonwealth. My principal objections arise from a conviction that the questions between Masonry and Anti-Masonry will constitute the main objects of political controversy within the Commonwealth during the ensuing year; and that in the operation which they must have upon the Affairs of the State, I could not possibly hold the balance between the parties so as to give satisfaction to the People of the State, or indeed to either of the parties, in collision with each other. A sharply contested Election, succeeded by a turbulent administration, and a furious renewal of the contest at the end of the year, is all that I could expect for myself or anticipate for the public. "*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*".

I am as you know, of long standing an outlaw to the federal party and especially to its leaders in this State. I am worse than an Outlaw in the estimation of the Masons and Masonic Party; and they constitute between them three fourths of the People. Concurring with the general Opinions of the National Republicans with regard to the interests involved in the Administration of the general Government I may hope to represent them with Satisfaction to them and to myself in Congress;

<sup>1</sup> William L. Stone, *Letters on Masonry and Antimasonry, addressed to Hon. John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1832).



it is morally certain that I could not represent them to their Satisfaction as Governor of the State, and I perceive no attainable end, of inducement to try an experiment with anticipation approaching to certainty of its ultimate failure. Here, in my Solitude, disburthened of all responsibility for public measures I enjoy a tranquility for which no political elevation encumbered with its cares and vexations can compensate; and whatever of selfishness there may be in this Consideration, I see no stake of public welfare, to be contended for, which should forbid me to indulge it. Feeble and inefficient as my Services may be in the Legislative Councils of the Union, I am convinced they would be more so, in the Executive of the Commonwealth.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXIII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq. Boston

*My dear Sir.*

QUINCY 24. September 1833.

In accepting the nomination recently tendered to me by the Convention held at Boston,<sup>1</sup> I deemed it proper to state for the Consideration of the People of the Commonwealth the Principles upon which I acceded to that measure—the only Principles upon which I would accept of any nomination or of the Office to which the nomination applied. The first of these Principles was that of merging all party Spirit and feeling, in the general interest of the whole Commonwealth. The next was contributing as far as might be in my Power, to heal the divisions of party, to promote the harmony of the Union, and to maintain the Industry of Freedom and the purity of the Constitution.

You have perfectly understood the meaning of this pledge; and you are well acquainted with my principles in reference to this subject from other and anterior sources. Intelligent men cannot and candid men will not misunderstand them. To others no explanation or developement of them would be satisfactory. On full deliberation, appretiating the motive of your communication, and estimating the high value of your friendship, I can only repeat what I then said; adding merely the assurance that I am accustomed to understand and construe my promises according to the unequivocal import of the words in which they are conveyed, and that you are at liberty to make such use of this Letter as you may think proper.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXIV.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq.<sup>2</sup> Boston.

WASHINGTON I. December 1835

*Dear Sir.*

I have received your Letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> ult.<sup>o</sup> mentioning that you had given a Letter of introduction to me to Mr Fisk late Editor of the

<sup>1</sup> Antimasonic. McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

*Reformer* Newspaper. He has not yet delivered the Letter, and I have not heard of his arrival here. I think I have recently heard something of the Paper, but do not recollect ever having seen it. What were the *Reforms*, which it patronized or recommended?

There have been of late years a goodly number of Editors and correspondents of the daily Journals in most of the Northern cities who have passed their winters at Washington, and who from time to time have entertained the public with intelligence from the Metropolis of the Union. I find it announced that the Editor of the Bangor Whig and Courier, and one of the Editors of the Boston Atlas are to be of the corresponding corps during the approaching Session of Congress. Judging of the future from the past it may be expected that their communications will be sufficiently indicative of the purposes for which they are employed, and of the services they are to perform. Whether Mr Fisk proposes to pass the winter here, or is to be a correspondent of any Journalist, I may probably learn from himself.

It gives me pleasure to learn that you also propose to pay a visit here in the course of the Winter. It will be an interesting object to you to know what the different parties which will be assembled here have in prospect before them; and what the result of all their collisions and combinations will be likely to turn out. As yet we see little more than the crumbling of the political parties as they have existed under this administration, into ruin. There must be during the approaching Session of Congress a new composition of parties, and it is scarcely possible yet to foresee what that will be.

Mr Van Buren is the candidate of the Democracy—so self styled; and although that party have not always been true to their name, and have often mistaken their friends for their foes, and vice versa, they have when acting in concert always ruled the Country; and always bestowed the great Offices of Government Legislative and Executive. But Democracy, in our history, has hitherto been the great Engine of the South to controul and manage the affairs of the whole Union. Heretofore they have succeeded in all but two instances in securing the Presidency to one of their own number, and the Office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has also for the last thirty-five years been held by one of them. *He* was however not of the democracy. He was a federalist, and by his great talents, and his personal influence and popularity has during the whole of that time held the democracy in check. There is every reason to fear that this state of things is now to be reversed. That the next Chief Justice will be not only a Southern Slave holder, but a convert from rank federalism to rank democracy and a man of exceedingly doubtful moral principle.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if the democracy of the South go for Van Buren, he will certainly be elected. There are indications favourable to him both in the South and the West, the sources of which I look to with some distrust. A North-

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to Taney.

ern man, elected by Southern and Western Democracy presents no very auspicious futurity for the local interests and even the rights of the North. Mr Van Buren is pledged to support the principles of the Jackson Administration—Pledged to uncompromising hostility to the Bank of the United States—pledged to unqualified Anti-Slavery abolition—Pledged I greatly fear to sacrifice the Public Lands to the grasping temper of the new Western States. I have no personal relations with him beyond the exchange of a visit or a card, and seek none. You have not the same motives for keeping aloof from him; and when you come here, you will have opportunities of meeting and conversing with him, and of satisfying yourself whether upon the cardinal points of policy to which I have alluded, better hopes can be entertained than I have been able to conceive or to encourage.

The opposition to Van Buren consists 1. Of part of the Southern democracy; deserters from Jacksonism, in two divisions. One of Calhoun nullifiers, chiefly confined to South-Carolina, but entirely controuling that State. The other of *White* Tennesseans, drawn off from the same party, by the late Speaker John Bell. They will probably unite all the *servile* votes of the South. I mean all the votes which will be biassed exclusively by Slave-holding passion, prejudice and panic—and they will not be few. These two divisions will perhaps melt up into one. 2. Of Western *Clay* Democrats—or rather of all the Clay Democrats. This party got up the late Baltimore triumphal banquet, and the Meeting at Philadelphia, headed by Col! Watmough and Josiah Randall. This party appears to be now very weak; and likely to be overawed into submission to another 3. The Webster federalists. All the remnants of blue-light federalism have rallied together and made Webster their forlorn hope. Clay as you know rose upon the broadest shoulders of democracy. But his European Expedition tinged both his principles and his deportment with Aristocracy—perhaps to the improvement of his character, but to the loss of his standing with the Democracy. It is now again said that he will yield his pretensions as a Candidate for the Presidency; and that his party will support Webster. As it is very certain that neither of them can be elected, it may be Mr Clay's policy to acquiesce in giving Mr Webster the chief command, with the certainty of defeat. Nothing else can possibly effect the amalgamation of Clay democracy with Webster federalism. 4. The Pennsylvania and perhaps the Vermont Anti-masons. In both States however the Anti-masons are exceedingly divided, and I think there is no prospect of their uniting upon any Candidate for the Presidency. The result may be to break up the anti-masonic party in both those States. 5. The Wolf portion of the Pennsylvania democracy. I believe it was the opposition to Van Buren, which principally, if not wholly caused the schism between the Wolf and Muhlenberg democrats. Whether they can be reunited or not can scarcely be foreseen till the meeting of Congress, and of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. It is needless to say that of these five parties all opposed to Van Buren, there are no two that hold any

great political principle in common. Most of them call themselves whigs, only for the sake of calling their adversaries Tories.

The Antimasons of Massachusetts after presenting to the whigs a Candidate for the Office of Governor,<sup>1</sup> and uniting with them to elect him, have wisely withdrawn from all further association with them, especially with regard to the Presidency. The Government of the State is yet in the hands of the Whigs, but how they will manage it is subject to ominous conjecture. The mere Jackson party has not only been a very small, but internally a much divided party, with this peculiar property that the interest and the policy of its leaders has been to keep the party as small as possible; to engross all the lucrative offices to themselves. How far Mr Van Buren will be disposed to countenance and sustain this policy, I am unable to say. You will have no difficulty however in ascertaining, if you come here in the course of the winter.

The whigs of Boston have done themselves no service by relieving you from your labours as a member of the Legislature. They will call for them again when they get rid of some of their *Notions*. I have read with much interest your Speech in Faneuil-Hall, and have been amused with the castigation, of the Daily Advertiser, and Centinel for having dared to publish it. In what condition must a party be driven to such expedients to gag the freedom of their own Press? What must be the moral principle of a party, so convulsed at the admission of every ray of light? I perceive they are shockingly scandalized too at your consenting to deliver an Address at Salem, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January.<sup>2</sup> Their treachery to you sits heavy on their Souls; and as usual they are labouring to transform it into your treachery to them.

I trust you will hold the even tenour of your way, heedless alike of their censure or their applause. Whoever adheres to *principle*, must make up his mind to be charged with inconsistency and apostasy for every refusal to be hand-cuffed with the manacles of party, and when allegiance to men, is made the only standard of political orthodoxy, the praise or blame of the hirelings of the press, stimulated from behind the Scenes and paid for by the paragraph are equally worthless and contemptible.

I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully yours J. Q. ADAMS.

XXV.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

WASHINGTON 10 May 1836

*My dear Sir*

Your Letter of the 29<sup>ult</sup> from Norfolk House Roxbury has been some days received. Your new arrangements with regard to your future residence, seem to me in every point of view judicious, and I heartily wish you may find them result as successfully to yourself as you can

<sup>1</sup> Edward Everett.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander H. Everett, *An Address delivered at Salem, on the Eighth of January, 1836, in Commemoration of the Victory of New Orleans* (Boston, 1836).

desire. The treatment which you have received from the political party with which since your last return from Europe you have been associated has given me more and deeper concern than that which I have experienced from them myself. As a man so much younger, and with a long career of capacity for public usefulness before you, I have felt your removal from the service of our Country as a misfortune to her, while my own, at this time can scarcely be an anticipation of the natural and necessary course of Events. Whether your residence in the County of Norfolk, will by the Constitution of the Commonwealth be of sufficient duration to make you eligible from that District to Congress at the ensuing election next November, I cannot say, but as I understand Mr Jackson<sup>1</sup> intends to decline being a candidate for re-election, nothing could give me more cordial pleasure than that you should be his successor. What the state of parties in the District will be cannot even now be very clearly foreseen. The Presidential Election would seem to be ascertained, by the result of the recent elections in Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Virginia, though some doubts are said to have arisen from adverse indications in those of New-York; and though new questions of very grave and threatening aspect; are starting up, as if by evil enchantment, which may yet have unexpected bearings upon the issue of the Election. A knot of Florida Indians, probably not five hundred, perhaps not three hundred in number have absorbed all the energies of our whole standing army, with large bodies of auxiliary militia, and cannot be found. Six Generals and at least ten thousand men have been four months in search of them, and they are as *introuvables* as the famous chamber of deputies of Louis 18. They have in the meantime but too fatally found some of our citizens habitations, and some of our ill-fated detachments of troops, whom they have scalped and tomahawked according to the custom of their tender mercies. Two Millions of dollars of appropriation extraordinary have already been swallowed up, by this miniature cormora[nt]<sup>2</sup> and nothing has been done;—there is not even a prospect that this invisible wa[r]<sup>2</sup> will terminate the present year, and the climate is already committing ravages among our troops, more terrible than the savages themselves.

In the meantime another and far more portentous War, has blazed up, with the suddenness of a faggot fire kindled in a forest. It is close upon our Southern border, and we are in the most imminent danger of being involved in its conflagration. Two Millions of dollars have already been voted by the House of Representatives in preparation to meet its blast; a second Regiment of dragoons has been added to the standing Army of the Union, and the President of the United States has been authorised for three years to accept the services and to saddle the Country with the burden of supporting ten thousand Volunteers of the Militia of the Western States. So suddenly have these measures flashed upon us that neither of the two Bills has passed the Senate, though both have

<sup>1</sup> William Jackson of Newton.

<sup>2</sup> Paper torn.

passed the house with extreme precipitation. The last Million appropriation Bill in one day—last Saturday. The nature and causes of this War, were then also for the first time partially disclosed by communications from the Executive, and it threatens to be nothing less than a foreign, a civil, a servile and an Indian war combined in one. And that of this War, we have been or are to be the aggressors. It is on our part a War with Mexico, for the re-establishment of Slavery in the province of Texas, and for the conquest and annexation of Texas, and of other portions of Mexico to our Union, and the re-subjugation of emancipated Slaves, and the conquest of the Mexican Provinces, and their annexation as slave-holding States of our Union, and the extermination of the Indians whom we have been driving like swine into a pen West of the Mississippi, are all parts of one System of War policy, bursting upon us at this moment. In this state of things I must not look back, for clashing opinions with Mr Webster or any other Northern man. My conflict now is with the nullifier and Slave-holder, and with their conjoint system of policy, and this conflict has already commenced. I have taken my stand; and in the debate of last Saturday, wretchedly reported both in the *Globe* and *Intelligencer*, you will yet see what passed between Mr Thompson of South-Carolina, aided by Mr Balie Peyton of Tennessee, and me. Thompson is the Prince of nullifiers in the House. Balie Peyton is the Ajax of the White standard. Harrison has already lost a Son in this Mexican War, and *some* at least of his friends in the House are infected with its frenzy. Mr Webster has not yet spoken but his friends in the House upon this point are all with me. That is they vote with me, though they have not forgiven me for demolishing their *Chateaux en Espagne* for the next President.

My resolution of 22<sup>d</sup> January<sup>1</sup> therefore still sleeps on the Speaker's table as it did when you left this place. The Appropriation Bills and other measures of the first urgency, have occupied the House incessantly since January, and in the meantime other objects of deliberation have arisen upon which my views have not been conformable to those of the ruling majority in the House. I incline therefore both from principle and policy to use forbearance towards Mr Webster, and to suffer the vituperations of his friends in the House to pass without reply. The shallow and inconsistent pretences upon which the three Million Appropriation was rejected in the Senate have been totally abandoned; the opposition majority have melted into a minority, and the Webster whigs of our own delegation, have so thoroughly parted from their nullifying, White and Harrison associates, that all the important purposes of my Resolution have been attained, and I could secure nothing by pressing

<sup>1</sup> "Resolved, That so much of the message of the President of the United States to Congress at the commencement of the present session, as relates to the failure, at the last session of Congress, of the bill containing the ordinary appropriations for fortifications, be referred to a select committee, with instructions to inquire into, and report to the House, the causes and circumstances of the failure of that bill."

the subject further but a personal triumph, which the ruling majority themselves may not be more willing to aid me in gaining than their adversaries. If any thing *now* remains necessary for my defence, I shall rather prefer to address it to my Constituents through the Press.

For your anniversary Address at Bunker's Hill I have no suggestion to offer you, which could even claim admission among those which will present themselves to your own mind. You will not fall into commonplace bragging with which the theme is redundant, and you know too well how to temper panegyrick with philosophy, to require a leading idea of restraint upon the propensity merely to admire and to contemn.

I have expected our Session would close about the last of this Month, but if the cloud on our Southwestern frontier should not clear away, we shall hardly separate before the 1<sup>st</sup> of July. We have important appropriation Bills yet on hand.

I remain, very faithfully yours

J. Q. ADAMS.

# XXVI.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Norfolk House Roxbury, Mass<sup>ts</sup>

WASHINGTON 7. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1837

*Dear Sir*

I received a few days since your Letter of 20. Oct<sup>r</sup> enclosing a number of the Norfolk Argus, and I had a few days before received your address to the Literary Society at Providence,<sup>1</sup> which I read with great pleasure.

Your view of the contrasted character of the Literature of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is highly interesting, and I *hope* on the whole correct. I am under some apprehension that it sees the philosophy of the age in fairer colours than the reality will warrant. I have taken as yet no cognizance of Monsieur Cousin's system and I have been impressed with a painful idea, that the sense of religion is almost entirely extinguished in France. I observe that you have not noticed Benjamin Constant's work upon Religion—nor Lord Bolingbroke, among the infidel writers of the last age.

Speculative atheism is the most unfortunate of all religions, for it can make its appeal to no honest motive in the human heart. If the creed of the atheist were true, man would have no good reason for believing it, for truth itself would lose all its value. Right and Wrong, have no meaning, but for a responsible hereafter, and that responsibility depends entirely upon the existence of a moral ruler of the Universe. Man is the only animated being on this globe, who has the sense of Right and Wrong. Take that from him, and his Law is the Law of the Tyger, the Shark, the Vulture and the Rattlesnake. The question between the Atheist and the Deist, is beyond the solution of human reason.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Everett, *An Address to the Philermenian Society of Brown University, on the Moral Character of the Literature of the last and present Century*, delivered at Providence, September 4, 1837 (Boston, 1837).

Voltaire's only reason for believing the existence of a God was that he could not conceive of a watch without a watchmaker. But when he had the watchmaker, how could he conceive of him without a prior cause. *In the beginning*, says the Book of Genesis, God created the Heaven and the earth. But what was before *the beginning*?

Ante mare et tellus, et quod tegit omnia coelum,  
Unus erat toto Naturae vultus in orbe,  
Quem dixere Chaos;

says Ovid—but what was before Chaos? The foundation of moral principle is not in the belief of the existence of a God, but in that of man's responsibility to him, and a future state of retribution. Voltaire did not believe this. He believed in a creator of the Universe; but not in his moral Government.

Bolingbroke says that it is desirable to believe in a future state, but that all the phenomena of Nature are against it.

Benjamin Constant argues against all religious principle; but shrinks from his own conclusions. He disclaims infidelity, and professes to believe as much as the protestant faith requires.

Hume, Diderot, D'Alembert, Mirabeau the father, d'Holbach, Condorcet, were cold blooded Atheists, and could therefore have no steady system of morals. The Morals of England in the last age were chiefly sustained by D<sup>r</sup> Johnson and Burke; and since them by Mackintosh.

The Morals of France, I fear are very bad, precisely because there is no basis of Religion for them to rest upon. There is a fearful looking for of judgment in Tocqueville's Book on Democracy, as well as in Benjament [*sic*] Constant. Beranger's Songs are as licentious as any thing in Voltaire or La Fontaine.

The application of your discourse, in your peroration to the young men whom you addressed is admirable.

I wish I could as [*sic*] concur as cordially with you, in the political opinions, which are dividing the Country at this time, as in your views of the Literature of the last and of the present century. The Resolution of the Democratic Convention at Worcester against the annexation of Texas, and the Resolution of the Norfolk Convention, approving my course with regard to the right of petition, were grateful to me, and are entitled to my highest respect. Nor is it without pain that I differ so essentially as I do from the other Resolutions adopted on those two occasions. I had hoped that the calamities brought upon the Country by the headstrong passions, and self-idolizing ignorance of the last Administration, would have operated as a warning to the present.

The leading measures of the administration at the recent Session of Congress have been in my judgment so unwise and so unjust that I found myself compelled to take a stand of the most decided resistance against them. My Speeches in both cases will be published and shew the grounds of my opposition. The extreme injustice of withholding from the Northern States the 4<sup>th</sup> instalment of the deposit act and of releasing the Southmost and Western States from the obligations of



paying that same money, unaccountably suffered to be accumulated in their banks, was so disgusting to me, that I could not endure to see it unreprieved, especially when I ascertained that the real intention was to deprive the Northern States of the fourth instalment altogether.

I would have consented to a delay of the fourth instalment, and have voted, for both the bills, and for the Treasury Note Bill, if the Administration would have consented by an appropriation of funds to secure the payment at the day, which they were obliged to fix for the term of postponement. They inflexibly refused this pledge, and lost 60 or 70 votes, for their three bills. Upon so small a concession the Administration could have carried all their measures except the divorce or sub-treasury by four fifths of the whole house.

As to the sub-treasury—Bedlam seems to me to be the only place where it could have originated. A War with the *Money* Power, to provide for the collecting, keeping, and disbursing the *Money* of the Nation. A Divorce of Bank and State! Why a divorce of Trade and Shipping would be as wise to carry on the business of a merchant. A divorce of Army and Fire-Arms, in the face of an invading enemy, a divorce of Law and a Bench of Judges to carry into execution the Statutes of the Land, would be as reasonable! But I must refrain.

The movements of the nullification party here, and of their head have not served to recommend the Subtreasury Scheme to the friends of the Union. It came into the House, under the patronage of ultra-nullification. And this, exactly cotemporaneous with a Southern Convention held at Augusta in Georgia against the Commerce and Merchants of the North.

May the day be not remote when we shall harmonize in political opinions, not less than in the estimate of past and present Literature; and may your prospects in future, whether political or literary be prosperous and happy.

Ever your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis Partibus praeter atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticorum editas.* By AUGUSTE AUDOLLENT. (Paris: Albert Fontemoing. 1904. Pp. cxxviii, 568.)

THIS is a dissertation, which, in combination with the author's *Carthage romaine, 146 av. J. C.—698 ap. J. C.* (Paris, 1901), has won for him the doctorate "with very honorable mention" from the University of Paris. As the epigraphic *defixiones* of Attica, so far as then known, had already been published by R. Wünsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, III., App. (1897), Audollent devoted himself to the collection and editing of all the rest which have been found in the Greco-Roman world. Though many of these inscriptions had been printed and discussed in periodicals, not a few were inaccessible to the public, some buried in museums and others recently discovered. The works of Wünsch and Audollent together form an exhaustive collection of the known material on the subject. Audollent has arranged his inscriptions according to provinces and cities, and for each locality has made logical and convenient groupings. The general subject is treated thoroughly in the introduction (128 pp.), and a brief commentary accompanies the text. The detailed indexes will give the user of the volume complete control of the material either for the study of the subject-matter or for linguistic purposes.

In defining *defixio* the author distinguishes it carefully from *devotio*, thus correcting an error into which many scholars have fallen. *Devotio*, he says, is open, often public; it may be prompted by love of country or of glory; and it is recognized by the state as a religious act: whereas the *defixio* is secret, always prompted by hatred or fear, a superstition requiring the aid of some magician or witch. Doubtless he is right in distinguishing the two words, though they may occasionally overlap. It was believed, he explains summarily, that by means of the *defixio* *quemdam sibi inimicum necessitate fixum et immotum tenere deosque certis simul formulis obligare ut in eundem saevire cogerentur* (p. xxxii)—two marks which can be found in no other form of imprecation.

Perhaps the best English equivalent is "magical curse." The etymology of the word, from *defigere*, to fasten especially by piercing, suggests that the charmer used the formula as a nail or needle for trans-

fixing his victim, to kill him, or torture him with pain or sickness till he was ready to yield to the will of the doer (*cf.* Kuhnert in Pauly-Wissowa, IV. 2373, *et seqq.*). The prayer, which is the essential feature, is secretly addressed to some god or demon, requesting him to inflict the desired misfortune upon the named enemy or rival.

The author has drawn some interesting conclusions as to its purpose in different localities. Only where Greek was spoken did litigants apply it extensively to their adversaries; the *defixio* of thieves was practically limited to Britain and Spain; in Rome, Carthage, and Hadrumetum only did rival charioteers have recourse to it for overcoming their opponents in the races of the circus; whereas lovers indulged in it equally everywhere. These are the four principal uses to which it was put. Localities show as great differences with respect to the deities invoked and the formulae of incantation.

In the performance of his laborious task the author has shown himself a thorough scholar; in fact it has now become possible on the basis of his work, together with that of Wünsch, to make a satisfactory study of this interesting class of superstitions.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

*The Valerian Persecution; a Study of the Relations between Church and State in the Third Century A. D.* By the Reverend PATRICK J. HEALY, D.D., of the Catholic University of America. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 285.)

THE persecution under Valerian, an interesting topic which has not hitherto been treated by itself in English, occupies only about half the space in the book before us, which is in fact a study of the relations between State and Church during a period of two centuries, from Nero to the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus. It will naturally be grouped with Mason's *Persecution of Diocletian* and Gregg's *Decian Persecution*, but its scope is somewhat broader than theirs. On the other hand, it is narrower than that of W. M. Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*, or of Hardy's *Christianity and the Roman Government*. Much of the author's material was of necessity utilized by the late Dr. Benson in his book on *Cyprian*, to which frequent reference is made. Dr. Healy has studied his sources, and cites freely from the best recent writers, Aubé, Allard, Boissier, Neumann, Mommsen, and Harnack, not neglecting the important archæological works of De Rossi and of Northcote and Brownlow. Great freedom is employed in the use of the ancient martyr-acts, which are drawn upon to fill out the details of the picture, although at the cost of critical accuracy, as the author himself recognizes, for these *Acta* abound in legendary embellishments. Hesitation between the author's desire to save as much as possible of the traditions of the *Acta* and his effort to be true to the canons of historical criticism sometimes leaves the reader in a state of doubt what to believe (pp. 209, 231, 246 note).

There are some digressions, treating questions of politics and government which, while interesting in themselves, have little or no bearing upon the main subject. Seven pages, for example, are devoted to describing a plan for reviving the censorship, which after all "was never put into execution" (pp. 78-84). All this however serves to exhibit the range of the author's learning, which is considerable.

The fortunes of Christianity under Valerian are fully set forth, and Dr. Healy rightly emphasizes the great significance of the edict of Gallienus, whereby for the first time a truce was declared between the Empire and the Church (p. 269). It should be pointed out that in the earlier portions of the book the author's views are not entirely in accord with those of Mommsen, Harnack, and others. He is not satisfied with holding that down to the reign of Decius the restrictive measures against Christianity were taken under the general police power vested in all Roman magistrates (the *jus coercionis*), nor does he think that the crimes of sacrilege and treason, along with the *lex Julia* which limited the right of association, were sufficient to cover all the cases which might arise; but endeavors to prove the existence of a specific law, "*non licet esse christianos*", dating from the first century, under which (supplemented of course by imperial rescripts) the Roman officials proceeded all through the second century (pp. 38 *et seq.*). This conjecture is extremely hazardous. Tertullian is very explicit in his statement of the legal situation: "*sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. summa haec causa, immo tota est*" (*Apol.* 10). Most scholars will prefer to follow Mommsen and Harnack.

In the treatment of ecclesiastical discipline as applied to the lapsed in the Decian persecution, Dr. Healy advances views which will appear to many like anticipations of the later development of penance. Similarly in his discussion of the Novatianist schism, it is doubtful whether he fairly represents the leader of that movement (p. 107). On the whole, however, it is right to say that the author does not obtrude his ecclesiastical prepossessions. Protestant scholars are by no means all agreed as to what to think of Novatian. Touching the wording of the title, it is much to be desired that we should cease to commit the blunder of using Valerian, Novatian, Diocletian, and other such substantives, as if they were adjectival forms like Neronian and Decian. The book as a whole is interesting and valuable. But the author is mistaken in saying (preface, p. viii) that there is no complete history of the early persecutions in the English language. Not to mention the older work by Uhlhorn, *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* (New York, 1879), which is still useful, there is an excellent and very complete book on the subject, lately published, which does not appear in Dr. Healy's bibliography, H. D. M. Spence's *Early Christianity and Paganism, A. D. 64 to the Peace of the Church in the Fourth Century* (New York, 1902).

JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe.*

By DAVID JAYNE HILL, LL.D. Volume I. *The Struggle for Universal Empire.* (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xxiii, 481.)

"No general history of European diplomacy", says Dr. Hill in his preface to this first of his six promised volumes, "exists in any language." What he understands, then, by a history of diplomacy is not a mere account of the rise and methods of diplomatic intercourse; for such we had already in Krauske's careful study on *Die Entwicklung der ständigen Diplomatie* and in the chatty little *History of Diplomacy* by "the roving Englishman", Murray, better known by its alternative title of *Embassies and Foreign Courts*. Nor can it be a history of treaties, for such were long ago furnished us by Mably and Koch and Schoell and Garden; nor a history of international law, after the fashion of Ward or Wheaton or Walker. Nor can he mean by it, on the other hand, so broad a survey of the progress of mankind toward unity as that of the Belgian Laurent in the score or so of eloquent volumes to which he gave the title of a *Histoire du Droit des Gens et des Relations Internationales*. "A history of diplomacy", thinks Dr. Hill, "properly includes not only an account of the progress of international intercourse, but an exposition of the motives by which it has been inspired and the results which it has accomplished"; and "an intelligent discussion of the subject must include also a consideration of the genesis of the entire international system and of its progress through the successive stages of its development." But the international system in his thought is that of modern Europe alone. The negotiations and treaties of the Greco-Roman world are as foreign to his interest as the letters of Tel-el-Amarna. If he devotes an introductory section to "Europe under the Roman Empire"; it is only to explain the rise and scope of that imperial idea which was to dominate the age that followed. His real narrative begins with the third-century alliances between the Empire and the Germanic barbarians; and it is these which head his appended list of treaties and public acts. To the thousand years stretching thence to the fourteenth century the present volume is devoted.

Now, diplomacy in the middle ages is much like snakes in Ireland; and so Dr. Hill would seem to have found it. If the period furnishes him material not for a sentence but for a volume, it is doubtless because he counts the volume only the vestibule to his great work, as the introductory chapter is its door-step. Even though diplomacy were already here, international development must await the birth of the nations; and, if Dr. Hill discusses here and there a medieval negotiation, it is with no greater fullness than might be expected from a general historian. To him, as to the general historian, what is central in interest is the rise in Christendom of Church and of Empire, the collision

of these two rival world-powers, and the birth from their decay of the modern states. Nor is it, by any means, only the external relations of these powers that absorb his attention. Their internal organization, their dynastic changes, their social development, come in for scarcely less generous treatment. In truth, were there canceled but the half-dozen pages which deal with the beginnings of the organized diplomacy of the Venetians, it would be a clever critic who, reading side by side with Dr. Hill's volume some good general history—say, the parallel pages of the *Weltgeschichte* of Ranke—could guess which is the history of diplomacy and which the history of the world.

But, if this introductory act of Dr. Hill's great drama is a trifle suggestive of Hamlet without the prince, it is at least a clear, a cogent, and an eloquent introduction. He writes not only with terseness and force, but with a rare distinction, redolent always of an unusual breadth of thought, of culture, and of experience. His attitude is eminently judicial, and there are no lapses from the even ripeness of his reflection. In a survey ranging over so vast a field one will hardly expect, indeed, to find everywhere the exactness of the specialist; and there is much to suggest that, since the foundations of Dr. Hill's historical scholarship were laid, busy years of action have interrupted the closeness of his attention to the progress of research. One still reads in his pages of the letter of Pope Anastasius to Clovis (p. 53), of the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX. (p. 389), of the fabled imperial claims of Pope Boniface VIII. (p. 397). If he lays stress on the "Edict of Milan" (pp. 19-21), as there is still ample warrant for doing, it is without apology to Seeck; and, regardless of Langlois and of Finke, his Philip the Fair is still, and without question, "a despot without conscience or morality" and "a greater administrative genius than France had yet possessed" (pp. 393, 399). But what is much more striking is the industry, the insight, and the thoroughness with which, on the whole, even in this vast introductory field, he has acquainted himself, as to all points cardinal to his theme, with the best and the latest in the teeming literature of his subject. As for petty slips, such as the turning into a "monastery of St. Coelius" (p. 62) the Roman monastery of Gregory the Great on the Coelian hill, or the placing of Spoleto "in Southern Italy", they are exceptionally few.

A classified list of authorities, appended to each chapter, suggests the sources on which the author has chiefly relied and facilitates further research. There is room, of course, for only a selection, and many an important title is lacking; but those named are well chosen and helpfully discussed. At the end of the volume are dynastic tables, a chronological list of treaties and other public acts, a careful index, and several crude but useful maps.

The present volume breaks off with the death of Henry of Luxemburg, in 1313. The actors in the drama of the nations are at last on the stage. The next volume, whose theme is "The Establishment of

"Territorial Sovereignty", must grapple with the plot itself and carry it far on toward the dénouement. When it shall be in our hands the work of Dr. Hill as investigator and as interpreter can more fairly be judged.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Select Documents illustrating Mediæval and Modern History.* By EMIL REICH. (London: P. S. King and Son. 1905. Pp. xvi, 794.)

STUBBS'S *Select Charters* has become the mother of a whole race of source-books in the generation that has elapsed since 1870. Some of these have been illustrative material for schools, and the texts have therefore appeared in translation; others have been for critical, technical training, and embody the original texts, as is the present case. The purpose of all this variety of books has been the same in great degree; but the point of view of the compiler and the method of grouping the texts have been different. Some editors have followed chronological sequence; others have associated the texts of a given epoch together; a third class has followed a national grouping; finally there is the institutional method.

Dr. Reich has combined the last two methods, not always happily. Of the nineteen parts into which this volume is divided, three fall under the caption of institutional grouping, the residue being distributed by nations. The whole field of mediæval and modern history, including England and America, is covered in this survey, although in the last case the texts are so few as to make the volume of little use for the study of English and American history. By what seems to be a reversal of historical development Dr. Reich has begun his work in the modern field, part I. being "International Treaties"; then in part II. he passes to church history, both mediæval and modern; and in part III. returns to the beginning with a section devoted to "General Institutions of the Middle Ages". The rest of the volume, as said above, is a classification by nations. It is difficult to understand what tests the editor has used in the classification of the documents here published, or why he has selected the termini as he has. The treaty of Westphalia is the initial text of the book. But why omit that of Cateau-Cambrésis, which is the true groundwork of modern Europe? The Baron De Rùble has devoted an entire volume to the history of this treaty alone; and its bearing upon the international relations of France, Spain, England, and the Empire, in the century before 1648, is very important. Why also omit the peace of Paris of 1856, surely an international instrument, since the volume comes down as late as 1871? And why relegate the texts of the treaty of the Pyrenees, of Amiens, of Tilsit, to the French section, when their articles were of international importance? Parts II. and V. make an arbitrary and awkward divorce of historical processes which were largely the obverse and reverse sides of the same thing. The former division pertains to "Church History";

the latter to the "Holy Roman Empire". How can the student appreciate the importance of the decrees of the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries unless by turning a page he is able to read the official utterances of the Franconian and Hohenstaufen emperors? Instead of being enabled conveniently so to do, he finds a body of material upon "General Institutions of the Middle Ages" thrust in between, together with Greek texts pertaining to the Byzantine Empire. The arrangement followed by Dr. Reich seems most awkward.

Less exception may be taken to the actual texts selected. In the main these are the most important and most familiar official documents, for nothing is included of a narrative or annalistic nature except an extract from Einhard upon the coronation of 800. There are some notable historical developments entirely ignored, however. There is not a text to illustrate the break-up of the Frankish empire in the ninth century, unless the capitulary of Quierzy (877) be so taken; and nothing at all upon the history of the Capetian monarchy. The whole breadth of time between Charles the Bald and Philip IV. is ignored. The texts here compiled are good so far as they go, but the self-laudation of Dr. Reich in the preface, to the effect that "any teacher of history will at once recognize that the choice of the documents, the introductions, the bibliographies, and the elaborate index, all concur to give into the hands of students a work of reference such as has not yet been attempted either here or on the continent" (p. x.), is far from being justified by the facts, even omitting considerations of taste. The teacher of history will not dispense with Schilling's *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, Gaffarel's *Histoire Contemporaine*, and Corréard's *Textes pour servir à l'étude des institutions de la France*, for the study of modern history; or with Richter's *Annalen*, Doeberl's *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, and Langlois's *Textes relatifs à l'histoire du parlement de Paris*, for medieval history. He will still need these, and others. It should be added in praise of Dr. Reich that he has been scrupulous in his care that the documents have been copied from the best-established texts of the originals.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*The Growth of the Manor.* By DR. P. VINOGRADOFF. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 384.)

THE purpose of this volume is to bring together the results of special investigations into manorial origins; to examine these in order to determine how far they harmonize and how far they may be accepted; and to give a general survey of the various phases of social organization from Celtic to feudal times that had an important bearing on the development of the manor. The book is both critical and constructive. The author rejects many conclusions that have recently gained wide acceptance, reinstates several discarded theories, and advances some that are new. He avoids "legal subtleties", points out the danger of



being misled by the artificialities of fiscal records—"the world does not primarily exist for the sake of fiscal schemes, nor society for the sake of police arrangements" (p. 149)—and makes bolder use of inference from general economic and social conditions, from analogy and from late "survivals" than have his most distinguished fellow-workers in this field.

In this volume, as in his *Villainage in England*, the general position is maintained that in the early Saxon period the typical form of rural social organization was the community of free shareholders upon which, as society gradually became feudalized, manorialism was superimposed. Thus his conclusions regarding the time and the causes of the development of seigniorial power and of the manorialization of the village community are in general agreement with those of Professor Maitland, while, on the other hand, his views respecting the communal organization of the Old English township are repeatedly set forth in sharp contrast to Professor Maitland's belief in the early existence of individualism and the derivation of village organization from "seigniorial and governmental pressure".

With this conception of the importance of communalism in the society of an early period, the conception of the kindred as a highly organized body and the family group as the land-owning group is naturally associated. In his discussion of Celtic tribal arrangements Professor Vinogradoff maintains the following conclusions: The organization of Celtic society was mainly determined by the agnatic principle; although relationship through women formed a basis for certain rights. It is a mistake to argue with Professor Maitland and others that the recognition of cognatic relationship or of independent rights of women precludes the existence of the agnatic clan. The two competing principles of relationship acted simultaneously though with unequal force. The typical *gwely* was occupied by a community of free shareholders, members of an agnatic family, co-operating in agrarian activities. The serfs did not cultivate the land of the freemen but dwelt in separate villages of their own. General economic conditions did not favor the existence of slavery. The rude equality that prevailed among freemen was not due to democratic ideals but to the consideration necessarily shown to the warriors of the tribe.

In the chapter on Roman Britain, which is based largely on a study of continental conditions, it is argued that village communities with an independent organized life survived and were even created under Roman rule. Roman civilization did indeed tend toward the spread of private ownership in land; yet this tendency was by no means completely realized. The *fundus* of the tax-roll is an artificial unit, and arguments based upon the apparent prevalence of this form of estate are unsound. In the fourth and fifth centuries conditions favored the rise of village communities with powers of self-government. The position of the colonus, which was more advantageous than that of the small freeman, differed widely from that of the medieval serf, since he did

not cultivate the demesne but paid rent in money or in a share of the produce. In Britain Roman influence was felt in spots, but had no general transforming power.

With regard to the Old English period it is maintained that the kindred or mægth was a definite body, in some degree organized, and agnatic in its main constitution. In opposition to Professor Maitland's view, Professor Vinogradoff says (p. 138): "The assumption of some permanent organisation is not in any way disturbed by the right of every single individual to claim support for the exaction and execution of payments according to varying degrees of relationship. . . . The . . . organisation of kindred . . . exists not for the apportionment of claims but for enforcing them by the authority and action of the whole."

Settlement was by mægths, and the unit of landed property was the *terra familiae* (*hiwisc* or hide), which, as involving a kind of house-community with regard to proprietorship and cultivation, was "probably not unlike" the Welsh *gwely* (p. 141). The hide was mainly cultivated by freemen who were also warriors. Women, probably, could not hold land. Collectively, the hides formed the folcland, charged with numerous duties to the king, from many of which, at least, it generally became exempt when converted into bocland. Only as bocland did it become individual property, and, in general, capable of free alienation. The form of settlement, which was determined by the conditions of settlement rather than by racial psychology, was generally the village.

The very nature of the open-field system of husbandry necessitated some sort of township organization. In his discussion of this subject Professor Vinogradoff follows to a considerable extent the line of reasoning pursued in his *Villainage in England*. In the absence of contemporary evidence, he infers much from evidence of later date; thus, he believes that the corporate management of arable land by urban communities in much later times is an indication of communal ownership of arable by early agrarian communities (pp. 175, 261). He points out that the unity of the *tūn* or township (terms which he prefers to "vill") is revealed by its appearance as a party in the important class of agreements and suits connected with the determination of boundaries and other matters of intervillar concern (p. 167); argues for the existence of a township moot (pp. 194-196, 273-274); and concludes that the distribution of political and ecclesiastical duties among townships resulted from the fact that these were compact economic units.

Within the township the single share or hide long preserved its integrity, which, however, the growth of population tended to destroy. From the conflict of tendencies working toward the integrity and the division of the hide, the virgate resulted.

Forces were also at work that gave the private owner greater control over the disposition of his land; and in the form of bocland or loanland landed property became mobilized and large areas passed into the possession of private individuals. The development of individualistic tendencies and of economic inequality marked the approach of the feudal

period. The tribal system was superseded by patronage, which tended "to strike roots" and become lordship. The Danish wars gave rise to a professional military class which had to be supported by larger territorial areas, by dues from the *ceorl* (*gafolgelder* or *tributarius*) formerly paid to the king, and finally by labor services. Demesne land (inland) appeared, and this, as a rule, was free from taxation, which the tenants' land (warland) bore. The manor began to assume its familiar form, and two classes of manors may be distinguished: (1) those planted by thegns, who were "pioneers of economic progress and colonisation" (p. 128) as well as warriors; and (2) those which existed as free village communities before they fell under the sway of lords.

It was only after the conquest that the principles were systematically accepted of *nulle terre sans seigneur*; of service as the condition of tenure; and of status as determined by service. The working out of these principles resulted in a new social organization and in the creation of new social classes. The township was superseded by the manor as "the organising unit of property and population" (p. 299), and as a convenient instrument by which the conquerors carried on a portion of the work of local administration.

The advent of the "manorial epoch" was accompanied by a change in the theory of landownership; the integrity of tenants' holdings became assured; the principle of joint liability, which played an important part in the life of the Old English township, was recognized.

In the interesting closing chapter on "Social Classes" in the feudal period it is maintained that the classification of persons in Domesday Book corresponds to economic rather than to legal distinctions. The line drawn between villeins, *bordiers*, etc., indicates merely a difference in the size and character of the holdings of the various groups of tenants.

In the foregoing summary no mention has been made of several conclusions, especially on technical points, which will be of much interest to the special student of the period. To such students, of course, the book is indispensable; while, on account of its breadth of treatment and its suggestive quality, it ought also to be welcomed by a far wider circle.

The book is by no means conclusive. So little evidence is adduced in support of large generalizations that the author often fails to convince. A strong case has indeed been made for the late manorialization of the vill, but his other main contention as to the organized life of the early village community seems still unproved. Particularly unsatisfactory are his discussions of the hide, of the document known as "Tribal Hidage," and of the Domesday teamlands (part II., chapter III., especially pp. 163, 250, and 255). Nor do his views regarding the classification of persons in Domesday Book appear to have sufficient support.

It is a pity that so valuable a work has not been issued in better form. Typographical errors abound, on account of which many refer-

ences are unverifiable; while the notes, which contain many of the most important criticisms and conclusions, are so awkwardly inserted at the ends of the three parts into which the volume is divided that reference to them is difficult. The index, which has been prepared by Mr. Alexander Savine, seems excellent.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

*Innocent III.: La Croisade des Albigeois.* Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE.  
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. 262.)

IN this volume M. Luchaire continues the study begun in *Innocent III.: Rome et l'Italie*<sup>1</sup>. It is to be hoped that he will eventually publish a history of Innocent III. with a sufficient apparatus of foot-notes, etc. In spite of all that has been written concerning the great pope, there is need for such a work, and M. Luchaire shows in this volume, as he has done in his preceding work, that he is pre-eminently fitted for the task.

The book is divided into five chapters, treating respectively "La France du Midi et l'opposition religieuse"; "La papauté et les hérétiques"; "Les préliminaires de la Croisade"; "La Guerre des Albigeois"; and "Les tentatives de réaction". The first is a brief but delightful sketch of the conditions in *la France ensoleillée* on the eve of the Albigensian Crusade. If space permitted, we would gladly quote some of the passages in which the author portrays the characteristics of the people and the reasons for the spread of heresy. Possibly here more than anywhere else in his writings M. Luchaire has shown his artistic skill in seizing the words and phrases best fitted to depict the conditions which he wishes to emphasize.

The other chapters, as the titles indicate, are devoted to a study of Innocent's attitude toward heresy, and especially the Albigensian Crusade. Events are narrated only to illustrate the pope's actions, and the account practically ends with the Fourth Lateran Council. It is not a history of the Albigensian Crusade. Even for the period which it covers, many of the important details of the war are omitted, because they are not important for the author's purpose.

The contribution which this book makes is a careful study of the diplomatic relations which Innocent carried on with his own legates, with the leaders of the crusade, with the nobles of Languedoc, and with the kings of France and Spain. M. Luchaire does not believe in "the prearranged duplicity", or "the purposed deceit", of Innocent. He represents the pope repeatedly as "mal obéi, mal renseigné, tiraillé entre ses propres tendances et les suggestions des violents" (p. 148). He shows how the legates exceeded their instructions and practically forced Innocent to recognize the *fait accompli*. He believes that Innocent at the Lateran Council yielded against his will in disinheriting the two Raymonds of Toulouse, and that "en sauvant leur dynastie de la ruine totale, il avait rendu leur succès possible" (p. 259).

<sup>1</sup> See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X. 633-634.

The student who is familiar with the subject realizes how thoroughly this volume is based upon sources, but must regret that there are no references. He would prefer to know what passages the author considered in reaching a given conclusion. The pope's actions were so enigmatical and contradictory that there is ample room for difference of opinion as to his motives. M. Luchaire's well-founded reputation for thoroughness and impartiality predisposes us to accept his general conclusions, but when there are no foot-notes there must always be a lingering doubt whether important passages may not have been overlooked. Ought even a great scholar to present a new point of view without furnishing his proofs?

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

*The Office of an English Bishop in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century.* By EDITH KATHERINE LYLE. (Thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania. 1903. Pp. v, 132.)

WE must confess to a feeling of disappointment as we finish reading this little treatise. As a catalogue of functions it is admirable, showing industrious research, painstaking investigation, careful reading, and a patient jotting down of the facts in an orderly fashion. The chapters are well arranged: Provision for Cure of Souls; Diocesan Supervision; Collection of Revenue; Legislative and Judicial Work; Procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts; Powers Pertaining to the Episcopal Order. There is also a bibliography of about fifty sources and twenty-five secondary writers. But the work seems lacking in definite aim and purpose. It is not a thesis, for there is nothing stated to be proved or disproved and no definite conclusions are reached. Its subject is the functions rather than the office or position of a bishop. The opening part of the first chapter seems to promise much, declaring that "The English mediaeval bishops entered into the life of their time in a greater number of ways than did any other class of men. . . . It is a modern, not a mediaeval point of view, which regards the bishop chiefly as an ecclesiastic." The fact of the large use of the bishops as royal officials is mentioned, but without any attempt to explain it as due partly to their superior learning and experience and partly to the king's desire to control the Church, or at any rate to use its highly organized and great administrative power in his own interest.

One of the most interesting and valuable topics is that presented in the fourth and fifth chapters, under the titles "Legislative and Judicial Work" and "Procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts". It has long been a matter of wonder and regret to students of English history that no records of ecclesiastical courts have been preserved, or have yet come to light. In the records of the secular courts we trace the procedure up to the time when, after due investigation and the guilt or innocence determined, the case being claimed by the ecclesiastical courts, the accused is handed over to the archdeacon or other official represen-

tative of the bishop. But beyond this all direct record ceases. The various registers contain many references to cases, but there are not found any ecclesiastical court records. This may be due to the fact that, these courts being in the nature of courts of equity, no records are needed; or the records, partaking of the nature of private rather than of public documents, were not carefully preserved. However it may be, an important branch of legal procedure and of constitutional history is left in a very uncertain light. The whole subject of ecclesiastical trials, benefit of clergy, and the relation to the secular courts deserves a fuller and more adequate treatment than it has yet received.

The presentation of the functions of the bishop as given in this volume furnishes a basis for considering the far-reaching power and influence of this high official in the Church, and throws light on the way in which the Church gained control of the public and private affairs of men. This study of the early part of the fourteenth century shows how well under way were the "institutions", "provisions", "inductions", etc., by which the pope was gaining control of the English Church, a control which became well-nigh complete in the fifteenth century, and by virtue of which an enormous revenue went every year from England to Rome.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

*Les Origines de la Réforme.* Par P. IMBART DE LA TOUR, Professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. Tome I. *La France Moderne.* (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. xiii, 572.)

HISTORICAL scholars will cordially welcome the announcement of a new and elaborate history of the Reformation in France, especially as it is to come from the pen of one already well known to students of the middle ages, M. Imbart de la Tour, whose important monograph on the episcopal elections forms a natural prelude to his present more ambitious undertaking. He proposes in the work, of which only the first volume is in hand, to consider the nature and causes of the movement, the conditions in which it took its beginnings, its original spirit and its later transformations, the reasons for the failure of Protestantism to win France, its influence after its defeat, and the grave question whether this defeat meant an advance or a decline in French civilization.

The author discovers a striking parallelism between the religious revolution of the sixteenth century and the social and political revolution at the end of the eighteenth. And as it is now quite clear that no one can hope to understand the latter without a careful study of the *ancien régime*, so the former must remain an ill-comprehended series of eternal events with no fundamental explanation to those who approach the matter with only the traditional notions of France under Louis XI. and Louis XII. Consequently the author plans—as would appear from the preface—to devote not only this but a succeeding volume now in preparation, to France before the opening of the religious disturbances.

The present volume falls into three books. Book I., "L'Absolutisme", deals with the structure of the state, the monarchy in its relations to the Church, to feudal institutions, and to the population at large. Book II., "La Renaissance Économique", is devoted to the revival of commerce and trade with its consequences. Book III., "L'Évolution Sociale", considers the great classes of society, the clergy, noblesse, bourgeoisie, and the more humble folk in country and town. The final chapter describes succinctly the social aspects of the intellectual and artistic renaissance.

M. Imbart de la Tour has based his work consistently upon the sources—royal letters, edicts, reports, registers of the *parlements*, reports of local assemblies, a great variety of ecclesiastical documents as well as private correspondence, in addition to the more commonly used pamphlets and memoirs. The national and departmental archives as well as those of the Vatican have been called into requisition. The results of such patient research cannot fail to be of the greatest value, presented as they are in the most admirable spirit and with true French clarity and order.

The author well says, "If the consummation of science is to reduce the complexity of facts to a few laws, its first care must be to reveal the essential complexity of the facts." Instead then of following the well-worn path of his predecessors and attempting to explain the religious commotions by great ideas—such as the antagonism of two races or of two sentiments, or that of the old culture and the new, or between dogmatism and individual conviction—he strikes into the arduous trail which promises to lead him and those who will follow him to the real goal of historic truth, imperfect and partial though this must always be.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

*A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu.* By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company, 1905. Pp. x, 459.)

THE great positive worth, or at least the great influence, whether for good or for ill, of theory in human life and history is perhaps nowhere so evident and so readily appreciated as in the case of political theory. Political affairs of all sorts and political history have an interest and always have had an interest characteristically direct and practical; so that while at times the political philosopher has been guilty of the wild flights of the theorist, of the intellectual dream, his formulae have seldom if ever lacked some of the marks of occasionalistic character, that is to say, of historical setting and local color. True, a very worthy Michigan judge once declared—and this, singularly enough, with reference to Locke's *Treatises of Government*—that theory had never done anything, had never taken any part in the life of actual affairs; but this judge, however respected in his district and however

learned in the law, lacked one or both of two things, a knowledge of Locke's *Treatises* and a knowledge of English and American history. No man ever wrote or thought to actual conditions more truly than Locke, and no man's theories ever entered into the warp and the woof of the life of affairs, molding the policies of statesmen and giving form to the language of effective political documents, more thoroughly than his; and what is true of him and his work is at least more generally and more evidently true of all political theories than of theories in any other field. The political theorist may be unwelcome among politicians; but among real statesmen he has an honored place.

Accordingly the history of political theories has exceptional interest, and the recent English literature devoted to it, already comprising a considerable number of volumes, includes no work more noteworthy than that of Professor Dunning, who within the year just past has published a volume covering the period from Luther to Montesquieu. This volume continues the *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval*, which appeared in 1902, and, as is said in the preface, "save for slight modifications to meet the special requirements of the modern period, the scope and method announced [and followed] in the earlier volume have been adhered to." These "slight modifications", be it remarked, at least to one reader seem to spring from a better grasp of the material presented. Professor Dunning cannot be supposed to have intended such a confession, or such a boast, but suffice it to say that deeper understanding always is the chief if not the only source of any real appreciation of *special* requirements. To use a timely, perhaps an over-sensational metaphor, specialism may have a large retinue of domestic servants, but insight is easily the chef. In a more conventional sense, however, in a sense, too, applicable to his first as well as to his second volume, Professor Dunning is conspicuously a specialist, and to the success and value of his work from this standpoint the present review is for the most part to apply itself. Professor Dunning is specialist both as a historian and as a political scientist, and in this double character he is so successful that his present history seems to justify this treatment instead of the usual review. Questions of his interpretation of Bodin, Grotius, or the Puritan movement, of his treatment of the difference between Hobbes and Spinoza, or of his exposition of Montesquieu, although they may be raised with interest, appear insignificant before the larger question that his very substantial success in doing just the particular thing which he undertook forces upon the attention.

This history, to begin with, is distinctly "objective", or, I will say without much exaggeration, as nearly so as is humanly possible; it is scientific, being scrupulously without even the appearance of thought or effort for more than a clear, definite, impersonal presentation of the theories involved; and, except for a few well-chosen guiding landmarks from the positive events in the history of affairs, its political science is bounded by the literary sources. A "philosophical" mind is certainly



not the only mind worth having, and such a mind Professor Dunning plainly lacks. For deep interpretations, for inner meanings, he has little if any care. Again, the fact that theories may be, if not must be, organic to positive events is not his first interest. A philosopher of history, then, or a political philosopher he neither is nor pretends to be. But, although missing both of these high callings, in his own line he shows specialism at its best—and specialism, it cannot be out of place to add, of the kind that on the whole belongs to the Columbia group of political scientists. This is high praise, of course, but tempered with a Kantian criticism; and perhaps also presumption, yet also not untempered.

There are two marks of Professor Dunning's success that call for special notice. His history is indeed not a philosophy of history; yet in a measure it is instinct with one, it appears as if informed with a philosophy of history; it is so instinct or so informed at least in the measure or in the sense of its showing an excellent perspective. The space given to different theories is unusually well-proportioned. And then, this being the second of the two marks of success, as contributing really to the same result there is a liberality of view as genuine as it is appropriate. Not only are the Protestant ecclesiastics given due recognition, but especially the Catholics, for example such men as Mariana and Suarez, Spaniards as well as Catholics, are treated with noteworthy fairness. Now, of course, a work so informed, a work so well-proportioned and so liberal in its view, is only true to the best spirit of the day, but it shows the specialist, like the skilled laborer in a well-organized industry, not only faithful to his own task, but so successful in it as to seem to have some feeling for what others are doing in other lines without in any way assuming the right of trespass; and whenever specialism reaches this point it is fulfilling its true mission, becoming useful as well as worthy in itself, becoming, too, art as well as science. Art is but the definite and particular, in a word the special, through its content and its proportions made instinct with the whole. Even an objective history of political theories studied through the literary sources can be artistic in this way, and Professor Dunning's work is a witness to the possibility. Praise, it is true, is like blame; it can never be expressed without some exaggeration. But this history, approaching as it certainly does, and so in itself clearly suggesting what the ideal for specialism is, merits what has been said.

Finally it may be said again that Professor Dunning does not directly concern himself with the occasionalistic character of the theories examined, with their organic relations to real life, or say—in order to be quite up-to-date—with their pragmatic values; and his neglect in this regard will possibly seem to many a lost opportunity. As said here at the beginning, political theories are very susceptible to such attention. Politicians "in the hands of their friends" are not more open to recognition. And, aside from this consciousness—may I not call it that?—of political theories, there is the wide vogue of pragmatism, which has

not only found recognition among those wise in such matters, but has also taken a very firm hold of the popular mind. Professor Dunning, then, would appear to be almost an ascetic in that he has denied himself so much that was right at his hand. Here, however, as before, we are only in the presence of a successful specialism. Self-control there may be, but not asceticism. Some may be sure that another kind of history would interest them more, that association, for example, of the general alarm throughout England over the Spanish Armada with Hobbes's birth and temperament and so with certain points in his political theories; or of the events in Paris during the period so significant to Carlyle with the teachings of Rousseau would make a history of the theories dramatic, not dry: and others might claim that Professor Dunning's specialism, however near the ideal in its own field, is, to say the least, low down in the scale of things worth doing; but neither of these views shows the right outlook; neither springs from a healthy state of mind. One is dangerously near sensationalism; the other is offensively aristocratic. Not all people eat sugar on their porridge. Some actually find edible things, whether sugared or not, interesting and worthy even when not being eaten. And, last of all, in spite of its name, pragmatism means no slight to the value of just such self-control as Professor Dunning has shown.

ALFRED H. LLOYD.

*John Knox and the Reformation.* By ANDREW LANG. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiv, 281.)

MR. ANDREW LANG aims to get behind tradition in dealing with the Scottish Reformation. In particular he labors to disclose inaccuracy and partizan misrepresentation in Knox's *History* and to expose Knox's violent counsels and brutality of language. The characteristics of heated combatants in the violent catastrophe of the sixteenth century are too well-known for us to feel a special surprise over the errors and bad taste of one particular religious revolutionist living in the midst of a society described by Mr. Lang as ignorant, brutal, and profligate, in a land which "had always been lawless, and for centuries had never been godly" (p. 9). But Mr. Lang is incessant in his surprise and abhorrence, and the reader very soon begins to be on his guard against a certain *Tendenz*. Mr. Lang was not moved to write by the mere zeal for historical accuracy. He is consciously demolishing a reputation and expressing the scorn of a member of the Church of England for the invention of Presbyterian polity. It is to be feared that the blind relentlessness of this bias has prevented a complete and dispassionate exhibition of the character of Knox. A passage in the preface (p. xi) is grotesquely incongruous with the main substance of the book: "That Knox was a great man; a disinterested man; in his regard for the poor a truly Christian man; as a shepherd of Calvinistic souls a man fervent and considerate; of pure life; in friendship loyal; by jealousy

untainted; in private character genial and amiable, I am entirely convinced." But Mr. Lang wrote his book to expose a bigoted, mendacious, unscrupulous, and scurrilous person, the Knox who was in battle with adversaries. As for the violence of expression, Mr. Lang seems never to remember the bias of Knox's own account. Knox was fond of exhibiting his own fearless indifference to men and things in high place, and he overdid this sufficiently to furnish critics with abundant illustrations of his bad taste. The mendacities are not in every instance clearly proved. A few weeks after the destruction of the monasteries in Perth in 1559, Knox wrote a summary statement of the matter to his wife in which he seems to attribute everything done in Perth to "the brethren". Several months later Knox in writing his *History* distinguished the looting and wrecking of the monasteries as the work of "the rascal multitude". Mr. Lang means that in the *History* Knox coined an untrue account out of deference to foreign opinions, the opinion of Calvin, but it is equally probable that the report to his wife is inexact simply because it is brief.

Certainly Mr. Lang cannot put himself in Knox's place, and even between Mr. Lang as a man of taste and Mr. Lang as a historian there are differences of tone and value. Having an esthetic appreciation of the Catholic ritual, he is shocked at the rude reformer's insensibility to rites "whereof he had never known the poetry and the mystic charm. Had he known them he could not have so denied and detested them." "Her confessional enabled the burdened soul to lay down its weight in sacred privacy; her music, her ceremonies, the dim religious light of her fanes, naturally awaken religious emotion" (p. 176). But did they then, in Scotland? Two pages later we read of the "hideous decline" of the church, "with ruffianly men of quality in high spiritual places; with priests who did not attend Mass, and in many cases could not read; with churches left to go to ruin; with license so notable that, in one foundation, the priest is only forbidden to keep a *constant* concubine". Yet Mr. Lang is grieved that Knox should speak of "the puddle of papistry". We may join in lamenting Knox's unworthy insinuations about Mary of Guise, but it is not edifying to have Knox praised for not making "confessions as to his earlier adventures" (p. 7). However, what reads like adroit insinuation seems to be said only for the literary pleasure of adding, "On his own years of the wild oat St. Augustine dilates in a style which still has charm."

Of Knox's extreme views on the suppression of Catholics, there is no doubt. Mr. Lang proves against him the intolerable doctrine that every true believer as an individual could and should punish "idolatry", but the indignant censure passed on this or any doctrine of interference with the rights of conscience is curiously grounded. For Knox, authority was Scripture, and, like men before or since his day, he inferred from the Old Testament the duty of suppressing error. This appeal to "Hebrew fanatics" outrages Mr. Lang, who, by virtue of a Biblical criticism of recent origin, can discriminate Hebrew fanatics from the

Christian dispensation. We cannot blame Knox for forgetting what he never knew, and we are not surprised to have Mr. Lang suddenly take the wind out of his modern indignation by saying (p. 240), "If Knox could have understood *that*, he would not have been Knox." The next sentence, however, says that Knox "never chose" to understand.

Mr. Lang has a strong feeling of antipathy for "the nascent kirk with the fire-new doctrine", his studies in St. Augustine not having, perhaps, reached the field of doctrine. "Lawful ministers" is frequently quoted to express a contempt for the lawfulness, and the preachers are injuriously referred to as "apostate monks or priests or artisans". That they were only six or seven at first is apparently a discredit, and that they should share in the power of the keys is specially grotesque: "persons who, being fluent preachers, have persuaded local sets of Protestants to accept them as ministers. These preachers having a 'call'—it might be from a set of perfidious and profligate murderers—are somehow gifted with the apostolic grace of binding on earth what shall be bound in heaven." But the impetuous Anglican might have noted that the apostolic grace belonged to these preachers only as organs of the church. After hearing from Mr. Lang about the Catholic clergy, "ignorant, brutal, and licentious younger sons and bastards of noble families" (p. 7), it is a relief to know that the Book of Discipline "secured a thoroughly moral clergy, till, some twelve years later, the nobles again thrust licentious and murderous cadets into the best livings and the bastard bishoprics" (p. 188). May not such passages suggest an extenuation of the drastic and painful diction of the reformer and agitator, a diction less modern because it often expresses a thing as offensive to the sense of smell?

We are guided, then, through the details of the Scottish Reformation for the express purpose of seeing how Knox lied and intrigued and to what extreme of intolerance he carried his principles. Barring some matters where erroneous or contradictory statements of Knox may be due to misinformation or fault of memory, Mr. Lang seems to make out his case and to shatter any reputation for integrity which Knox may have enjoyed. Its *sæva indignatio* may not always be earnest, but the work is a painful contribution to the literature of exposure.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Fighting Instructions, 1530-1816.* Edited with elucidations from contemporary authorities by JULIAN S. CORBETT, LL.M. (London: The Navy Records Society. 1905. Pp. xvi, 366.)

THIS book, of great interest to the naval officer, gives the gradual development of British naval tactics under sail. At the beginning of the long stretch of time covered by the book, nearly three hundred years (1530-1816), there was no methodic handling of a squadron in action, and it took nearly two hundred and fifty years to arrive at any really effective tactics. Sail, in the rough ocean at least, had displaced the

oared galley, and with the disappearance of oars as a motive power had gone all attempts to keep formation. The old galley disposition of attack was much the same as a line of battle ashore, that is, they were usually in line abreast. This was the arrangement at Lepanto, generally, it may be said in parenthesis, looked upon as a Spanish victory, because the chief in command was the Austrian bastard of the Spanish Charles I. (Charles V. of the Empire); but the Spaniards had but twelve galleys in the fight out of the nearly three hundred engaged.

All the same, as shown by Mr. Corbett, one of the earliest systems of tactics under sail came from Spain, though the treatise by Alonso de Chaves, the *Espejo de Navegantes* (*The Seamen's Looking-glass*), was never published until lately, when found by Captain Fernandez Duro, the historian of the Spanish navy, in the library of the Academy of History at Madrid. Chaves, who, as mentioned by Corbett, was one of the seamen writers of the time of Charles V., had very fair general views, both as to single ship and fleet actions. Following the galley practice to which Mediterranean nations were accustomed, his formation was in line abreast and not the line ahead (or what we term column) which became universal later. Regard must be had to the singular unhandiness of early-day ships: ridiculously short (it was a large ship which was over a hundred feet); with huge blockhouses and cabins at head and stern; with bellying sails, so made to hold the wind, not much in the way of manœuvres could be expected. Though English orders of 1545, betraying strongly, in Mr. Corbett's view, the influence of Chaves's ideas (through the alliance of Henry VIII. with Charles V.), show very definite views of a tactical formation, these seem to have died out, as it seems pretty clear that the attacks upon the Spanish Armada in 1588 were simply following up a fleeing and demoralized foe, neither assailant nor defender keeping any real formation. The first instructions known to be issued to an English fleet after the time of Henry VIII. were signed by Raleigh in 1617 when about to sail on his expedition to Guiana. But these were rather a set of regulations for the general government of the squadron, and future orders were for many years of like character.

With the English and Dutch wars of the middle of the seventeenth century came the use of the line ahead. Mr. Corbett makes out a strong case for its use first by the English, but there is a general vagueness in the accounts of nearly all the old fleet actions, and it is very probable that both combatants dropped into such a formation, which comes perfectly naturally on the principle of "follow your leader". In any case, with this war the instructions took on a more tactical character, and a line ahead formation was very definitely established in the English instructions of 1653. Monck and Prince Rupert, soldier-admirals without any previous experience of the sea, did much to establish formal tactics, but they took tactical risks and unfettered "individual initiative to almost any extent rather than miss the chance of overpowering the enemy by a sudden well-timed blow".

The school represented by the Duke of York (James II.) and Admiral Penn (the father of William Penn of Pennsylvania) brought about the rigid adherence to the formality of the next century, which, until broken through by Rodney in his action with de Grasse in 1782, prevented a decisive action for nearly a hundred years, tried Admiral Mathews and Captain Hawke for leaving the line and coming to close quarters in 1744 in the action off Toulon with the combined French and Spanish fleet, and made the fleet actions of the period travesties of the real battles fought in the previous century. The change was in breaking the enemy's line and attacking a remnant with a superior force, instead of attempting, as the earlier eighteenth-century tactics required, to bring each ship against its opposite in the enemy's formation and keeping at the same time as rigidly to one's own formation in line (ahead) as possible. It was a Scotchman, Clerk, who had never been to sea, who was the first to press upon the English admiralty, with effectiveness, the new idea, which he had developed upon a table with miniature ships, showing how difficult it would be in the long line, often five miles in length, for the main body to return to the aid of a small portion so attacked. (And, curiously enough, it was for a Jesuit priest, Hoste, who had, however, seen much sea-service, to produce, in 1697, the most elaborate system of French tactics.) Whether Rodney's cutting through and bringing to close action the rear of the French line was the outcome of his discussions of Clerk's views (of which he had knowledge) or somewhat accidental is a moot question, but, in any case, it was the forerunner of the practice of the English admirals in the great wars which were soon to follow. An example, carried to the point of rashness, was Nelson's action at Trafalgar, in which his fleet in two widely-separated columns broke through the line of the French and Spanish at nearly right angles. The purpose was triumphantly accomplished, but it was a bold disregard of consequences which should ensue from an attack so conducted against an efficient foe. But he knew his enemies; he had in one a navy the trained officers of which had been swept away in the cyclone of the French Revolution and not replaced; in the other a power as defective in training, equipment, and in the sea habit as it was ninety-three years later.

It may be noted that the usage of distinguishing squadrons by three colors of flags, which developed into having three orders of flag-officers (admirals of the red, the white, and the blue), had its origin in 1625; also that each commander-in-chief had his own system of signals until toward the end of the eighteenth century, when a systematic usage began to obtain. That those of earlier days, cumbersome and inefficient beyond belief, should have held their own so long, does not speak well for naval inventiveness during the long period covered by this interesting study and compilation. As a final word it may be said, speaking humanly, that American independence was the result of Admiral Graves's adherence in 1781 to the formal tactics of his time. Had he

attacked de Grasse off the capes of the Chesapeake with the tactics of Rodney, he would probably have defeated de Grasse as did Rodney. In such case Graves, instead of de Grasse, would have entered the Chesapeake; Cornwallis would have been rescued from his peril; the British would have had complete command of the sea; the long march of the allies southward would have come to naught; and the whole struggle would have assumed another and a most disheartening aspect. It is in such studies that the importance of such books lies.

*Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution.* (Publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE.) Tome VI., 2. *Henri IV. et Louis XIII. (1598-1643).* Par JEAN H. MARIÉJOL, Professeur à l'Université de Lyon. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. 493.)

THIS volume is an improvement upon the one which immediately precedes it from the same pen. M. Mariéjol excels in the writing of purely political and diplomatic history, and is farther away, in the seventeenth century, from certain prejudices that compromise his earlier production. Like each volume in the series, the present one deals with the entire history of France during a given time—in this case France from 1598 to 1643. But as a matter of fact it resolves itself into a series of studies in politics and diplomacy, united by shorter intermediate essays upon the culture-history of the period. This duality sometimes embarrasses the reader, for he does not always see things in their relations or appreciate the full bearing of certain events. Moreover, the internal and the external history of France are treated so separately that the reciprocal influence of events within and events without is sometimes missed. If the book had been written by different authors, as some of the series have been and as the Cambridge series is throughout, it probably would not have exhibited greater variance in this particular. A good example of this is the treatment of Richelieu's dealings in Italy in 1629.

The first book, which deals with the history of Henry IV. after the Edict of Nantes, is of a double nature, being an epilogue to the period of the civil wars and a prologue to the era of Richelieu. There are admirable studies in this part of Henry IV.'s reconstructive policy, of Sully's economies, and above all of the foreign policy of the first Bourbon. In this writing the author has rightly relied a good deal upon Philippson and Rott. But he has too closely followed Henrard's *Henri IV. et la Princesse de Condé* in the account of Henry's proposed intervention in Clèves. He minimizes the political thought of Henry IV. and exaggerates his passion. Even admitting that the king's love for the fair Charlotte this time did influence him politically (as never had been the case before), it nevertheless remains true that political necessity required firm conduct on Henry's part toward Spain. The Prince of Condé had been making so extravagant a display of Huguenot inclina-

tions that he was rightfully under suspicion of conspiracy, as Bouillon had been. Nothing decisive has yet been proved as to a direct understanding between Condé and Spain, but his slur upon the legitimacy of the dauphin had the active support of Spain and the papal nuncio. It would be hard to believe, if we did not have irrefutable proof of it, that Condé's ambitious effrontery went so far. Moreover, among the evidence at the trial of the Marshal Biron there was a memorandum in which Jean de la Fin, his former confidant, accused Biron of aiming to dissolve the traditional monarchy and to establish the government in the hands of the nobles and peers of the realm, who were to choose an elective ruler after the manner of Germany. The import of such information could not have escaped Henry IV.

Book II., dealing with the abandonment of Henry's foreign policy, the Spanish marriage, the Estates-General of 1614, and the trouble with court parties and the Huguenots, is excellent. Few issues of this period are debatable. The deterioration of power was so complete and the causes of it so evident that treatment of the subject becomes a matter of discretion in the choice of material, not of discrimination as to the motives and policy of the principals. The same observation, in a measure, is true also of book III., "*Le Ministère de Richelieu*". Since the publication of the correspondence of the cardinal by the Viscount d'Avenel, there is no room to doubt the greatness or the patriotism of the minister who "made his master the first man in Europe and the second man in France". The bearing of Italy upon the policy of Gustavus Adolphus is not made so clear as it should be, and the point of Charnacé's mission is obscured. The Swedish king saw the magnitude of the danger in which he was likely to become involved in Germany, and wanted, above all, to secure himself against too great odds. Accordingly he demanded the promise of the French not to make peace in Italy without his consent. This Richelieu refused to do; he was not willing to sacrifice the ends of France to the advantage of Sweden; hence, when the time came, he signed the peace of Rivalta, September 4, 1630, even at the risk of offending Sweden. It might be added that a paragraph recapitulating the connection between the Gonzagas of Mantua and the Nevers family in France in the sixteenth century would have made the Mantuan question clearer.

The chapter on the political ideas of Richelieu is admirable, being based on an intimate study of the *Testament Politique*. The bibliographies, as usual, are excellent. But the interesting study, "*Richelieu Ingénieur*", by Captain De la Barre Duparcq, in the *Compte rendu* of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques for 1869 (V<sup>e</sup> série, XIX. 161-255) should be added to the list of authorities at the beginning of book III., chapter 3.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.



*England under the Stuarts.* By G. M. TREVELYAN. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xvi, 566.)

THE present book by the author of *England in the Age of Wycliffe* is the fifth volume of a series known as *A History of England*, in six volumes, under the general editorship of Mr. C. W. C. Oman. The purpose of this series, as we learn from Mr. Oman's introductory note, is to provide by judicious co-operation of specialists a history of England for the general reader, a person whom he conceives to be much neglected in this age of history-writing. Such a series as this he declares is necessary to keep pace with the new information which for twenty years has come to our knowledge so rapidly and in such bulk as to destroy the value of the older histories. "We see issuing from the press", he continues, "hundreds of monographs, biographies, editions of old texts, selections from correspondence, or collections of statistics, mediæval and modern. But the writers who (like the late Bishop Stubbs or Professor Samuel Gardiner) undertake to tell over again the history of a long period, with the aid of all the newly discovered material, are few indeed." The general public therefore finds no work between a school manual and a minute monograph in answer to its demand for "standard" histories. With this point of view one may have much sympathy, and whatever need there may be of such popular history this book by Mr. Trevelyan is fully competent to meet. But that it bears any such relation to the seventeenth century as the work of Professor Gardiner bears to the period from 1603 to 1660, or that of Bishop Stubbs to the constitutional development of England before 1485 no one could seriously maintain. Such an implication is at once unfair and unfortunate, and the book should not be judged by such a standard.

We have here an account of the history of England from 1603 to 1714 relying for its material almost wholly upon the investigations of others. It is essentially a popular history, and one likely to become so in fact as well as in name. It pretends to no considerable use of sources, and the fact that the *Calendars of State Papers* find bare mention in its bibliography, and the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* but the scantest of notices, determines its status beyond doubt. It is, unlike the work of Professor Gardiner and Bishop Stubbs, no great original contribution to knowledge. It appeals to the general reader as their work probably never would, and there is every reason to believe that its appeal is likely to be successful. The style is easy, graceful, and picturesque, at times vigorous, and generally convincing. The book is especially strong on the social side, as might be expected. No less than seventy-two pages are given at the outset to a description of the England of 1603-1640, and much more such material finds place in the course of the work. There is a strong, and on the whole successful, attempt throughout to reproduce the atmosphere of each period touched upon. The point of view, the attitude of this

party and that, the condition of society and its classes, the opinions and sentiments of men, their surroundings and relations, these bulk large everywhere. The result is that one may learn here much about why certain things occurred. But he is not always so fortunate in learning just what occurred, or how, or when. The book is, in short, stronger in description and analysis than in narration. From one standpoint it lacks action. But the discussion of this method of treatment would raise again that much-mooted question *What is History?* in a form too great for the limits of this or any review. Mr. Trevelyan has already expressed himself on that subject, and it is only necessary to note that this book exemplifies his conception.

Whether his point of view is responsible for the proportions in the present volume or not, the fact remains that in his hands certain periods seem to gain, in space at least, at the expense of others. This is notably the case in the chapter on William and Mary. The thirteen years which it covers receive but twenty-one pages, as against forty-nine devoted to the twelve years of Queen Anne. The whole period from 1685 to 1702 gets but thirty-nine pages, about the same as the eleven years from 1649 to 1660, whereas the twenty-two years of James I. are allowed fifty-eight pages, Charles I. a hundred and sixty, and Charles II. ninety-five. And though one would deplore the absence of the introductory chapter noted above, its length seems somewhat disproportionate to the scale of the ensuing narrative. This circumstance may not be unconnected with the sources whence the material for the volume was drawn. The basis of the narrative to 1660 is, of course, Gardiner, though this has not been followed slavishly in any sense. Mr. Trevelyan's own knowledge of literature, especially the drama, has contributed not a little, and he has used many other books besides those of Gardiner. And he has, above all, vivified many parts of the story with imaginative touch and telling phrase. This part of the book is in many ways the best.

After 1660 there appears something of a decline in interest and importance. Thenceforth the author leans more upon Ranke, whose work he declares has been "too much neglected". The Restoration is to him little more than the epilogue of the Civil Wars and the prologue of the Revolution. He says, among other things, "The history of the years 1661 to 1678, though crowded with a sequence of famous events and a mob of brilliant men, is yet . . . lacking in unity and . . . barren of decisive result" (p. 349). From the standpoint of court and foreign affairs this is without doubt true. But that is hardly half of the story. The rise of opposition in the Commons and the formation of political parties, if nothing else, gives unity to precisely this period. The struggle for control of accounts during which Clarendon fell; the passage of the Test Act which wrecked the Catholic party and preceded the fall of the Cabal; and the attack on the prerogative in foreign affairs which accompanied the decline and fall of Danby produced results which certainly refute any such dictum as this, even omitting the settlement

of Church and State accomplished during this period. It is, besides, more than questionable whether the stock account of the years immediately preceding the Popish Plot in any sense accords with the facts now coming to light. With respect to the politico-religious situation between 1661 and 1685 it is difficult as yet to speak with much exactness. But the reports of the Corporation Commissioners, in so far as we have them, the lists of preachers and conventicles licensed by 1673, and the situation in Parliament certainly give much ground to question the accepted view.

But it would be unfair to pursue further a criticism of this book for what it does not pretend to be, a scientific history based on original research. It is, on the whole, abreast of the times. It is, on the whole, accurate. It is well conceived, well written, and eminently readable, and is without doubt the best, if not the only, single-volume history of the seventeenth century. Every scholar figures to himself the period in which his special work lies. Any two opinions of the same period would doubtless differ. Yet it is well that some such picture should be drawn for the general reader, and it is fortunate that in this case the picture is so well drawn. One may differ from the spirit which permits a fling at the "dull Germans" who laboriously manufactured a theological system out of Luther's word (p. 153); one might well question the complete accuracy of the account of the situation preceding the expedition of William III. to England (p. 442); one might question such generalizations as the complete exclusion of nonconformists from local and national administration for many generations after 1689 (pp. 450-451). One might have some doubts as to the optimism which voices itself in two such widely separated propositions as that "It was the good fortune of England", in the reign of Anne, "to get all that was good out of both parties, when a few turns of chance would, as often happens, have given her all that was worst" (p. 469); and that "the laws of the Cavalier Parliament, which were meant to dragoon all England into one religion, have helped to secure freedom for a hundred religions, and a thousand ways of thought" (p. 346). One is tempted, in view of this, to reflect that this is, after all, the best of all possible worlds. But, despite these things, one may gladly admit the many virtues of a book which is on the whole so satisfactory.

With respect to the volume aside from the text, it is proper to observe that it is handsomely printed on light-weight paper, convenient to handle, and easy to read. It has a good index and a bibliography which, though complete enough for its purpose, hardly bears out the editor's generous suggestion of a wealth of new material. It does however include a very considerable number of recent and notable books and articles whose influence is apparent throughout the volume. Five maps accompany and illustrate the text, together with three appendixes and tables of genealogies and Parliaments. A few typographical errors serve to emphasize the general excellence of that important part of any book: *weer* for *were* (p. 43); *Wocester* (p. 302); *republican* (p. 209) seems to lack a

final *s*, as *Woods* (p. 417 note) seems to have one to spare; and *Sichell* (p. 531) boasts an *l* too much. Finally, it is unfortunate that the bibliography could not have been arranged somewhat more conveniently within the periods.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

*Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain, 1729-1763. The Correspondence of Edmund Pyle, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to George II., with Samuel Kerrich, D.D., Vicar of Dersingham, Rector of Wolverton, and Rector of West Newton.* Annotated and edited by ALBERT HARTSHORNE. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 388.)

THE entire collection of letters from which Mr. Albert Hartshorne has selected this volume consists, as he states in the preface, of seven thousand letters, now arranged in twenty-eight folio volumes. They cover the period from 1675 to 1828, a few letters being of earlier date—from 1633. This wealth of material has been somewhat of an embarrassment to Mr. Hartshorne, who possesses moreover an exact and detailed knowledge of the genealogy and career of every individual mentioned in the letters selected. Mr. Hartshorne's life has been spent in archaeological investigation in the Midland counties of England, and his published works are full of the detail and minutiae which necessarily characterize the study which he has made specially his own.

In dealing with the Pyle letters, Mr. Hartshorne has not been able to refrain from overloading his pages with details of the life and genealogy of all the personages whose names occur in the letters—even those most casually mentioned; and much of what he has incorporated in the text is purely of the nature of foot-notes. The introductory biographical notes have somewhat the same characteristic. Much is given by Mr. Hartshorne which is repeated later in the letters, and some exception might be taken to the detail with which the ramifications of Samuel Kerrich's family are gone into. For the understanding of the letters, a much briefer sketch of Kerrich would have sufficed.

It is but an ungrateful task to find fault with an author for telling us too much, and the curious searchers into genealogies may learn much both from the letters and from Mr. Hartshorne's notes. To students of political and ecclesiastical history in the eighteenth century the Pyle letters are of great value. Edmund Pyle, during the period covered by the correspondence, held the livings of Gedney in Lincolnshire and Lynn in Norfolk. Later in the correspondence he became archdeacon of York, and in 1752 "Friend and Companion" to Bishop Hoadly of Winchester. His position as royal chaplain, which he held from 1740, did not bring him into any close relation with George II.; and we learn from his letters nothing of fashionable or court life.

From first to last the absorbing interest of the letters is preferment; and nowhere in English memoirs or letters do we find a more vivid

picture of the constant scramble of ecclesiastics from curates to bishops for livings, additions to income, and higher rank or dignity. The inside history of preferment in the colleges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge is also laid bare; and few indeed—though not quite lacking—are the instances in which we are told of preferment going unsought to the man who by worth and ability deserved the office. Edmund Pyle had himself little reason for joining in the headlong scramble. Again and again he writes of his perfect content in his easy and agreeable life in which he had “full as much as he knew what to do with”. Yet he cannot withstand the contagion. “When I speak of myself as satisfied with the preferment I have, I speak very sincerely”, he wrote from the Bishop of Winchester’s house at Chelsea in 1756, “. . . if I never get one penny per annum more, I shall never have one moments sollicitude. I do not by this intend you should think that I will not endeavour to get something, if I can, for the service I have performed at Court. Tho’ I do faithfully assure you, I believe, I shall be hard put to it to be a gainer by this pretention” (p. 263).

Pyle’s information as concerns both politics and the church was wide and unusually accurate. He followed the changes in the ministry as well as the coming promotions of churchmen. For the statesmen of the period he has little admiration—not one comes in for cordial respect or commendation. Pitt, in his opinion, “may have been a good Minister, or not, for what I know. But I am sure he is a very inconsistent and shameless man” (p. 358); while Newcastle he describes repeatedly as a “poor puzzle-headed man”. In politics in any larger sense Pyle had little concern; but when it came to the opposition of the Quakers to the payment of tithes, he summons his confrères as “Men of Israel” to fight “pro aris et focis” (p. 69).

The fullness and accuracy of Mr. Hartshorne’s dates and the excellent index add immensely to the value of this volume of eighteenth-century letters for students of this period of English history, and incidentally the letters throw considerable light on English manners and mode of life, and on the condition of medicine during the reign of George II.

A. G. PORRITT.

*The History of England from the Accession of George III. to the Close of Pitt’s First Administration, 1760–1801.* By WILLIAM HUNT, M.A., D.Litt., President of the Royal Historical Society. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 495.)

THE series of which this volume is the first issued aims to place before the general public the results of “the advance which has been made in the knowledge of English history as a whole” in the last seventy-five years. In doing this the writers are expected to combine “independent thought and research” with “a full knowledge of the works of the best modern historians”. The programme is an excellent

one, and a glance over the list of contributors justifies the hope that it will be adequately carried out. Like all co-operative histories, however, the execution of the task is certain to be unequal, and the present volume will hardly be one of the best.

Mr. Hunt is apparently a partizan of the new Imperialistic school who possesses in addition a fine assortment of old Tory prejudices. For a man of such opinions and such sympathies to pass a correct judgment upon the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Irish Rebellion, the policy of Pitt, and the acts of his opponents is manifestly impossible. In this fact lies the fundamental criticism of Mr. Hunt's work. Of necessity, he believes that England was right in all the long and painful conflicts characterizing the movements above mentioned, and right in almost every act for which she was responsible during those movements. His heroes naturally are the men who supported England in those days, above all George III. and the younger Pitt.

The American Revolution then was a rebellion and the Americans were rebels, and while all means are not justifiable in suppressing rebellion, still all means used to suppress this one were. Even the employment of savages is excused, since if the English had not used them, "they would have fought for the Americans". Yet even Mr. Hunt recognizes that England erred in policy before the war, and he feels that she received a not undeserved lesson in the proper methods of governing colonies. Moreover, he is just in his appreciations of the American leaders, and particularly of Washington.

An Englishman of to-day is much inclined to perceive virtues in his American cousins, or brothers, as he prefers to call them since the Spanish-American war. The French, however, are a different order of beings. So when Mr. Hunt treats of the policy of England during the French Revolution, the French are painted in sombre colors. Burke's perfervid assaults receive approval; the French Declaration of Rights is a "flatulent" document; the proceedings of the National Assembly in the Nootka Sound controversy are "despicable". These instances give the measure of Mr. Hunt's ability to be judicial in his treatment of the Revolution. Of course, when it comes to the war, France is altogether in the wrong. England was forced to accept war, and in accepting it "she was true to herself and finally the saviour of Europe". At the beginning Pitt entered upon the war for disinterested purposes, though as much cannot be said of Austria and Prussia, which nations showed "selfishness and deceit". As only too often happens, however, the virtuous nation failed to convert her companions, and is herself corrupted by them, for the English government becomes "anxious to secure its own share in the conquests from France". This seems rational to Mr. Hunt, though he fails to explain what England's share was, or how she came to have one. All the parties to the war, however, might have secured their "shares", had not Austria been drawn aside by Polish interests. "It is scarcely too much to say", declares the author, "that she virtually betrayed the common cause." This is to

talk like a disappointed cracksman who has lost his haul because his pal has deserted him to attempt an easier and more lucrative job.

France is not only to blame for beginning the war, but she has to bear the responsibility for continuing it, for Mr. Hunt very correctly points out that peace might have been established in 1796 if France had accepted the proposals of the English government. All that England demanded was that France should surrender Belgium and the Milanese, and England would then restore the French colonies. If Mr. Hunt thinks that such terms could be seriously entertained by the French government, he certainly fails to understand the temper of the French people at that time. If any one in 1796 believed that France would make such a sacrifice, at least no one in 1905 is justified in believing it. Nor is it quite sure that any one believed it in 1796. By Mr. Hunt's own statements it appears that George III. did not expect France to accept any such proposals, and only consented to treat because he was confident that the negotiations would be futile, and hoped that their failure would rouse the country to the necessity of supporting the war. In the light of these admissions, it is absurd to talk about the bad faith of the Directory. The truth is that sincerity was wanting on both sides.

Ireland gets little sympathy from Mr. Hunt. Even the atrocities committed in 1798 receive no condemnation worthy of the name, while the policy of the Irish government on that occasion is applauded. Yet that policy, as even the author admits, forced Ireland into rebellion. The Irish union is considered as absolutely essential to the interests of both nations; Pitt is acquitted of the charge of corrupting the Irish parliament in bringing about the union, because the parliament was already corrupt, and he only used the "immemorial methods of dealing with it on a larger scale than before". Pitt is even excused for his admittedly indefensible desertion of the cause of Catholic Emancipation in the face of George III.'s curious conscientious scruples. The king's attitude on that occasion is apparently regretted, but nothing more.

Mr. Hunt can hardly be said to find any fault with Pitt's home policy. Even the savage laws passed during the French Revolution are justified as necessary in the circumstances. "The proceedings of the corresponding and constitutional societies were such as no settled government could leave unpunished." Therefore the frightful punishments meted out to private individuals for a rash word meet with no reprobation.

Some errors of fact and some omissions may be noted. Clarkson should be mentioned in connection with the struggle to abolish the slave-trade; William Gordon's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States* should not be referred to without some mention of the fact that its value as an original source has been questioned; a fuller explanation of the causes of the unpopularity of Lord George Germain in England and of the popularity of Dartmouth in the colonies would probably contain a mention of the battle of Minden and of Dartmouth college; the French cavalry did not capture the Dutch fleet in the Texel; the Terror did not end with the

fall of Robespierre; there was no Austrian Emperor in 1795; the compiler of the *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie* is Fedor Martens, not Karl von Martens; the French Ministry of War in 1793 was not "utterly incompetent"; Pitt did not lay a commercial treaty with France before Parliament in 1787.

After all is said, it must be admitted that Mr. Hunt has made an honest attempt to write the history of England during the years from 1760 to 1801. He has showed commendable zeal in research and in the use of secondary authorities, and his account is for the most part accurate. It is not industry nor honesty that he lacks; it is breadth of mind, it is capacity to see both sides of a question, it is an ability to put aside national prejudices. In justice, however, it must be said that his task was a most difficult one, and perhaps we ought not to expect him to meet all its requirements. Probably no one in this day could write a history of the time which would satisfy the large majority of its readers.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

*Napoleon: the First Phase. Some Chapters on the Boyhood and Youth of Bonaparte, 1769-1793.* By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. (New York and London: John Lane Company. 1905. Pp. 316.)

MR. BROWNING is well known as a Napoleonic apologete. He is in British politics an anachronism, a survival, what we would style an "old line" Whig, and like Lord Rosebery, to whom he dedicates this volume "in memory of a long and sincere friendship", finds personal delight in proving to the British public, or such of them as will read, that Napoleon though Corsican was not an "ogre". This volume presents an authentic account of Napoleon's boyhood and youth, drawn from all the sources now so well known and so easily accessible to scholars. Its object is frankly stated (p. 14) as that of placing "the character of Napoleon in a more favourable, . . . in a more human, light". Then follows in the preface the well-known Ciceronian tag from the Roman orator's plea for Sulla. There is little to be said of Mr. Browning's success as a book-maker; it is complete. He has carefully gathered the necessary materials and arranged them in excellent order for those to whom French books are sealed. The digest, too, is fair and discriminating; the fifteen illustrations are well chosen; paper and print are generous, almost luxurious. A gentleman's library would be adorned by the sumptuous volume.

But with the best wishes for Mr. Browning in the life task that he has chosen, how true it remains that a man's worst foes are those of his own household. A more wary and tactful apologete would, we think, have avoided the challenge conveyed in the title and in the comparison with Sulla. Lord Rosebery's *Last Phase* was a phase, and was duly noticed in our pages (VI. 565-567) with a view to exposing the futility of defending Napoleon's conduct during his captivity on St. Helena, and abusing that of his jailor and the Tory government then



in power. Here again we have in the so-called *First Phase* the "human" light laboriously brought out as the foremost consideration. The vice or virtue of private character has little importance in true historic perspective. The fact is that Napoleon's boyhood and youth are utterly commonplace. The painful record of his pride, his ambition, his shifts, his sordid views, his versatility, his change of views and policies, and his complete defeat as author, scholar, and soldier is, to be sure, well worth reading, even in the favorable light under which Browning presents it; but not because it greatly illuminates Napoleon's character, rather because it exhibits history working by example upon pliant material. The emperor himself knew that before Toulon there was only a Buonaparte, a boy adventurer; that thereafter there was for the first time a Napoleon Bonaparte, a personage in embryo and development. This is the explanation of his activities during captivity; he felt that as far as possible there was a positive break, a chasm, between Buonaparte and Bonaparte; he desired to emphasize the elemental will-force which opened it; he falsified history in order to display it. The years of captivity were a phase, the planet in declination: the first years were not; that is, in any true sense of opening a career, or of developing a character. Had Napoleone di Buonaparte's genius for failure been further elaborated in the French Bonaparte, there would have been a devolution to the vanishing point. The subject of Browning's story is not a "phase" either of a man or of an epoch in any historical sense.

But why should a Napoleonic knight even mention Sulla in defense of his idol's conduct and attitude? The analogy and parallel are too striking. Sulla; a petty patrician by origin; elevated in his career by a chance; a bandit warrior catering to the base nature of his soldiers both in the gratification of their lust and in delivering his conquests to them for pillage; a would-be *imperator* subjecting the civil to the military power for his own purposes; tempted by Oriental voluptuousness; a farcical "savior of society"; a dictator for the health of his own purse; the falsifier of history, a grim *farceur*; a low adventurer regardless of rights, privilege, property, of life itself, whose whole existence was a mischance and whose permanent influence was nil. These are almost the very points on which a Lanfrey would have seized to vilify Napoleon: it is a pity to recall the sordid and violent quarrels of a passing generation. The Napoleon who was the maker of modern Europe and in a high sense of America; whose sole analogy in history is Alexander the Great; whose work is permanent, enduring, beneficent in the main; this Napoleon is very hard to discover either in the life of Sulla or in the painful story of his first twenty years. It is unfortunate for a philosophic historian to demand the performance of such a complicated duty in readers for whom this book was composed.

*Military Studies.* By FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER. [The International Military Series, No. 8.] (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company. 1904. Pp. 227.)

ONE of our best military critics was the late John Codman Ropes, with whose Waterloo studies every one is familiar. From choice he would have been a professional soldier; he possessed a great Napoleonic library, to which, twenty years ago, the reviewer was much indebted; and above all things he enjoyed the society of men who were trained to, or had seen war. A Harvard man, he was fond of the intelligent Harvard student, and it would seem as if our author had gleaned his first aspirations toward military criticism from the friendly converse of Ropes, who not only corrected his first essay, but for whom he later worked in several of the European archives.

This book consists of studies, some of which have already appeared in service magazines, each standing on its own merits, and pretending to no sequence; yet there runs through all a certain affinity. An Oxford as well as a Harvard graduate, Mr. Huidekoper pursues the plans of delving into archives for such stray facts as have not yet been unearthed, and weaving these into the abundant detail already in existence. It is curious to see a civilian with so keen a *flair* for things military; but the author has not only dug into archives, he has studied the authorities; and with a retentive memory and an aptness at seeing likenesses in various campaigns or battles, he has managed to spread before the reader much that is interesting. The author quotes largely from other critics, with numerous foot-notes, and, the essays having been written at different times, a quotation is occasionally repeated. He exhibits singular ingenuity in dovetailing the maxims of the great masters of war into his recital. One cannot always agree with his opinions or conclusions—no two military critics ever do, and in the first paragraph of the first essay one is tempted to take issue with him—but no one can fail to find him suggestive, if occasionally overpositive.

Some students of Napoleon's wonderful career are apt to forget Frederick. Not so Mr. Huidekoper, who points him out as the great tactician, while Napoleon was the great strategist; and as of the two strategy is the greater art, so also was its exponent the greater man—although the king often touches a sympathetic chord the emperor does not. Most of us forget that war as a science is not much over a hundred years old, and that those rules for conducting war of which we all now talk so glibly were quite unknown until Frederick and Lloyd and Jomini and Napoleon had put their thoughts into printed pages. Like most inventions, the first attempt is crude; and it is not by subsequent inventions, so much as by subsequent improvements, that an art or a device becomes useful. Thomas Saint patented a sewing-machine in 1792. Without knowing this, Elias Howe invented one in 1845. The first was a useless machine, the second a crude one, and Howe would have gazed open-eyed at an operator running several machines, each

at a speed of thousands of stitches a minute, and doing good work; and this result was brought about not so much by subsequent invention as by improvement. So with war. Now that its principles are public property, it can be improved, and all soldiers can be trained in them; but until within three generations its conduct depended on the personal inspiration of the general. Yet great minds in war were led to similar conclusions. Speaking of the oblique order, "If Frederick invented this manœuvre, he invented war, which, unfortunately, is as old as the world," said Napoleon; but the first historical examples which we have of the crisp oblique order were in the victories ("the twin-daughters") of Epaminondas; and as crisp a sample of this order was not again given until Leuthen. Mr. Huidekoper leaves out (p. 101) the name of Epaminondas in his list of those who used the oblique order; yet it does not seem that, in any of the great battles he mentions, this order was employed in the same manner or with the same intent as were shown at Leuctra and Leuthen.

It is natural that Mr. Huidekoper should devote most of his studies to Napoleon, only one of his five essays excluding this great soldier; and in the article on "Napoleonic Strategy" he points out (p. 106) five important characteristics: (1) the initiative; (2) a single line of operation; (3) the unity of forces; (4) rapidity of movement on decisive points; (5) concentration before battle. To these five—unless "decisive points" be construed to include it—might be added, "threatening the enemy's communications while conserving one's own"; for this appears in nearly all Napoleon's great operations, and to this he often owed the safety of his boldness. "The secret of war lies in the secret of communications. Keep your own and attack your enemy's in such a way that a lost battle may not harm you, a battle won may ruin your adversary. Seize your enemy's communications and then march to battle." The single line of operation is more suited to small armies than to the enormous ones of to-day. Napoleon himself advanced down the Danube while Eugene marched up from Italy in 1809; and in 1812 there were three columns moving into Russia, as there were three great roads leading into the Russian frontier. Nevertheless, with the modifications demanded by the conditions, Napoleon always did advance on one line. But he often had a second line of retreat open.

The five essays in this book relate to: Grouchy's part at Waterloo; a comparison of Kolin, Rossbach, Gravelotte, and Leuthen; a comparison of Jena, Mars la Tour, and Vionville; Napoleonic strategy; Eckmühl; and to illustrate the topography of which the author treats there are sixteen folding maps, which suffice, though not over-well drawn. The type is good and easy to read. The manufacture of the book is fair, and except that Mr. Huidekoper suffers, as we all do, from an occasional slip in proof-reading, there is little to criticize.

Although each essay possesses its own interest, the volume lacks homogeneity, as every book of studies must; but it has throughout the same flavor, and fairly bristles with maxims and apt quotations. The

reviewer happens to know that the author has long been engaged on another work, to which he has already devoted several years, and for which abundant success is predicted; and as he has many years of work before him, he is cordially welcomed into the ranks of those who have striven to make military studies interesting to the general public. He may yet accomplish more than most of us.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

*Life of Canning.* By H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. (London: James Finch and Company. 1905. Pp. 293.)

MUCH attention has recently been directed in England to a study of Canning's statesmanship, and at least two brief biographies have appeared since 1903. Mr. Temperley is however wholly right in asserting that no thorough or satisfactory biography has ever been produced, and the field was certainly open to him in the attempt to supply this want. He claims to have done so, and if his book were accepted at the value asserted in the introductory chapter, the present volume would unquestionably take rank as a first-class biography. Mr. Temperley states that he has searched records, unearthing a mass of new and striking material, and that by the use of this material he has, he thinks, settled forever certain controverted points. His note of almost arrogant over-confidence is unfortunate in an introduction, and becomes fatal to a ready belief in the author's deductions, when continued throughout the work. It is in truth a distinct flaw, and the chief one in Mr. Temperley's manner of presentation.

The new sources utilized are "the drafts of Canning's official despatches in the Record Office, . . . Castlereagh's despatches—from 1818 onwards—of which the secret and supplementary despatches to Stewart are of immense value and importance as exhibiting the real tendencies of his mind and policy. . . . about twenty original letters of Canning which throw light on some obscure points of his life and especially on his work at the Board of Control", and "the papers and correspondence of Sir Robert Wilson who was acquainted with the chief Liberal leaders of the English Opposition and was also a friend and confidant of Canning". A long list is given also of the printed works used by the author. It will be noted at once that these new sources bear very little on Canning's earlier career, and in fact the author gives not a single reference to other than printed works for any incident earlier than 1807. His own work is then distinctly a study of Canning's later years, and in particular of Canning as a minister.

Without furnishing detailed proof, it may be stated that Mr. Temperley has so far succeeded in his purpose as to have produced the best biography of Canning that has yet been written; the best, that is, in the matter of new material presented in orderly fashion, and in the just deductions drawn from that material. It will be difficult to deny the justice of the defense here offered for Canning's Danish expedition (though in this the author does not agree with Mr. J. H. Rose), or to

overthrow the weight of proof brought to show that Canning's succession to Castlereagh marked an epoch in English diplomatic history. It is also emphatically asserted, and apparently proved, that Canning in the affairs of the Spanish colonies and of Greece was animated by a desire to improve world conditions as well as by his conception of what was demanded by purely English interests. The more recent belief in regard to Canning's foreign policy has been that it was wholly insular, but it will need strong evidence to controvert the proof offered by Mr. Temperley. But in other respects this biography is sadly lacking. The author has centred his study so much upon those episodes with which his new material deals that other activities of his hero (and the work is distinctly a bit of hero-worship) are too briefly and often erroneously treated. He tells us that Canning's attitude toward the United States was at all times one of "honorable conciliation", and that had Canning been steadily in power there would have been no difficulty with that nation. This is not an intentional denial of what Mr. Henry Adams has written, for there is no evidence that the author has any knowledge of that writer's *History*. The example cited illustrates a fault pervading the entire volume, and one to which those who have found a mine of "new material" are peculiarly liable—the neglect of older printed works that in their time were based on careful studies of the material then available. The sense then in which it may be conceded that this is the best biography of Canning yet published is that it is at least a beginning in the right direction, and that in certain aspects of Canning's career the author's judgment is sound and his proofs are sufficient. But it must be repeated that the argumentative form of expression employed is unfortunate, for it necessarily lessens one's confidence in the author's impartiality, and may easily, by its irritating effect, blind the reader to the real merits of the work actually accomplished.

E. D. ADAMS.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*A History of the United States.* By EDWARD CHANNING. Vol. I. *The Planting of a Nation in the New World, 1000-1660.* (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 550.)

It is now seventy-one years since George Bancroft published the first volume of his *History of the United States*. Since that time Richard Hildreth is the only historian who has undertaken and carried through to a fair degree of completion the project of a detailed narrative history of our country from its beginnings based on first-hand study of the sources. George Tucker's *History of the United States* is omitted because his treatment of the colonial period was a mere outline sketch. This formidable task is now again attempted by a scholar of high attainments and established reputation. A comparison of the work of

these two New England historians just two generations apart, each representing the best historical knowledge of his day, will henceforth offer an interesting opportunity to measure the progress of our knowledge and in some degree the changes in opinion during these years of great advance in historical study and momentous political experience. Such a comparison will be particularly instructive as Professor Channing approaches the Revolution, a period to which he has long devoted study and also the part of his field which called forth Bancroft's best powers as an investigator and writer. Such a comparison so far as the first volumes of these two works is concerned will show a strikingly similar allotment of space to the respective topics, and many will be surprised at the comparatively slight divergence so far as the broad general facts are concerned. The most striking case that I noticed is afforded by the two accounts of Cabeza de Vaca. Bancroft's description of his wanderings in his first edition was strangely different from the views accepted to-day. Bancroft, again, describes De Soto's expedition with critical care, but omits even the mention of Coronado's exploration, which Professor Channing treats in greater detail than he does De Soto's expedition.

Professor Channing has before him the task of covering the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century in addition to what Bancroft originally planned to embrace in his history. It is then with some misgiving that one finds Professor Channing giving as much space to the history down to 1660 as Bancroft gave in his first edition. Or to take another comparison: to the English colonies from 1607 to 1660 he has devoted half again as much space as is allotted to the same subject in *The American Nation*. In other words, to that period Professor Hart assigned about one-twenty-fourth of his total space and Professor Channing about one-ninth. Obviously this ratio will have to be reversed in the later periods if Professor Channing completes his work in eight volumes. On the other hand, his allotment of space to this first period does not greatly differ from the proportion assigned in his *Students' History*, and may very possibly come nearer meeting the existing public interest in the various portions of our history than the scale which steadily expands in detail.

The most distinctive utterance in Professor Channing's preface is his announcement that he has "considered the colonies as parts of the English empire, as having sprung from that political fabric, and as having simply pursued a course of institutional evolution unlike that of the branch of the English race which remained behind in the old homeland across the Atlantic." That he has successfully carried out this purpose will, I think, not be seriously questioned, and the reader cannot help being impressed with the range of the author's knowledge of English history and life in the seventeenth century. Indeed, sometimes this wealth of knowledge leads him into digressions, always interesting and instructive, but which a stricter regard for proportions

and symmetry in the narrative would have assigned to an appendix; for example, the description of the Elizabethan war-ships.

It is rarely that I have read over the story of the founding of the colonies with greater interest than was the case with this work. The narrative is direct and lucid, and confidence is at once inspired in the general validity of the results. Controverted questions are briefly but precisely treated in foot-notes or appendixes, and the sources of the narrative are exactly indicated. The bibliographical chapters are admirable, and one recognizes that the judgments passed are based on first-hand knowledge.

Such criticisms as are here suggested deal with smaller details connected with the period of discoveries. Professor Channing's negative criticism seems to me at times rather too sweeping in character. For example, on p. 87 he remarks, "There is no satisfactory account at first hand of De Soto's expedition . . . who the 'Gentleman of Elvas' may have been, or when he wrote, or what his sources of information were, are not known." It is true that we cannot identify the "Gentleman of Elvas" by name as a particular one of several Portuguese. If we could, however, it would not increase the value of the narrative. We do not know the year in which he wrote his account, but it was written between 1542 and 1557. His sources were his own observations, which were recorded at the time, if we can judge from the fact that he commonly gives the day of the week as well as the day of the month on which incidents occurred. Whether his account is "satisfactory" is of course a matter of opinion, but I think that the average student would get a definitely wrong impression in this instance from the text. Again, in regard to the voyage of Estevan Gomez, Professor Channing remarks (p. 62): "It is certain that he made a northern voyage and found no strait; but there is nothing else about the voyage that can be stated with confidence." In a foot-note it is said that the evidence for the voyage is a passage in Herrera and the inscription on the Ribero map. For Herrera should be substituted Peter Martyr and the geographer Santa Cruz, as contemporary sources. Why the information as to the field explored and the character of the region that is inscribed on the Ribero map, which was made in Spain within three years, cannot "be stated with confidence" is not at all clear to me. Again, on pages 152-153 it is asserted that "no living person had then [in 1603] the slightest conception of the size of North America". If the reader will glance at the map prepared for Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr in 1587, reproduced in my *Spain in America* between pages 284 and 285, or at Mercator's map of the same year, and recollect that the narrative of De Soto's expedition had been published for nearly half a century and that Hakluyt had already published some of the Coronado narratives, it will be clear that this statement is much too sweeping, and that if the early English colonists were so completely ignorant as the text implies, there was really no excuse for it.

Professor Channing says of Toscanelli's letters, "it seems likely that Columbus, instead of carrying the letters with him in the guise of sailing directions, had forgotten all about them in the years which had elapsed between their reception and 1492; for he sailed over the place where Antilia should have been and never thought it worth while to make any mention of the fact" (p. 17). It is usually affirmed, following Las Casas, that Columbus had the map of Toscanelli with him. In any case, mention is made in the Journal of islands in the general neighborhood of where Antilia was located by Toscanelli; for example, on September 25 Columbus and Martin Pinzon agreed that they were in the region of some islands depicted on a map which the Admiral had brought. Again, on October 3 the Admiral refused to beat about in search of land although there were signs of its nearness and "he had information of certain islands in this region". If the Toscanelli letters are genuine and Columbus saw them at the time supposed, it would be most extraordinary if he had forgotten all about them by 1492. The real difficulty is that Columbus expected to find Cipango about 2,000 miles nearer Europe than it is represented to be in the Toscanelli letters.

It is a slip to remark on p. 29 that Las Casas accompanied Columbus on his fourth voyage. It seems to me, also, misleading to say (p. 116) that "negroes were brought to the New World at the suggestion of the saintly Las Casas to alleviate the lot of the unhappy and fast disappearing red man". It is a fairly safe assertion that the history of the introduction of negro slavery into the New World would have been substantially what it was if Las Casas had never been born. The evidence for this is briefly given in *Spain in America*, pp. 269-271. It is certainly an error to describe Giles Firmin in 1647 as "the earliest medical lecturer in America" (p. 434), unless by America the United States is meant. A chair of medicine was established in the University of Mexico in 1578 and degrees in medicine were conferred earlier. Agustín Farfán, an occupant of this chair, published in 1579 his *Tratado breve de Medicina*, which went through four editions.

The list of such errata or debatable points I shall not extend. It would not be long, and in regard to many of them there is room for two opinions. That the points that have been mentioned belong to the "mint and anise and cummin" of criticism and do not relate to the weightier matters of the law may be taken to indicate that the reviewer found much to interest and instruct him and little to cavil at, and that he gladly recognizes the first volume of *A History of the United States* as not only an admirable specimen of historical scholarship, but also a successful effort to present the results of scholarship in an attractive form for the growing body of readers interested in American history.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.



*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 3. *Spain in America, 1450-1580.* By EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, Ph.D., Professor of History, Yale University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xx, 350.)

THIS volume deals with two allied but distinct subjects, namely, the discovery and exploration of the New World, and Spanish colonial policy and administration with the effects on the conquered races and the colonists—subjects of sufficient interest and importance to have deserved separate volumes. But for Professor Bourne's mastery of his material and his lucid style, the result might have been disastrous; but as both the author, and the general editor for him, claim only to have selected and summarized, the reviewer perhaps, while criticizing the plan, has no right to complain because the former has not done more than he set out to do.

Concerning Columbus Professor Bourne has used and collated the latest investigations and has added some shrewd inferences of his own tending to prove the discoverer's originality and imaginative insight; but the aura of America was already felt in Europe, and even if Columbus had never returned, the discovery would probably have been made before Cabral sighted Brazil in 1500. The author is undoubtedly right in assigning Magellan a much higher place on the roll of navigators. We have a most interesting chapter devoted to the mysterious Amerigo Vespucci and the naming of America, and then a sketch of the progress of exploration, but Professor Bourne does not bring out the fact that its direction did not follow the line of least resistance, of scientific probability, or of advantageous settlement, but was simply conditioned by the prospect of gold. Rumors of gold at any point speedily caused the appearance of a devastating Spanish exploring expedition. While attractive to individual adventurers, America to the Spanish government was for long but an awkward and almost unwelcome barrier to the coveted passage to the Spice Islands. Thence the efforts to find a strait and the attempts at circumnavigation, the only essays at scientific discovery. It was not until the Potosi mines were found in 1545 that the New World was anything but a source of weakness to Spain, and then the Potosi silver, by enabling Philip II. to make war on western Europe with really insufficient resources, accelerated the ruin of the mother-country.

The record of achievement in exploration between 1492 and 1580 must be read with some limitations. Thrust with European equipment into tropical surroundings, unhealthily clad, exposed to new diseases and new forms of death, opposed by the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, vast distances, and equatorial rains, the land journeys of the conquistadors are as heroic in their tale of stubborn endurance as anything in human story, although the motives were mean and sordid and the natives were seldom able to offer effective resistance. That the

maritime exploration was relatively successful was due to the fact that it proceeded mainly in the form of coasting voyages from centres in the new conquests and not from Spain; it was not prosecuted with enthusiasm, for the Spaniards have never produced a sailorman in the sense the great seafaring races understand the word. The success of Columbus was largely due to the fact that, for political reasons, he started from the Canaries, and then the trade-wind—"the wind the seamen love . . . steady and strong and true"—took charge. Had he taken his departure from the Azores and got into the Roaring Forties, his mutinous crews would soon have forced him to come back, or he would never have been heard of again. The Spaniards quickly found that it was practically compulsory to go northward for the homeward passage, and their chronicle of shipwreck on those parallels from bad ship-building and bad seamanship is startling. However Professor Bourne does not minimize their success, for he credits Francisco de Hoces (p. 191) with the discovery of Cape Horn in 1526, while all that Urdañeta himself claimed was, "que les parescia [on board the *San Lesmes*] que era alli acabamiento de tierra", when the ship was driven southward. The balance of English opinion is in favor of Drake in 1578, and the question is at least *sub judice*.

The Spanish government merits praise for the careful collection and collation of geographical information likely to be useful to navigation at a time when the compilation and comparison of such knowledge elsewhere was left to chance or private enterprise. The pilot department of the Casa de Contratacion was founded not later than 1508, and in that year the pilot-major was ordered to prepare a standard chart, the *Padron Real*, on which all discoveries and corrections were to be marked, and from it all navigating charts were to be copied. The tendency toward theoretical excellence has always been more marked in Spanish administration than the capacity to achieve success in practice, and throughout the sixteenth century the laxness and dishonesty of the pilot department of the Casa was held responsible for the ignorant pilots it turned out notwithstanding the careful tuition and stringent examination existing in theory. In print and in theory, however, Spain kept the lead; the first text-book on navigation was published in 1519, speedily followed by others, and during the remainder of the century English and French works on the subject were copied from their Spanish fore-runners or based on them. But it is quite a mistake to say (p. 223) that the English Trinity House was an imperfect imitation of the Spanish institution. The Trinity House was a shipmen gild long before it was reincorporated in 1514, and it has never had other than occasional and subordinate relations with the English navy. The Spanish pilot department was the precursor of the hydrographical departments now a part of every admiralty, but in England no move was made by the navy authorities toward the charting of even home waters until the reign of Charles II., and another century elapsed before the North American coast was surveyed.

Less than half of the volume under review is devoted to the colonial administration of Spain, and here Professor Bourne maintains the unsatisfactory thesis that the disappearance of the native races was inevitable. He dwells on the repeated destruction of native peoples brought into contact with civilized and conquering races; but the rule does not appear to be invariable, and in neither law nor ethics is the fact that the victim is unadaptable to new conditions held to be a palliation of murder. There are incidental and general references to Spanish cruelties, but the reader will hardly gather from them that the process of adaptation, as practised by the conquistadors, included burning, roasting, mutilating, whipping, starving to death, tearing to pieces with dogs, and every new form of torture, especially on the Indian women, that could be invented by the scum of the Spanish gutters, until, as another American historian (Mr. Lea) writes, "a more terrible story never shocked humanity. Horrors are piled upon horrors until the sense becomes blunted." In *Española*, in little more than twenty years, contemporary Spanish observers, some of them government officials, estimated that the native population fell from upward of a million to ten or fourteen thousand people, but the author has unearthed a German savant who reduces the population at the discovery to between 200,000 and 300,000. Most of us prefer contemporary authority, as does the author usually. In consequence of his standpoint Professor Bourne says (p. 202) that "what Rome did for Spain, Spain in turn did for Spanish America". Not so. Rome gave its conquered subjects the Roman peace, free commerce, a literature, political ambitions, and social life; Spain gave the Spanish fury, a strangled trade, and, at the best, a mechanical and soulless existence devoid of intellectual hope or moral stimulus. Nor can any extenuation be found in the formation of new nations able to carry on the tradition of all that was good in the historical life of the mother-country, and themselves qualified to help the progress of humanity. The history of the South American states since their independence is damnatory of Spanish statesmanship. We read (p. 196) that the Spaniards "undertook the magnificent if impossible task of lifting a whole race numbering millions into the sphere of European thought, life, and religion". It would rather seem that the whole object of Spanish legislation was to keep the colonies free from the taint of European life and thought, while enforcing a superficial and external conformity in religious observance, the outcome of legal compulsion more than of spiritual conviction. The author insists on the excellence of the code of laws for the Indies, and it is true enough that it is, in the letter, a creditable record of good intentions, although it may be objected that, if the laws had been carried out in the spirit, they would at the best have kept the American populations in leading-strings and in a state of political and intellectual childhood. But it is common knowledge that, whatever the intentions of a few legislators or reformers, the Spanish government was never strong enough nor honest enough to enforce obedience to its orders, and for those with influence

or who could afford to buy impunity the laws protecting the Indians were merely curious literature. Nor were the colonists of Spanish blood in much better case. Professor Bourne seems to find something good to say for the system of selling government appointments, and there may not be much difference in results between that and the custom of social or political bribery and patronage which has succeeded it. The colonial grievance, however, was that Americans were not allowed even to purchase, that the fact of American birth was a congenital disqualification, and that every employment from that of viceroy to clerk was reserved for European Spaniards. For the American Spaniard therefore an official career was closed from the beginning; commercial success was interdicted because colonial agriculture and manufactures would compete with the Spanish; and intellectual progress was forbidden because instruction in science, or anything beyond the dialectic of the schools, would tend to introduce European aspirations and ambitions.

If the object of civilization be the increase of human happiness and well-being, it is disputable whether, outside Mexico, that introduced by the Spaniards was any advance on the pre-existing forms it supplanted by brute force; or whether the civilizations of Peru and Mexico did not contain a potentiality of progress beyond anything possible to Spain, in some respects the least fitted of European nations to undertake the task of guardianship and training. To me the story of Spanish conquest and legislation is a squalid one, and it will be seen that I am at issue with some of Professor Bourne's conclusions. The author, however, has a right to have it said that in scholarship and construction he has produced the best synopsis of the subject existing within the limits of a single volume, and that his careful references and a valuable bibliography enhance the utility of the book to the student who desires to inquire for himself.

M. OPPENHEIM.

*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.* By HERBERT L. OSGOOD, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. Vols. I. and II. *The Chartered Colonies. Beginnings of Self-Government.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xxxii, 578; xix, 490.)

IN these volumes Professor Osgood has given us the first instalment of an institutional history of the British colonies in North America, a work finely conceived and destined, when completed, to occupy a place of first importance in the literature of American history. Following the plan which he outlines in his introduction, he has limited his field of observation to the colonies that separated from Great Britain and to the period of the seventeenth century; and in the volumes thus far published he has dealt with the internal history of the chartered colonies only, that is, of those that were proprietary and corporate. In a third volume soon to follow he will deal with the larger question of British

imperial control and the relations of the colonies to "the sovereign power from which their existence sprang" and to which they owed legal obedience. For this reason he has omitted from the present volumes the history of Virginia after 1624, of New York after 1685, of Maryland after 1689—the only royal colonies of the century; of Massachusetts in its controversy with the crown after 1660, and of New England during the Andros régime. While this arrangement seriously affects the chronological sequence of events as far as the history of industrial colonies is concerned, it is the only possible arrangement in view of the author's purpose to preserve intact the unity of the British imperial system.

Professor Osgood has concentrated his attention upon forms of government and administration and has interpreted them strictly from the standpoint of public law. He has little interest in other aspects of colonial history and chronology, and has employed persons, incidents, and dates only as far as they elucidate some phase of the particular subject that he has in hand. In classifying his data he has taken as the basis of his arrangement peculiarities that are legal and institutional, such as the legal aspects of early colonizing experiments; colonial corporations and proprietors in the light of private and public law; forms of colonial governments as defined by and developed under the charters; the sources of political power and the distribution of executive, legislative, and judicial authority in the colonies themselves; the relation of colonial government to the church, to administration, to legislation, to the judiciary, to the land system, and to the means of defense; and, finally, the legal relations between the colonies and the mother-country. As a whole the work is the first adequate account of the origin, character, and development of the American colonies as institutions of government and as parts of a great colonial system; and it displays on the part of the author a wide and deep knowledge of the documentary evidence for colonial history and rare powers of analysis and interpretation.

After an able introduction in which he explains his purpose, Professor Osgood traces the history of early colonization from the Cabot and Ashehurst feudal grants to the mixed feudal and commercial undertakings of Gilbert and Raleigh. He shows that the Virginia enterprise of 1606-1607 was proprietary and commercial rather than feudal, and ended in the founding of a crude form of colonial settlement, the plantation colony, in which the colonists occupied the legal position of servants. This earliest British experiment, at first but rudimentary and transitional, did not become successful until the colony passed from the monopolistic organization of the plantation to the self-supporting system of a group of settlements.

Turning to the Plymouth Company, Professor Osgood analyzes the reasons for the failure of its early experiments and then examines the transformation of the company into the New England Council. His treatment of this difficult subject is admirable, particularly of that portion dealing with the career of the council as a land-granting body. In order to form a connecting link between the Virginia and New Eng-

land systems, he studies at this juncture the history of Plymouth as a proprietary plantation conceived on the Virginia model, though the Plymouth people, unlike those of Jamestown and Salem, never occupied the position of servants.

Continuing his treatment of the same subject, Professor Osgood discusses the colonial policy of the New England Council, which seemed to promise the establishment of something better than a plantation colony. Yet from all its efforts came but one permanent settlement, that of Salem, which was not a colony after the Gorges plan but only the last of the proprietary plantations in their earliest form, for the impulse to its settlement came from outside the council. The Salem proprietors or Massachusetts adventurers, to whom the council granted land, became, under the operation of the statute of *Quia Emptores*, tenants of the crown, and in receiving a charter from the king obtained powers similar to those of the London Company after 1609. The colony which they founded at Salem offers nothing distinctive as compared with that at Jamestown under Governor Dale except its religious motives. Massachusetts was, therefore, at first a proprietary province in which the company managed its estate so as to obtain a profit. But after a year the company crossed with its charter and governing body to New England and entered upon its transformation from a trading-company into a commonwealth, that is, passed from the domain of private into that of public law. Professor Osgood examines this process and studies the commonwealth in all its aspects, executive, judicial, and religio-political. These chapters, than which none are more illuminating, disclose the working of the Puritan political and ecclesiastical organization, in which freedom was sacrificed to strength and security. He defends the colony in its policy of self-preservation and deems it warranted in its attitude toward the Antinomians, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists, all of whom endangered the integrity of the colony. For its treatment of the Quakers, however, he can find no adequate excuse.

Having analyzed the corporate system of Massachusetts, Professor Osgood passes in review the similar systems of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island, and then turns northward to New Hampshire and Maine. He is probably justified in devoting but a brief space to the settlements on the Piscataqua, but it would seem that something more might have been made of the early history of Portsmouth, obscure though it is, as illustrating the plantation colony. With additional chapters on intercolonial relations and on the land and financial systems of New England he completes his study of the institutional organization of the northern colonies; and in his second volume takes up the proprietary province.

Having shown that the corporate colonies, in that they bore no traces of the fief, were dependencies of an industrial and political type and so essentially modern, Professor Osgood brings into sharp relief the proprietary province, which in many respects was feudal and enjoyed regal powers that were drawn from the palatinate, though differing in detail

from those of the bishop of Durham. He takes advantage of the opportunity offered by the institutions of Maryland, Carolina, and Pennsylvania to apply the comparative method, and with Maryland as his model deals first with the forms and incidents of land tenure—the patroonships, manors, feudal income, quitrents, and land offices, closing with a careful study of the land basis of such towns as Perth Amboy, Germantown, Annapolis, and Charleston. He next takes up the legislative, executive, and administrative systems of the proprietary provinces, and finally passes to the colonial organization of New Netherland. He studies the Dutch institutions with great fullness, traces the transition to the English government and the substitution of English laws and English officials, and carries the history of the legislature in New York to 1685. Chapters eight to eleven of the second volume are devoted to an analysis of the governmental system of New Jersey and of the working of the proprietary system of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. Additional chapters follow on the judicial, ecclesiastical, military, and financial organization of the proprietries; and final chapters in each volume deal with Indian relations. A fitting conclusion brings the work to an end and serves as a connecting link with the volume that is to follow.

In briefest outlines, these are the prominent features of this notable work. It is a severe and unimpassioned, but highly suggestive, interpretation of the legal and institutional aspects of colonial history, written in a restrained and eminently judicial spirit. The evidence, which with but a single exception is drawn from printed sources, is weighed with consistent impartiality, each charter, concession, and legislative act being dissected with great minuteness of detail; and the material compared and distributed with logical exactness until the whole takes on an orderly form, and we see for the first time what was the institutional organization of the colonies in the seventeenth century. The work does not pretend to tell the whole tale nor even to present some of its most striking features, and for this reason its title is misleading. But it is not likely to interest the public at large, because Professor Osgood, in accentuating the legal aspects of his subject, has eliminated very largely the human elements and has given to his treatment some of the characteristics of scientific precision. Such a work is manifestly designed for serious readers only, professional or otherwise.

As a whole these volumes offer very little opportunity for serious criticism and are remarkably free from errors of any kind. Dependent as the work is on the texts of official documents and records, it tends to a certain formality and stiffness of treatment that at times seems to ignore the deeper reasons for things. The fact that the material is classified by subjects, each of which is treated independently in a separate chapter, often renders it difficult to see the interworking of the various colonial activities; and one feels occasionally a want of organic unity in the construction of the whole. There is, furthermore, a tendency in some of the chapters to overload the treatment with details, the

bearing and significance of which are not always clear. This is notably true of the chapter on the land system of New England, a chapter full of valuable information, but loosely put together and difficult to comprehend, partly because of an absence of generalizations and partly because of a failure to lay adequate stress on those features, common to all the early town allotments, that disclose the collective activity of the New England community. The chapter on King Philip's War is too long if we consider that it was Professor Osgood's purpose to present the subject simply from the standpoint of administration and because of the light that it throws on "the problem of securing the joint action against a common enemy of three or more colonists" (I. 544). A part of the space might reasonably have been given to an examination of schools and education as far as they were matters of public concern.

The reader interested in the evolution of the colonial charter may wonder why Professor Osgood has omitted all mention of the Avalon, Alexander, and Heath patents embodying tenure by knight service. The Avalon patent with its tenure *in capite* and its yearly rendering of a white horse is in this connection as important as is that of Ashehurst-involving fealty without payment. It is even more instructive in that it provides for an assembly of freeholders and thus furnishes a connecting link between the feudal and the democratic systems. I am not at all satisfied with the common explanation, which Professor Osgood accepts, of the reservation of gold and silver as the fixed rent which in socage tenure discharged all service. The one-fifth or other fraction seems to me to partake rather of the character of a royal reservation which was occasional and uncertain like wrecks, whales, and treasure-trove. If it was considered the equivalent of a fixed rent it was a Barmecidal feast as far as actual revenue was concerned. Governor Pitkin of Connecticut declared in 1767 that it took the place of quit-rents in that colony, a view that the Lords of the Treasury may well have deemed humorous. As there were charters containing both rent and reservation and others that contained neither, it would be well if the matter were more fully investigated.

In discussing the vexed question of the right of Berkeley and Carteret to exercise governmental powers, Professor Osgood concludes that the Duke of York's lease did not convey such powers, and thus goes far to justify Andros in his dealings with the Jerseys. In fact, the general view that Professor Osgood has taken renders it inevitable that he uphold constituted authority and defend the legal view of each disputed case. Few such cases have come within the scope of the present volumes, but in the volume that is to follow too strict an adherence to the letter of the law will make it difficult for him to present both sides with the fairness he has shown in the work thus far. If he is right in deeming the Concessions a failure in the Jerseys and successful only in the Carolinas, he lays, it seems to me, too little stress upon the political training of the New-Englanders in that colony who refused to accept any constitution thrust upon them from above (II. 173-174). On the other



hand, I believe that he has exaggerated the importance of the New-Englanders in South Carolina when he finds a nonconformist trend in the development of the province and thinks that the settlement of 1666 was wrecked because of the presence there of representatives of the New England interest (II. 200-201). In considering the difficult question of the authorship of the Concessions, he suggests that they originated with the planters from Barbadoes (II. 206). The suggestion is a happy one. The close connection that existed between Barbadoes and England during the later days of the Protectorate and the equally close connection that existed between the West India merchants and the colonial policy of the Restoration give good reason for believing that Barbadoes was the source of many of the ideas of government that were embodied in proprietary concessions after 1663.

Professor Osgood leaves the impression, though I doubt if he intended to do so, that the Lords of Trade shared with the king the responsibility for the rejection of the New York "Charter of Liberties" of 1683 (II. 167). It is true, as he states, that they found many objections to the "Charter", but he does not make it clear that they had no part in "the resolve" (II. 168) that assemblies should be dispensed with, and that they never would have rejected the "Charter" simply because it emanated from a popular body, as James II. finally did because he wished to get rid of both "Charter" and assembly. There is a famous scene at a cabinet council when Lord Savile "upon occasion of gov't to be settled in New England" argued "for the liberty of the people", and Lord Jeffreys replied that "whosoever capitulateth, rebelleth", with the result that, as Barillon tells us, "it was determined not to subject the governor and council to convoke general assemblies of the people for the purpose of laying on taxes and regulating other matters of importance". This action was taken in December, 1684, less than four months before the rejection of the "Charter", and explains much more certainly why the "Charter" was disallowed than do the objections raised by the Lords of Trade.

In his introduction (I. xxxi) Professor Osgood advances the opinion that the dissolution of the London Company in 1624 and the attack on the Massachusetts charter in 1635-1637 were parts of a definite royal policy which would have been continued had not the Stuarts been overthrown. This statement does not seem to me capable of proof, for the Stuarts had no fixed plan governing their attitude toward the colonies, and no possible connection can be traced between the events of 1624 and those of 1682 to 1686. The later plan of reducing the proprieties was not the king's but the merchants'. It developed under Cromwell and was identified with the mercantilist movement that gave birth to the navigation acts and the plantation councils and officials. It was urged by the Council for Foreign Plantations in 1661, by the Council for Trade and Plantations in 1672, and by the Lords of Trade in 1682. It never was a royal, much less a Stuart policy. Charles II. refused to adopt it; James II. adopted it to be sure, but so did William III. and

his successors; and it is noteworthy that some of the most strenuous efforts to overthrow the proprieties were made after 1700. As far as colonial history is concerned there is a wide reach not only in time but in ideas also between the reigns of James I. and James II., and any attempt to find a common policy connecting the two periods will be vain.

In conclusion a few additional points may be noted. The Mariana grant of 1622 can hardly be said to contain express powers of government, as the powers are undefined in that instrument (I. 126). Newark was settled by people not only from Branford, but from other Connecticut coast towns as well (I. 435). Quakers did not appear in Connecticut in 1656 (I. 314). Berkeley did not sell his share of New Jersey to Fenwick for Byllynge but to Byllynge directly (II. 170). It seems unfair to Calvert to link his name with that of the Duke of York as one who might have issued a body of concessions had he so desired (II. 60), since Calvert lived before such practices had become familiar, while the Duke of York opposed such concessions on principle. It seems equally unfair to charge Penn with imitating the Jersey and Carolina patentees in issuing his various schemes of government (II. 211), for he was himself a student of government and quite capable of acting independently. Professor Osgood has adopted the spelling "D'Aunay" for the more usual "D'Aulnay" (I. 410-414). The form is not wrong, as both spellings were used; and I have seen "Dainay" and "Daulnay" on the same page of a printed royal proclamation. But in one sense both are wrong, for the governor of Acadia always signed his own name "Aulnay". "Quarry" is wrong for "Quary" (II. 221); and the governor of Salem and afterward of Massachusetts Bay always wrote his own name "Endecott" not "Endicott". On a few occasions Professor Osgood, though commonly writing "Barbadoes", lapses into the incorrect form "the Barbadoes" (II. 212, 218). A few typographical errors may be pointed out. On I. 54, line 5 from the bottom, "and" should be inserted after the comma; on I. 180, line 3 from the bottom, "the absence of" should be inserted before "positive laws", if we are to accept the statement on the next page, line 2 from the bottom; on II. 64, line 23, "proprietier" should be "proprietor"; and on II. 208 the superior figure in line 4 should be omitted. In a style remarkably clear, forcible, and accurate the reader will regret the presence of so many cleft infinitives.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America.*

By ALBERT EDWARD MCKINLEY, Sometime Honorary Fellow in American History in the University of Pennsylvania. [Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in History, No. 2.] (Philadelphia: The University; Boston: Ginn and Company. 1905. Pp. v, 518.)

STUDENTS of the history and working of representative institutions—parliamentary and municipal—all over the Anglo-Saxon world will

long be under a great indebtedness to Mr. McKinley for the care and thoroughness with which he has worked out the history of the suffrage in the thirteen English colonies in America. Mr. McKinley's book must of necessity become the standard authority on this subject. It must take this place because it is difficult to see how the subject can ever be treated more systematically, more exhaustively, or with more scholarly care than by Mr. McKinley. Realizing the usefulness of his present volume, it is to be hoped that the author may be disposed to push his studies still further, and to write a companion volume in which the organization of the colonial legislatures shall be worked out with similar care.

The plan of Mr. McKinley's book is as commendable as his care in working out the plan. He begins with a sketch of the parliamentary suffrage as it existed in England in the period when the American colonies were being settled and developed. This was of course the nondescript suffrage on which the unreformed House of Commons was elected; and of this suffrage, with its varying qualifications between county and borough and between borough and borough, Mr. McKinley gives a full, accurate, and adequate presentation—certainly sufficiently full to enable a student of his history to appreciate and measure the departures which were made from the English model in the different American colonies. Then taking each of the thirteen colonies in turn—and making a self-contained history of each—he traces the franchises on which the first legislature in each colony was elected, and follows in much detail all the changes made in the suffrage of the colony until the Revolution. These changes are carefully followed in each colony, usually with a statement of the reasons which led to the change; and at the end of each of these exhaustive treatments of the several colonies there are summaries of the changes made in the colonial period. The general result is that for each colony Mr. McKinley furnishes a statement of the suffrage conditions—parliamentary and municipal, church and military—at the end of the colonial period. The concluding chapter is devoted to a study of the nature and extent of the English influence upon the franchises in the colonies, and to an estimate of the size of the voting populations in the several colonies previous to the Revolution.

English influence was, of course, always paramount; because the English representative system was the only one of which the colonists had any personal knowledge; and moreover in some of the colonies—notably in South Carolina—the absentee proprietary interests exerted their influence to keep the representative system as near as possible to the system then in vogue in England.

In reading the final chapter, which is an admirable illustration of the care and method with which Mr. McKinley has done his work, as also in following in detail the changes in the franchise in each of the colonies, one is impressed with the comparative fewness of the innovations which were made in the parliamentary franchise as it then existed in England. Most of the departures were due to the fact that

in the main the English franchise had come to be based on the needs of urban communities, while in most of the colonies rural voters were in the majority, and the English model had to be adapted to the needs of small and scattered communities. In many of the colonies Roman Catholics were excluded from the franchise by direct enactment. This was the case in Scotland until 1829; but it was never the case in England, where Roman Catholics were excluded from voting not by an act of Parliament specifically denying them the franchise, but through their inability to take the oath against transubstantiation.

England never had such enactments as those of Massachusetts and New Haven which made voting depend on church membership. Nonconformists in England were excluded from municipal corporations, because members of a municipal corporation and all municipal officers were compelled to take the sacrament according to the rites of the established church. In the boroughs in which the municipal corporations alone exercised the parliamentary franchise nonconformists had no votes at parliamentary elections; but in the household suffrage and burghage boroughs and in some freeman boroughs, and universally in the counties, duly qualified nonconformists were always able to exercise the franchise.

Contrary also to an impression which still prevails with some English authorities on English parliamentary history, nonconformists, Quakers only excepted, were never excluded from the House of Commons; and Quakers were excluded because they refused to take any of the oaths which in the eighteenth century were administered to all members of the House of Commons. Nor in England was a parliamentary vote made dependent, as in the New England colonies, on good behavior; for in some of the larger freemen boroughs it was long the custom of deputies of the returning officer to go to the jails and there take the votes of freemen; while in other boroughs—notably at Carlisle—it was usual for the electioneering managers of the dominant party in parliamentary and municipal politics to arrange with the sheriffs that freemen in jail should be paroled to vote.

Only one variation in the American colonies from the English model has since been adopted in England. Voting by ballot and even by proxy was early established in several of the colonies; but voting by ballot was not unknown in England in the eighteenth century. Registrars of land-transfers in Yorkshire and in several other counties were chosen by ballot, in accordance with acts of Parliament by which these offices were created; but the hostility to the ballot, which Mr. McKinley shows existed among the proprietors of South Carolina until the middle years of the eighteenth century, continued in England until 1872. Even as late as 1872 the hostility was so pronounced that it took the late W. E. Forster, then vice-president of the council in Mr. Gladstone's 1868-1874 cabinet, twenty-seven nights to carry his second bill through the House of Commons. His first bill, that of 1871, was thrown out by the House of Lords.

Only in Virginia was a college ever directly represented in any American legislature; and it would seem that Virginia was the only British colony—past or present—that ever followed the English precedent in this particular. Even in Virginia the English precedent was not followed in its entirety; for at Oxford and Cambridge all masters of arts were entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons, while the election at William and Mary College was confined to the faculty.

It is to be hoped that Mr. McKinley's volume will quickly find its way into British and colonial libraries of reference, and that the excellent work that he has put into it and its obvious and permanent usefulness will serve to stimulate similar undertakings for the Canadian, Australasian, and South African colonies of Great Britain. Nearly as much historical interest attaches to the development of the suffrage in these modern colonies as to its development in the thirteen American colonies. The need for histories of the suffrage in the existing British colonies with responsible government and representative institutions is as obvious as it was for the American colonies; and when this need has been adequately and satisfactorily met, historical students will have at command histories of the suffrage in Great Britain and in all the Anglo-Saxon countries in which the House of Commons at Westminster has been taken as a model in establishing parliamentary government—in carrying into practice the dictum of Edward I. that "that which touches all shall be discussed by all". In none of the existing British colonies does the history of the suffrage go so far back as in the American colonies. Except in Canada, in most of the British colonies of to-day the suffrage dates no farther back than the early years of the nineteenth century; yet in all these colonies—Canada included—the varying conditions under which the suffrage has been exercised and the developments it has undergone in consequence largely of conditions inherent in a newly-settled country are much the same as attended the establishment of the parliamentary franchise in the American colonies. There is an admirable index to Mr. McKinley's book. It covers thirty pages; and the only lack is a bibliography.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*Justice in Colonial Virginia.* By OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 7-8.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1905. Pp. 124.)

As an incorruptible administration of justice is the highest and most perfect guaranty of morality and enlightenment, it follows that in the evolution of the judiciary branch of government in any nation civilization manifests its finest and most interesting phases. Hence Dr. Chitwood in this monograph upon the origin, history, and growth of the Virginia colonial judiciary has presented us with a work which attracts attention because of the subject-matter. As the field of investigation is

a comparatively neglected one, his has been necessarily a labor demanding close and patient research; and well has he acquitted himself of the responsibility thus voluntarily assumed. He has collected a great many interesting facts, while his own reflections upon the varied manifestations of the judicial practice are interesting and sometimes profound. Especially to be praised is the clear and discriminating method of treatment which he has pursued.

After an introductory chapter containing an account of the military rule at Jamestown from 1607 to 1619, the author considers in regular order the several parts played in the administration of justice in Virginia by the Assembly, the Superior Courts, the Inferior Courts, and the court officials, under which last head there is much interesting information about the sheriffs, constables, and lawyers of the colony. Probably Dr. Chitwood might have made his paper stronger and more valuable by dwelling at greater length upon the relations of the judiciary to society in Virginia. We are told very truly (p. 94) that the county courts performed the part of schools of law, where the statesmen of Virginia received the training which qualified them so well for the organization in 1776 of an independent commonwealth; but we are not told how by their supervision over the vestries and direct control over orphans and poor children the rudiments of learning were extended to the mass of the people. In binding out orphans and poor children, with the requirement always inserted in the indentures for instruction in reading and writing, they made their influence for education something more than "incidental", as Dr. Chitwood has it (p. 94).

Again, we are told of the popular character of the courts in the beginning, and afterward of their aristocratic constitution in the eighteenth century; but we are not told satisfactorily why this change occurred, and there seems to be a suggestion in Dr. Chitwood's monograph that, as time went on, there was a deterioration in the judiciary, owing to the Assembly's losing its right to hear appeals. As a matter of fact, it was a very bad thing for the Assembly, meeting annually, to interfere with the decisions of the courts, as the independence of the judiciary is a cardinal principle in modern jurisprudence. The General Court of Virginia in the eighteenth century could not, in any real sense, be considered "aristocratic" as long as it had to obey the law of the legislature, and as long as its members were subject to removal by petition to the king. As a matter of fact, the courts of colonial Virginia were not so aristocratic as the present courts of the United States, whose judges hold office for life and are vested with the supreme power of declaring void any law conflicting with the Constitution.

Moreover, it does not appear to the present writer that Dr. Chitwood fully sets forth the tremendous contrast afforded by the judicial institutions of Virginia during the latter part of the colonial period with the crude beginnings in the seventeenth century. Dr. Fiske has a paragraph in his *Old Virginia and her Neighbors* (II. 266) which may be

profitably quoted: "During the eighteenth century the development in legal learning and acumen, and in weight of judicial authority, was remarkable. The profession was graced by such eminent names as Pendleton, Wythe, and Henry, until in John Marshall the Old Dominion gave to the world a name second to none among the great judges of English race and speech."

Nevertheless, Dr. Chitwood's work is a valuable contribution to the study of our antiquities and beginnings; and it is with unfeigned pleasure that we welcome this vigorous young scholar into the ranks of our historical investigators.

LYON GARDINER TYLER.

*Louisiana: a Record of Expansion.* By ALBERT PHELPS. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. ix, 412.)

THE task of writing a history of Louisiana, especially the Louisiana of colonial times, has been greatly facilitated during the last few years in several ways. The celebration at St. Louis of the centennial of the purchase aroused a keen interest in the history of the Mississippi valley, and naturally produced a number of works dealing with this subject in a more or less original fashion. Moreover the publications of the American Historical Association have thrown new light on obscure points in the Spanish period. Finally the Louisiana Historical Society has added to its Magne and Margry collections by procuring from France, in the last eighteen months, seven or more volumes of transcripts from the French archives, some of them containing new material of great importance. Skilful use of these new as well as of the older documentary material has been made by Mr. Phelps in his *Louisiana*.

The author's main object, as he states it in his preface, has been to show that "the Latin settlements in the Mississippi Valley . . . threatened the coherence of the feeble Federation of States, checked the drift of pioneers that instinctively bore the destiny of the nation ever westward, and, even as late as 1803, offered a dangerous and alluring scheme of conquest to Napoleon." Hence the author's principal theme was to show the relation of the Mississippi valley to the older states of the Union and to emphasize the vast importance of Jefferson's purchase. He has done more, however: he has briefly but skilfully traced the history of Louisiana as a state of the Union; its swift development up to the Civil War; the chief events of that struggle as far as they touched Louisiana; and—not without a number of dramatic details—the dark days of Reconstruction.

At this point the book indicates the limits of space placed upon the author by his publishers; for the period following Reconstruction—the period of the renaissance of the state and of its development along industrial and educational lines—is inadequately presented. The reader feels a natural disappointment that there should be so graphic a presentation of the disastrous Reconstruction era, and so brief an account of the new day that was soon to dawn. In no other work, however,

is the plea of the indignant and oppressed South more fervently urged. At times the author's Southern rearing and sympathies betray him into giving what seems to be a partizan view of the vexed questions of that time. Two instances will be noted later.

This fault is in a measure offset by the large view and the excellent analysis of the events that led up to the Civil War. It is in the colonial period, however, that Mr. Phelps is at his best. Here the subject lent itself naturally to his strongly poetical temperament, and we find many passages in which the objects and aims of the Spanish and French explorers are well set forth, with due consideration of the contemporaneous history of Europe; while there is a charm of style withal, a delightful literary touch, which makes this portion of the book fascinating reading. The author has happily avoided the flowing but rather inflated style of Gayarré and the dry-as-dust annalistic style of Martin. The reader will linger over Mr. Phelps's description (p. 34) of the Indian dances given in honor of Iberville, when "flashing and gorgeous with feathers, tassels, jingling bits of metal, and fresh paint, the lithe, almost naked bodies wove their savage beauty into a dazzling maze of barbaric color and motion"; and over the touching story he tells (pp. 205-207) of the transformation of Padre Antonio de Sedella, the dreaded agent of the Holy Office, into the gentle Père Antoine, the beloved priest of rich and poor alike. By such passages Mr. Phelps has lent to his narrative the same kind of interest which, in a higher degree, has made so popular the writings of Fiske and Parkman.

The book, as a whole, shows a careful study of the sources, and its accuracy is commendable. There are, however, some errors, due partly to a failure to examine recently discovered documents and partly to other causes. Baton Rouge received its name not from "a red corn-stalk" (p. 33), but from a reddened *Mai*, or May-pole, seen by Iberville. It is not accurate to say (p. 102) that after the treaty of Paris "in 1763", "the question of Louisiana yet remained to be settled". It had, of course, been settled November 3, 1762. The "town of New Orleans" (p. 142) is a slip for the "isle of Orleans". Don Andres Almonester (not "Almonaster"), the inscription on his tomb to the contrary notwithstanding, did not build the famous Cabildo as a "philanthropist" (p. 160). The Pontalba letters in the library of the Louisiana Historical Society show that his family claimed and received full compensation. There is a failure to state (p. 265) that the chief cause of Jackson's adoption of the Lafittes was, as Jackson afterward stated, that the smugglers had several thousand rounds of cartridges, which they finally gave up, and to the use of which Jackson attributed the saving of New Orleans. The English officers "drank with enthusiasm to the inspiring toast, 'Beauty and Booty'" (pp. 274-275). It should be noted that some fifteen years later a number of the British officers, indignant at this slur on their honor, published their sworn testimony to the effect that there was no such watchword at New Orleans. The author makes severe strictures on Congress for its action on two occasions (pp. 345-



346, 350). First, Congress was unfair in the drastic measures taken against the labor laws passed by the South in 1865; the testimony taken in regard to these laws was one-sided, etc. For instance, says Mr. Phelps, no law on the subject had been promulgated in Louisiana at all. It is only fair to reply that though no law against freedmen had been "promulgated" by the Louisiana legislature, several bills of great severity were pending in that body when Congress took up the matter, and were doubtless dropped because of the attitude of Congress. Again, Mr. Phelps, doubtless following Burgess, charges Congress with unconstitutional action in not submitting the Fourteenth Amendment to President Johnson for his signature (p. 350). The advocate of Congress could reply that the first ten amendments did not receive the signature of the President, and that the Supreme Court (3 Dallas, 381) had decided that the negative of the President applies to ordinary legislation and has nothing to do with the proposition or adoption of amendments to the Constitution.

Such faults are only natural in a young writer who treats for the first time so long a period as is embraced in the history of Louisiana. In spite of them the work is worthy of a high place in the series of which it forms a part.

JOHN R. FICKLEN.

*Rhode Island: a Study in Separatism.* By IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. x, 395.)

THIS, the most enjoyable of the books on Rhode Island, is the work of "one possessed of no relationship, ancestral or contemporary, to New England". It will not displace the solid history by Arnold, but the changes of a half-century will give it a place of its own. It is significant that, while the history of Rhode Island has been politico-theological, or at least politico-legal, this latest work is an instructive picture of social life. The author fairly establishes his thesis of separatism as the formative principle of the community. He lays out his periods and classification as follows: Agriculture and Separatism, 1636-1689; Commerce and Co-operation, 1690-1763; Unification and Manufactures, 1764 to the present day. These fixed partitions are too rigid, and the periods are more or less arbitrary. Commerce, as developed in the East for two or three decades after the Revolution, was more important than at any other period. Nor did manufactures get under way until Slater started in 1790. The terms are elaborated considerably. "By Providence there was symbolized individualism both religious and political—a force centrifugal, disjunctive, and even disruptive. By Aquidneck . . . there was symbolized collectivism—a collectivism thoroughly individualized as to religion, but in politics conjunctive and centripetal" (p. 32). Collectivism may be interpreted in that way, but according to Woolsey it "denotes the condition of a community when its affairs, especially its industry, are managed in the collective way". There was

nothing of this latter sort in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. History is hardly elucidated by such forced terms.

The main exigesis is wholly correct. "The age of Roger Williams in Rhode Island was a great age. For the first time in human history State had wholly been dissociated from Church in a commonwealth not utopian but real. For the first time the fundamental idea of modern civilization—that of rights of man as a being responsible primarily to God and not to the community—had been given an impulse powerful and direct" (pp. 60-61). The right personalities are emphasized. Harris, Coddington, and Clarke brought the spiritists down to earth, giving organization and a backbone to the communities, or the state could not have lived.

The Dorr rebellion—an incipient revolution—is well handled. The important constitutional problems there developed are treated fairly. The strong fighting spirit of the Seeker-Quaker state, as in privateering, in the Revolution, and in the Civil War, is very suggestive.

An occasional error occurs, as in half-affirming (p. 6) a thoroughly exploded tradition of "Norse construction" of the Old Stone Mill. More important is the strange lapse "no . . . conscription" (p. 316)—a remarkable error in such thorough investigation. Rhode Island was first to draft; and her conscripts—not substituted—were duly mustered.

James Bryce brought our state under new obligation when he inspired the author to make these studies; and the East may well congratulate the western states thereon.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 6. *Provincial America, 1690-1740.* By EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Ph.D., Professor of History in Illinois State University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xxi, 356.)

ONE advantage of the present movement toward the writing of general histories of our country is that gaps must be filled in. Mr. Greene's book deals with one of these, perhaps the least-known fifty years between 1600 and the present day, a period which has at the same time repelled by its difficulty and lacked in the picturesque attraction of the years just before and after. Mr. Greene has handled his problem with the grasp of a true historical artisan, and his book is a definite contribution to American history. The chief difficulty arises from the necessity of treating the history of still distinctly different colonies, which, nevertheless, "possessed important elements of unity". Mr. Greene has wisely decided that, within the limits of a single volume, "the most instructive method for the student of this period is to emphasize the general movements" (p. xix). It must, however, be confessed that there is a consequent loss of vitality. To such a book one must bring one's interest, and it is a question whether some concession might not have been made to the general reader by way of

the selection for fuller treatment of typical incidents. Whether Mr. Greene might not have adopted the middle course of a treatment by sections will also be considered a question by some, but his determination to give emphasis to political institutions made this the less practicable.

In the development of general tendencies Mr. Greene shows full grasp of the situation. He is particularly strong in dealing with the relations of the colonies and the mother-country, and devotes about one-third of the book to this topic. The effect of the "Glorious Revolution" is well treated, although the practical identity of the cases of the colonial and municipal charters, and the consequent obligation upon William to restore the latter, is perhaps not made quite plain. Attention is repeatedly called to the influence of the charter colonies on the provinces by furnishing illustrations of popular government, and of the reflex influence of the provinces on them in introducing English influences. Other forces making for union are enumerated, and this tendency stands clear-cut throughout. For the sake of completeness, it is unfortunate that the intercolonial settlements of the Scotch-Irish and the Presbyterian synod are not mentioned in this connection. The careful development of the English administration gives abundant illustration of another thesis of Mr. Greene, that the struggle between the imperial government, desirous of a uniform, effective system, and the several colonies, anxious to preserve their particularistic rights and customs, furnished the bulk of colonial politics, and was preparing for the Revolution by defining issues and training public men. Mr. Greene mentions, in fact places first in order, one more important general tendency, that of material expansion. This recognition makes more striking the fact that the subject is dismissed in a chapter of twenty-one pages, with occasional references elsewhere. This treatment, though brief, is strong in the subject of colonial legislation and mentions most matters of importance, but there is decided need of an illustrative map, and one feels that the push to the West does not permeate the book as it must have permeated the life of the period.

Though this series is intended rather as a presentation of the present state of historical knowledge with regard to the country, than to advance that knowledge, most of the writers have really made in their respective volumes original contributions to their fields, and Mr. Greene's stands second to none that have yet appeared in this respect. Already at home in the subject through his studies for *The Provincial Governor*, he has extended his investigation to the whole field of colonial politics and administration. The sources which he has chiefly used are the *Statutes of the Realm*, the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, the colonial statutes and records, and such collections as the *Penn-Logan Correspondence* and the *Randolph Papers*. He has distinctly added to our acquaintance with the use of the veto power by the English government, the policy and enforcement of the navigation acts, and the mechanics of English control. He has successfully welded this together with the existing monographic material on kindred subjects, and

gives the clearest and most comprehensive account we have of the imperial system at this time with relation to America.

Twenty-seven pages are devoted to a discussion of industry and commerce. Here the land and labor systems, manufacturing, the fur-trade, the fisheries, the balance of trade, the coasting-trade, privateering, piracy, and the currency are discussed in admirable little summaries. The final chapter, on "Provincial Culture", taken in connection with an earlier chapter on "Puritans and Anglicans", is distinctly inadequate. In these forty-seven pages one might have expected something with regard to the suggestive spread of Arminianism, to the attempt of Jonathan Edwards to harmonize emotional religion and predestination, to the entering wedge between the Harvard and Yale schools of thought. The whole treatment of religious questions, however, is purely formal; we are told that there were differences of opinion and changes of spirit, that Fichte admired Edwards, that "solitary thinker of North America", but not a word of what the latter thought. The "Great Awakening", the first occasion when the people of the colonies responded to a single enthusiasm, is discussed in one page (p. 321), and Edwards, the only American who was great during these years, in another. Not even the vital question of ecclesiastical organization is discussed. One does not need to be a disciple of *Kulturgeschichte* to require some treatment of what was still the dominant intellectual and moral interest of the major portion of the colonies. Mr. Greene, indeed, in places evidently assumes, on the part of his readers, a knowledge of religious conditions, but, if so, his assumption will not, in many instances, be supported by facts. In a similar way Mr. Greene presupposes a knowledge of, but does not mention, the separation of North and South Carolina.

The apparatus of the book, maps, foot-notes, critical essay on authorities, and index, is admirably worked out. The evident repression of the foot-notes has prevented any extensive reference to monographs, but this is in large measure supplied by the list of authorities. The latter is well calculated to fit the needs of both the student and the general reader, though, from the standpoint of the latter, one misses Seeley's *Expansion of England* and Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, and the former would expect mention of W. D. Johnston's *Slavery in Rhode Island*, Reinsch's *English Common Law in the Early American Colonies*, some of the *Columbia Studies*, and a discussion of the voluminous local material for the period.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 7. *France in America, 1497-1763.* By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D., Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xxi, 320.)

WE have the right to expect a high type of excellence in a history of the American nation "in twenty-seven volumes", written "from

original sources by associated scholars", edited by a well-known authority on American history, himself "advised by various historical societies", among which appears the venerated name of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The volume before us satisfies in some respects an exacting scrutiny. Its mechanical make-up is admirable. It is furnished with maps which not only please the eye but bring together a vast amount of historical information. That in colors of the "Progress of French Discovery in the Interior, 1600-1762", furnishes in one survey an outline of the pioneer history of large areas of what are now two countries, the United States and Canada, and illustrates the genius that the French *coureurs de bois* had for opening up trade in the wilderness. Of this and other maps the editor truly says that they reveal "almost for the first time . . . the immense possibilities which the French had before them" (p. xvii).

In the matter of proportions too the author has shown originality and courage. He gives only one-third of his space to the first one hundred and fifty years of French effort, and devotes the remaining two-thirds to the twenty dramatic years of struggle between France and Britain for supremacy in North America. This plan involves indeed some loss. We hear nothing of Colbert's great schemes of empire in America; and Frontenac, the ablest of the French governors, is barely mentioned. Nor has the editor of the majestic series of volumes of *Jesuit Relations* given himself much space in which to discuss the French ecclesiastical policy. This is a noteworthy example of self-denial, for in that branch of France's work in America Mr. Thwaites's mastery is unrivaled.

The foot-notes show that for the book as a whole Mr. Thwaites has drawn information from a wide range of authorities. But the standard secondary authorities play the chief part, the most frequently recurring name being of course Francis Parkman. *The Royal Navy*, edited by the late Sir W. Laird Clowes; Mr. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*; Kingsford's *History of Canada*; Doughty and Parmelee's *Siege of Quebec*—these represent the type of works to which Mr. Thwaites is indebted for his principal information in more than half of the book. In truth the volume hardly fulfils the promise for the series that it shall be based upon original sources. This is obvious everywhere, but we furnish one or two illustrations. Mr. Thwaites notes the remarkable fact (p. 256) that, while men were dying of scurvy by hundreds in Quebec during the siege in the winter of 1759-1760, few women were even ill. For this he cites as authority Bradley's *Fight with France for North America*, but the real authority is Captain John Knox, who was in Quebec during that winter, and whose book Mr. Thwaites names in his bibliography. Again, Mr. Thwaites cites Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* for the striking description (p. 258) of General Murray's garrison in Quebec in the spring of 1760 as "half-starved, scorbutic skeletons". But the real authority is Quartermaster-Sergeant Johnson, whose original narration is printed in the fifth vol-

ume of Doughty and Parmelee's *Siege of Quebec*, a book which, though frequently cited, has obviously not been studied in its entirety.

An effective history involves at least three characteristics: it must be written in an attractive literary style, it must be accurate, and it must show mastery of the chief sources of information. On all these points the verdict on at least parts of Mr. Thwaites's work must be adverse. Its quality varies. The chapters which relate to the Mississippi valley are written with more ease and accuracy than are those relating to eastern America, a fact that is due probably to the author's long residence in the west. When on less familiar ground his style becomes stilted; his sources of information are either inadequate or ill-understood; and he makes startling mistakes.

It is worth while to test the book on the three chief points named. First, then, in regard to style it must be pronounced very defective. In the two hundred pages devoted to a dramatic war there are unrivaled opportunities for vivid effects. Mr. Thwaites is conscious of his opportunities. He tells at length Washington's experiences on the Ohio; he does his best to make a striking narrative of the two sieges of Louisburg, and of Wolfe's siege of Quebec. But the effect is rather dismal. The narrative lacks life. Too many ideas are crowded into single sentences. Words are used with strange and even inaccurate meanings. Grammar is sometimes disregarded; for instance, the relations of prepositions to their antecedents are often hopelessly involved: "Virginia was poorly supplied with wagons and horses, for rivers and bays were her principal routes of commerce, so that these had to be obtained in Pennsylvania, where Franklin's prestige alone succeeded in wheedling them out of the reluctant people" (p. 174). We may well ask what, according to Mr. Thwaites, it was that the ingenious Franklin was to extort from Pennsylvania. When Mr. Thwaites means to say that Wolfe had an indomitable spirit, he says "indubitable" (p. 242); and we begin to wonder what a man with an indubitable spirit is like. The Canadians are "bookishly ignorant" (p. 24), which we take to mean ignorant of books. Spain is "strong enough to carry a high hand" (p. 268), a feat which even an infant can perform. Things do not happen with Mr. Thwaites; they "transpire" (p. 106), which used in this sense is mere journalese.

Nor in the substance of much that he says is Mr. Thwaites more happy. If already in 1588 "England was recognized as mistress of the seas" (p. 6), why all this talk about Trafalgar? Roberval's name was not "la Roche" (p. 8) but la Roque. It is amusing to read of the repair of the "crude fortifications" of Quebec in 1541 (p. 9), more than sixty years before that place was founded; and for a similar reason one wonders what a French historian would think of "the Versailles court" as directing French policy about 1605 (p. 15). Mr. Thwaites knows that France did not lose Cape Breton until 1763, though on p. 125 he says the opposite; while on p. 275 he implies that France held Nova Scotia until that date. "Townsend" (p. 243) is not the correct spell-

ing of the name of the noble family of Townshend to which Wolfe's brigadier belonged. "Point Lévis" (p. 248) is the kind of trap the unwary would fall into; the name of the point is Lévi and the adjacent town of Lévis was not so named until after the British conquest of Canada. It is now certain that the Chevalier de Lévis had not 11,000 men (p. 257), or, according to his own account, half that number, in his attack on Quebec in April, 1760. Mr. Thwaites's narrative of the incidents at that period literally teems with inaccuracies. The British retreat after the battle of Sainte Foye was not "orderly" (p. 258) but quite the reverse, for they were pursued pell-mell up almost to the very gates of Quebec. Nor, two weeks later, did Lévis abandon the siege of Quebec because he was attacked (p. 258). He fled in the night in a panic and had got well away before the British knew that he was going.

The most serious fault remains. In modern historical writing the bibliographical apparatus counts for much. Both as a guaranty that the sources of information are adequate, and as a guide to other students, we have the right to expect that here a historical writer will do his best. In the preface Mr. Thwaites suggests that Parkman is a little defective in respect to bibliography, and at the close of the book he places a "Critical Essay on Authorities" which we are to take as superseding Parkman and embodying the best and most recent information. In this essay we have Kingsford's *History of Canada*, in ten volumes, described as "concise" (p. 297). Garneau, the best-known of Canadian historians, is called "Garnier" (p. 297), an offense as great as to call Macaulay Macdonald. "The Haldimand Collection was published in 1884-1885, Bouquet Collection in 1889, Murray Correspondence in 1890", says Mr. Thwaites (p. 298). In fact they fill several hundreds of volumes, and only calendars have been printed. The number of Parkman's volumes relating to New France is given incorrectly (p. 297) as is also that of the *Lévis Documents* (p. 301). A volume by M. René de Kerallain on his ancestor, Bougainville, is cited as if by Bougainville himself (p. 303). Here Mr. Thwaites has fallen before the delusive appearance of the French title-page; the book itself he can hardly have examined. Minor errors in authors' initials and in titles are numerous.

But enough of faultfinding. Summing up, one is obliged to say that, while the book shows industry and knowledge, its faults in regard both to style and to accuracy are so numerous as to make it hardly worthy of the high reputation of its author. The wonder is that these things should have escaped the scrutiny of the alert editor of the series.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

*Wolfe and Montcalm.* By the Abbé HENRI RAYMOND CASGRAIN. [The Makers of Canada, in twenty volumes, edited by Duncan Campbell Scott, F.R.S.C., and Pelham Edgar, Ph.D.] (Toronto: Morang and Company. 1905. Pp. xxviii, 296.)

THE death of the Abbé Henri Raymond Casgrain in February, 1904, deprived Canadian literature of a most picturesque and charming per-

sonality; French Canadians of their most devoted and determined champion in the sphere of historical writing; and many individuals of a highly valued friend, whose warm living touch can never be forgotten. The loss of such a man would have been rightly called lamented at any time; happening just when it did, we can only say it was quite as truly lamentable. A little sooner, and his friends would have accepted his last book as coming from what they supposed to be the fullness of knowledge developed by the controversy between Parkman and himself. A little later, and he would have had at his command the result of recent and practically final research in Waddington's *Guerre de Sept Ans*, Doughty's *Siege of Quebec*, and Wood's *Fight for Canada*; and, with this conclusive proof before him, he must have seen the whole vexed question from a point of view far above that of the mere partizan who has to keep worrying the half-knowledge of one side into doing reluctant duty for both. And who knows but that he might have risen to a masterpiece? He had the love of historical research strong within him; an intimate knowledge of the place and people; and the saving grace of a good prose style. And here, at last, he would have had the chance of turning his many advantages to the best account from the completed data. But this was not to be. He had the singular misfortune to have completed his work by the last glimmer of twilight, and to have it posthumously exhibited in the full glare of complete research. A more untoward book was never published.

It may seem ungenerous to criticize adversely the last work of one who is now no more; and we would gladly resign our task. But the editors have assigned to the book a place in a series of volumes which professedly claim to convey the most accurate knowledge of the subjects with which they deal. It therefore becomes our duty to point out how signally the author has failed to give either an adequate or a faithful account of one of the most interesting periods of Canadian history.

The book is unfortunate in being confined almost entirely to the local aspects of the struggle for supremacy. It makes no attempt whatever to correlate the interdependent parts of the world-wide war, with all of which the fate of Canada was intimately bound up. It only relates to sea-power in the most inaccurate and misleading way. It has descriptions of British blue-jackets drilling on shore, and of their being armed to the teeth and ready to swarm over any unprotected part of Montcalm's land defenses in irresistible sheer weight of numbers. But it forgets to say that not one seaman fired a shot or drew his cutlass ashore; and it equally neglects to mention the real determining influences of sea-power which brought about the fall of New France. Anson, who planned the naval action from headquarters, is not named; Wolfe is stated to be in command of Saunders's fleet; and there is complete silence about Hawke's victory in Quiberon Bay which cut the French Atlantic line of communications for good and all and so sealed the fate of Canada.

But even on land, the Abbé hardly ever attempts to appreciate the



situation except from a purely French Canadian point of view. He does not bring the reader up the St. Lawrence with Saunders and Wolfe; he only lets him see the British forces through the estranging "fog of war" which enveloped the foreign invaders during the siege of Québec.

The long chapter of eighty pages on Wolfe is introduced by the apocryphal account of his behavior at dinner with Pitt and Temple; an account which, even if true, would cast a wholly disproportionate slur on Wolfe's general character. His final victory is ascribed to mere good luck, in spite of the fact that the consummate plan involved the harmonious interworking of many complicated operations by land and water, extending over three days in time; carried out along a front of twenty-nine miles with the utmost secrecy by officers who only knew the parts of it which immediately concerned themselves; and brought to a triumphant conclusion in the dead of night.

But Montcalm fares no better than Wolfe. His victory at Ticonderoga is attributed to Lévis and the French Canadians; though he chose the ground himself and commanded throughout the action in person, and though only one-eighth of his men were Canadians. He gets no credit for having ordered the regiment of Guienne to guard the Foulon on the night before the battle; nor is it mentioned that Vaudreuil withdrew this battalion himself<sup>1</sup> and was solely responsible for leaving that critical point under the care of the scoundrelly Vergor. Bougainville is blamed as much as Montcalm for the loss of the battle; and de Ramesay comes in for the same condemnation for surrendering Quebec.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Lévis is the faultless hero in all things: nothing is said about his mistaken raid along the Mohawk just before Ticonderoga; nor about his urging Montcalm to cross the Montmorency and attack Wolfe in a strongly intrenched position; nor about his great preponderance in numbers at Ste. Foy; nor about his equivocation at Montreal.

Indeed the Abbé appears as the advocate of the French Canadians *contra mundum*. Had he been able to do so with the whole of the evidence before him, he would undoubtedly have left a valuable work of its peculiar kind; because there is a distinctly useful rôle for the advocate in history as in everything else. But the French Canadians lose more than they gain by a championship which is based on injustice to the soldiers of Old France and misrepresentation of their foes. The French Canadians played a heroic part throughout the campaign and especially during the trying days of the siege of Quebec, and their conduct was in marked contrast with the weak, vain-glorious, incompetent

<sup>1</sup> "12. [Septembre, 1759] Mercredi. Ordre donné par M. de Montcalm et ensuite révoqué par M. de Vaudreuil disant nous verrons cela demain, au bataillon de Guyenne d'aller camper au foulon." Journal of Jean-Félix Récher, curé of Quebec, printed in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, May, 1903, Vol. IX., no. 5, p. 139. See also "Correspondance de Bougainville" in Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> See last letter of Montcalm in Wood, *The Fight for Canada*.

governor, whom the Abbé seeks to exalt in the pages of this book. But the recent completion of research has deprived the author's work of its value even from this point of view. The editors have done their best, by writing an elaborate introduction and some very pertinent notes, to bring the book into line with those founded upon a more complete examination of original documents. But the attempt is vain. The final facts now known have put the Abbé's point of view entirely out of focus, even in its own field; while they have brought upon the stage a whole world of action which he never saw at all.

We can only repeat that a more untoward book was never published; and while asking our readers to forget that it was ever written, we would ask them to remember that the Abbé Casgrain wrote it under conditions which absolutely forbade success; that he did far better work in other directions; that his best should be a source of pride and profit to every Canadian, French and English alike, and the man was even better than the best of all his books.

*Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer, 1737-1791, and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmist, 1735-1794. Two Studies in Early American Music.* By O. G. SONNECK. (Washington: Printed for the Author by H. L. McQueen. 1905. Pp. ix, 213.)

It has hitherto been supposed that William Billings was the first American composer of music. In the present volume Mr. Sonneck, chief of the Division of Music of the Library of Congress, throws a flood of light upon the labors of two earlier native musicians, Francis Hopkinson, the poet and friend of Washington, and James Lyon, the patriot, preacher, and psalmist. The amount of musical detail that Mr. Sonneck has unearthed has astonished not only Americans but has found recognition in Germany. It is true that Billings was the first professional composer that our country possessed, but it is here abundantly proved that there were two amateurs in the field before him.

Billings published his first volume of compositions in 1770, while this volume shows that both Hopkinson and Lyon composed some works in 1759, when Billings was but thirteen years old. There is still a little uncertainty as to the exact date of Lyon's earliest composition and as to whether it preceded or succeeded the first musical work of Hopkinson. It is probable that the first American composition was a song, of no very great merit, entitled "My days have been so wondrous free", by Hopkinson, which our author conjectures to have been written in 1759. In 1788 Hopkinson published a set of songs which he dedicated to George Washington. In a letter (given on p. 113) dated November 20, 1788, Hopkinson writes to Washington, saying: "However small the Reputation may be that I shall derive from this Work, I cannot I believe, be refused the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a Musical Composition." To this

letter Washington wrote a quaintly humorous yet appreciative reply, which is also given in the volume (p. 114).

Francis Hopkinson was born in 1737 and died in 1791. He seems to have been active in many fields of music, giving concerts, writing criticisms of music, producing a commentary upon church-organ playing, creating poems for musical setting, and inventing new devices for tuning and quilling a harpsichord. He is one of the most interesting figures in early American music, and we owe his rehabilitation to Mr. Sonneck.

Reverend James Lyon (1735-1794) is not so interesting or so vivid a personality, yet he was a good patriot and a most earnest and sincere worker for both his country and its music. His first venture in music was the setting of an "Ode on Peace" for the commencement exercises at Princeton in 1759. Very soon after this (in 1761 or 1762) there appeared his collection of psalm-tunes, and as this contained "some Entirely New" (pp. 135-136) we may conjecture that our composer was fairly well launched by this time. Mr. Sonneck thoroughly disproves some of the sneering remarks which Frédéric L. Ritter directed against the volume, which bore the title *Urania*, and is perhaps justly severe against that writer's supercilious stand against much of the American music (*Music in America*, New York, 1890); but he might have acknowledged the thoroughness of Ritter's account of opera and orchestral music in New York, particularly as he takes pains to praise men much less worthy of praise.

There is some irrelevant matter introduced into the pages of Mr. Sonneck's volume, such as a *calendarium* (pp. 10-25) of musical events at Philadelphia from 1716 to 1759, and disquisitions upon Mr. Hopkinson's poetry, but these only add to the readable character of the work, which is a very important contribution to the history of American music and will undoubtedly have much influence on future works on this topic.

LOUIS C. ELSON.

*Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776, including the Records of the Committee of Correspondence.* Edited by JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY. (Richmond: 1905. [For sale by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.], Pp. xxiii, 301.)

If a competent commission, such as that which the Queen of the Netherlands has established for her country, were to take up in systematic fashion the inquiry what are the chief gaps in our historical record, to be filled up by documentary publication, there can be no doubt that one of the leading desiderata which their survey would bring to notice is a good issue of the legislative journals of the eighteenth century. Without a full and exact knowledge of what they were doing, no satisfactory political or constitutional history of that period is possible. Yet in how few of the thirteen possible cases have we the records of the lower house in modern and purchasable volumes! Those of New York may be obtained, though with some difficulty. Lower-

house journals or general-assembly journals of North Carolina, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire may be found imbedded in large series, and usually presented in an incomplete form; small fragments are obtainable in two other cases.

Of all these popular assemblies the House of Burgesses of Virginia was the most important, and its record the longest and the most instructive. Mr. Kennedy, the new librarian of the Virginia State Library, has undertaken to supply the need of a modern and adequate edition of its journals. His task will not be an easy one. None of the original manuscript journals exists in Virginia, we believe, except one session in 1693 and the three presented in the present volume. From 1680, when the Burgesses began to sit separately, to 1732, when printing began, the journals are to be obtained from the copies in the Public Record Office at London. The printed journals, 1732-1774, exist in unique or very rare volumes, are much scattered, and in some cases imperfect. To complete the series from 1680 will, we should judge, take fifteen volumes of the size of that before us.

Mr. Kennedy presents his first volume in sumptuous form. Nothing could well be handsomer in the way of typography; and there is a good index. The text is taken from the manuscript journals. It should have been mentioned that Force, *Archives*, fourth series, II. 1185-1242, gives a journal for the session of 1775; but it is of hardly more than half-length, embracing only matters relating directly to the Revolution, though longer than the rare epitome, *The Proceedings of the House of Burgesses*, etc. (Williamsburg, 1775), mentioned by Mr. Kennedy. With his texts of the journals of the Burgesses he prints the minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, and such parts of their correspondence as are to be found transcribed into one of the journal volumes. This material, it should have been mentioned, has already seen the light in Vol. VIII. of the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*.

The journal of each session is preceded, as is proper, by a list of the Burgesses; but, as this is no part of the journal, the source whence the lists are derived should be indicated. Some of the names given without question are subject to doubt. In the interest of the future volumes, we mention that the meaning of the foot-note "Missing", frequently used in pp. 47-64, is not in all cases clear; and that in the arrangement of the introduction most of pp. xiii and xiv seems to belong at a later point. A suggestion of greater importance is that in the subsequent volumes, relating to earlier times, the grouping by years should be abandoned in favor of grouping by assemblies and sessions. In the present volume the whole correspondence accompanying or resulting from each session might better be printed immediately after the journal of the session; and in earlier years, if any material outside the journals is to be included, it should follow the session, regardless of year.

Mr. Kennedy has set out upon an exceedingly valuable and important undertaking. He is carrying it forward with great care and skill;

and he bids fair to make of it a monumental series, of which Virginia may well be proud, and which other states may well imitate.

*The Declaration of Independence: an Interpretation and Analysis.*

By HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. xii, 299.)

DR. FRIEDENWALD'S text comprises two main portions, of five chapters each, an interpolated chapter on the adoption and signing of the Declaration, and an appendix which confronts the final version with Jefferson's draft.

The sixth chapter need not delay us long. Judge Mellen Chamberlain solved the puzzle of the signing some years ago, and our author's "independent researches" (p. 133 note) in this field have added so little that he might well have relegated the whole matter to a second appendix. By that device he would have brought into closer connection the portion of his book which attempts an interpretation of the events immediately preceding the Declaration and the portion which attempts an analysis of the document itself. These constitute the substance of the volume and chiefly demand our attention.

Dr. Friedenwald begins his analysis by summarizing, in the seventh chapter, the complaints of the critics: the Declaration is trite; it is compounded of glittering generalities; its political philosophy, always impossible, is now obsolete; its attack on George III. goes beyond warrant of fact. The first two complaints Dr. Friedenwald answers quite in the spirit of Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*, from which he quotes at length. As to the obsolescence of the theory of natural rights, he makes a distinction between the needs of a propaganda and those of a philosophy, justly concluding that however generally teachers of political science may accept, in some form or other, an evolutionary theory of the origin of government and society, that can never be made the basis for such revolutionary movements as have been the outcome of the theory of natural rights. "Future generations will have recourse, in their uprisings, to the old guide, or else will seek a new, as yet not in evidence" (p. 207). This, if familiar, is at least sound, and the chapter on "The Philosophy of the Declaration" is liberally sprinkled with equally sensible remarks. But they seem, after all, rather the components of a mosaic than the portions of a texture. The author, no longer swearing in the words of any one master, appears here to have been distracted by the multiplicity of his guides: a bit of J. F. Stephen (whom Dr. Friedenwald calls "Stephens") jostles a bit of McLaughlin, and on the next page both give way to a bit of Merriam. The impression, taking all together, is of confusion rather than of mastery. The two concluding chapters, which deal with the "facts submitted to a candid world", are a convenient review of the events which Jefferson probably had in mind while penning his famous indictment of the king. They make it abundantly clear that that indictment cannot

be sustained, in its entirety, at the bar of history. But they make even more clear the abundant foundation of fact which underlay the Declaration regarded as a campaign document. This, if no novelty, is still a merit.

Dr. Friedenwald's most serious claim to attention, however, must be based upon the five interpretative chapters which open his book. In them he has attempted to trace "the close interrelation between the development of the authority and jurisdiction of the Continental Congress and the evolution of the sentiment for independence. The gradual, though occasionally rapid manner in which the Congress acquired power, and the ways in which this was exercised, went side by side with the growth of the idea that independence was a necessary outcome of the controversy between England and America, that had been raging for nearly fifteen years. As the authority and jurisdiction of the Congress were extended, it adopted various means to further the desire for independence. Also, as this desire became more widely spread, the Congress, the embodiment of the union sentiment, acting for all and in behalf of all, gained additional strength. The highest point of its power was reached on July 4, 1776" (p. vii).

Even if there were space to examine in detail the instances and arguments by which Dr. Friedenwald supports this thesis, it would perhaps be unfair to attempt that task now, since he tells us (p. ix) that "the earlier chapters are in some respects a preliminary study, in part an abstract of a larger, more detailed work on this subject." But a reviewer who has been inclined to view the policy of the Continental Congress until long after the seventh of June, 1776, as governed, on the whole, rather by political opportunism than by peculiar prescience, may well hope that Dr. Friedenwald's more detailed work will either withdraw or more thoroughly establish his theory of a deliberate and far-sighted purpose on the part of Congress to exercise controlling authority in the individual colonies. It is to be hoped, too, that the more detailed work will always give specific citations (those on pages 45, 55, 102, 104, 116, 128, 171, and 185 of the present book are defective), and show more care in the correction of the press. Last, but by no means least, Dr. Friedenwald would do well to simplify his style, which is curiously involved. The beginning of the second paragraph on page 13, for example, is enough to make the strongest head reel.

*Essais d'Histoire Diplomatique Américaine.* Par ACHILLE VIAL-  
LATE, Professeur à l'École des Sciences Politiques. (Paris: E.  
Guilmoto. 1905. Pp. iii, 307.)

HERE are three related essays in the field of American diplomatic history, the first, on the territorial development of the United States, being in a sense introductory to the other two, the interoceanic canal question and the intervention of 1898 in Cuba.

In the first of these Professor Viallate traces briefly but clearly the

territorial growth of this country. It is an essay purely historical. In the controversies described the contentions of the parties are given, but with no attempt at judging the equities of the question. So far as noticed, the author is very free from bias and from blunder, though Professor Bourne will be amused at the outcropping of the Whitman legend once more (p. 28). To bring so much of history within the compass of fifty-six pages the treatment must necessarily be brief, and naturally some statements are not full enough to be quite accurate. Thus Texas under Mexican rule is alluded to as a member of the Mexican federal government (p. 30), without saying that inability to secure statehood in that federation was one of the causes of the Texans' discontent. Again, the eastern boundary of Alaska is stated (p. 40) to be the mountains parallel to the coast; whereas the treaty adds that whenever the said mountains prove to be more than ten leagues from the coast, the boundary shall leave them and follow the windings of the coast at ten leagues' distance, a deviation which has caused an international controversy. Nevertheless it would be hard to find elsewhere, in so clear and compact a form, so good a statement of the processes through which, step by step, the domain of the United States has attained its present limits.

Once or twice the author forsakes history for politics. Thus he places both Panama and Cuba under the protectorate of the United States—which is technically doubtful—and thinks that this will be the process to bind other territories. For, he says, there is one region where the territorial expansion of the United States must lead to a series of interventions, the region bathed by the sea of the Antilles. In order to assure to its fleets free passage through an interoceanic canal, that country must avoid any occasion which would permit European powers to acquire new naval bases in that region. Germany is the power under suspicion in this respect. And M. Viallate goes on to argue that the evil behavior of certain Latin republics and their disregard of the rights of their foreign creditors invite European intervention, which would temporarily seize a strategic point, an act which American sentiment would ill endure. But what is the alternative? "If the United States will not permit European creditors of these states to use the only means which will make their rights respected, it must itself exercise control over these undisciplined republics." To this conclusion, he says, President Roosevelt has come and the Senate must come.

The space given to "*Le Canal Interocéanique*" is three times that allotted to the first essay, and the treatment is correspondingly detailed. The various railway and canal concessions; the enabling treaties ratified or merely negotiated; the Mosquito Protectorate incident and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to which it led, all are mentioned in proper sequence. Two facts are well brought out: (1) that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was intended primarily to tie the hands of Great Britain; (2) that until long after the War of Secession the canal policy of the

American government was to secure the neutralization of a canal by all the great powers. "À partir de 1870, l'opinion publique aux États-Unis se montra de plus en plus hostile à l'idée d'une garantie internationale. Il fallut trente années et les résultats de la guerre contre l'Espagne, pour que la diplomatie de l'Union réussit à imposer à l'Angleterre une solution purement américaine de la question du canal" (p. 120).

The two Hay-Pauncefote treaties testified to this change of sentiment and policy, and in the second the restraints of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty were at last gotten rid of. Then just as the way seemed clear for a canal under United States sovereignty came the check of a refusal by Colombia to ratify the Hay-Herran agreement. But the revolt of Panama, its recognition as a sovereign state, and its grant of territory and sovereign rights for the construction of a canal at last enabled the Americans to realize their desires.

It is a highly interesting, even dramatic, story as the author tells it. On debatable points he gives fairly the opposing arguments. He shows with great clearness the interdependence of the various events and the actuating motives of British, Americans, Colombians, and the European powers alike.

The third essay, on the intervention of the United States in Cuba, "La Guerre Hispano-Américaine", is not perhaps quite so satisfactory in its treatment of events as the foregoing. It is temperate and fair, does justice to the correct attitude and motives of our government and to the difficulties of its position. On the other hand, it fails to emphasize the fact that continued bad administration was the fundamental cause of Cuban discontent and revolt; nor does the author bring out with sufficient clearness the burden which the policing of its shores and the prevention of filibustering laid upon the United States. He ascribes to the sensational press great, perhaps undue, influence in arousing public sentiment in America. However, the story of the various diplomatic moves in that fateful spring of 1898 is fully and fairly and dramatically told.

The author's authorities for the canal question are Keasbey, Henderson, and Latané, with Wharton's *Digest* and the diplomatic correspondence and presidential messages. Without uncovering new facts or having access to new sources of information, the author gives an exceedingly interesting narrative of the topics discussed, and has put events in such logical sequence as to shed new light upon them in some cases. Then too the foreign point of view is valuable. The book has neither index nor table of contents.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

*Lynch-Law: an Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States.* By JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, Ph.D. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiv, 287.)

THE system commonly called lynching is historically worthy of study because it is a retrogression to methods tried out and discredited by the



experience of ages, and a denial of the principles for which our race has been contending ever since the Norman conquest of England. Up to this investigation, with the exception of Mr. Albert Matthews, who has most generously placed his materials at the service of Dr. Cutler, no one has been able to say positively where and when the thing arose. It is plainly not the same as combinations of weak units against the strong and the lawless, such as the *Vehmgericht* in Germany and the Spanish *Hermandad*; such bodies substituted one form of judicial investigation for another; while our American mobs habitually ignore the judge and supplant the jury.

With great skill and an excellent historical method Dr. Cutler has run to earth the origin of the name "lynching", though the thing itself goes back of its christening. He eliminates, after due discussion, a variety of unsatisfactory explanations and comes down to what he is the first to establish as an unquestionable historical fact—that Colonel Charles Lynch of Bedford County, Virginia, was during the Revolution at the head of an uncourteous court which tried Tories and sentenced many of them to a whipping. Thereafter these rude punishments were held to be examples of "Lynch Law". The next step in Dr. Cutler's chain of reasoning is that lynching originally meant a whipping and that it is in comparatively recent times that to lynch a man has come to mean to take his life. Of course, men have often been hanged and occasionally been burned at the stake, by mobs ever since the founding of the colonies; nevertheless, till about 1830 "lynching" was a painful but not a fatal punishment.

Having thus worked out the historical origin of this interesting institution, Dr. Cutler next investigates its spread into the West and Southwest during the seventy-five years from the Revolution to the Civil War, including the remarkable manifestations in the "vigilance committees" of California. He disposes of the opinion, sometimes held, that lynching is a peculiarly southern institution: in colonial days and at intervals down to the present time barbarous lynchings have occurred at least occasionally in all sections of the Union. On the other hand Dr. Cutler's laborious examination of 3,337 cases between the years 1882 and 1903 shows that 2,585 of them were in the former slave-owning states, the population of which is twenty-six and a half millions against fifty millions in the rest of the Union; that is, a little over one-third the population has the benefit of nearly four-fifths of the lynchings; while the populous states east of Ohio and north of Maryland can boast of only twelve of these instances.

These figures, based upon the annual summaries of the *Chicago Tribune* (which of course must always fall a little under the actual number), form the basis of an analysis which Dr. Cutler has cast into highly suggestive tables and diagrams. For instance, he shows that in his period of twenty-two years the lynchings have always exceeded the number of legal executions, with the exception of four years; and sometimes have been more than twice as numerous. The efforts to discover

a relation between the lynchings and the months in which they occur, and the proportion of foreigners and illiterates, lead to no very definite result. The lynchings in Texas, for instance, are as numerous in proportion to population as the lynchings in South Carolina, though the illiterates are only two-fifths as many.

An examination into the causes for lynching is much more suggestive and throws a new light upon the relation of lynching to race hostility. Of the 2,585 persons lynched in the South 1,985 were negroes; and we are all perfectly familiar with the statement, repeated by Southern writers and doubtless believed, that practically all these lynchings are for rape, for which it is supposed no legal penalty is sufficiently terrible and sufficiently drastic. As a matter of fact, out of the 1,985 negroes lynched, 783 were charged with murder, 707 or an average of thirty-two a year with rape (to which should be added 109 white men, or five a year, lynched for the same offense); while there are unquestioned cases of lynching of negroes for such crimes as slander, poisoning horses, throwing stones, being troublesome, and slapping a child. All arguments based upon the theory that the practice of lynching negroes is primarily due to rape absolutely disappear in the face of this statistical demonstration that two-thirds of the lynchings of negroes are for quite other and disconnected causes.

Another interesting line of inquiry is as to whether lynching of negroes and the supposed invariable cause did or did not spring up, as most Southern people believe, after the Civil War and as a consequence of granting the suffrage to the negroes. Out of scanty and scattered materials Dr. Cutler has been able to show that hangings, shootings, and occasional burnings were tolerably well-known between 1830 and 1860; although the likelihood that a man charged with a crime would have a fair trial was decidedly greater than it is now.

Upon the sociological question of remedies Dr. Cutler is able to throw less light, though he does bring out clearly that the anti-lynching statutes have had little or no effect. He sums up his conclusions on that subject by saying (p. 265) that he "has been able to obtain no information which would warrant the statement that as many as twenty-five persons have been convicted of a crime and punished for participating in the lynching of over three thousand persons in the last twenty-two years." The real difficulty is that the rough and ready frontier spirit, for which there was some justification in an unorganized community infused with desperadoes, has remained or rather has rearisen in thickly populated states and cities which in most respects observe the law.

To note small defects or to suggest other problems that might have been included would be possible; but the main impression made by the book is one of skill and sagacity in choice of topics, in the relation of the parts of the book, in thoroughgoing examination of the material, in original methods of dealing with and exhibiting first-hand material, in sane and moderate conclusions. The book is not only henceforth the

authority on the subject, it is also a good example of a rational and scientific historical method.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

#### MINOR NOTICES

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1904 occupies but one volume, of 708 pages. That which most strikes the reviewer is that it contains, out of eighteen sections, but three which belong to the class, usually so abundant in these annual reports, of monographs based on new researches and adding to the sum of historical knowledge in matters of fact. Two of these are excellent. Mr. W. R. Manning's paper on "The Nootka Sound Controversy", which won the Justin Winsor Prize, is a thorough, solid, careful piece of work, based on researches in European archives, and setting right for the first time the history of an important episode. It is well written, and shows a clear head, not only for the transactions immediately in hand, but also for the larger matters of European diplomacy and international relations which were involved. Mr. I. J. Cox's briefer account of the Hunter-Dunbar and Freeman explorations of the Washita and Red rivers in 1804-1806 is also competent and clear. The campaign of 1824 in New York, the history of which is essayed by Mr. C. H. Rammelkamp, is plainly a subject of a different sort. The never-ending political struggles in New York, which give the grave pages of Hammond so quaint a resemblance to those of Cardinal de Retz, are like eternal rounds of whist. Doubtless it will not do to dismiss them scornfully, after Milton's manner with the wars of the Heptarchy, as "battles of the kites and crows". Doubtless a writer of genius could lift one of them to a higher level than that of the obvious surface phenomena, or discern a conflict of ideas somewhere behind the ignoble squabble. Doubtless he could give it unity and make its story instructive. But Mr. Rammelkamp has not done so.

The volume also contains the reports of the Chicago meeting and of the discussions held in its subsections, the presidential address of Professor Goldwin Smith, and three suggestive and sometimes profound papers by the three eminent foreign historians who were present on that occasion: that of Professor Pais "On Roman History", that of Professor Keutgen "On the Necessity in America of the Study of the Early History of Modern European Nations", and that of Professor Milyoukov on "The Chief Currents of Russian Historical Thought". But much the greater part of the volume is occupied with businesslike reports or papers on topics related to the methods or materials of historical work. There is no report from the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Public Archives Commission presents reports on the state archives of Alabama and Kansas, and on local archives in Georgia and North Carolina, together with a list of the contents of the printed *Pennsylvania Archives*; while Mr. Worthington C. Ford describes in an

interesting manner the archives of our dependencies. Much attention is given in the volume to the work of the state and local historical societies, and Professor H. E. Bourne presents a general summary of their characteristics and endeavors. It is to be hoped that the Association is on the high road toward closer relations with the work of these organizations. The volume closes with a useful report by Professor W. H. Siebert on the special collections in European history which are contained in various American libraries.

*Proceedings of the British Academy, 1903-1904.* (London, Henry Frowde, pp. xx, 339.) The formation of the International Association of Academies in 1899 and 1900 having drawn attention to the lack in Great Britain of a body corresponding to the philosophical-historical sections of the Continental academies and capable of representing the general interests of the humanities as those of the physical sciences were represented by the Royal Society, "The British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies" was organized in 1901 and incorporated by royal charter in 1902—a body limited to one hundred Fellows, composed of scholars of high distinction in the various subjects represented, and acting through sectional committees for each of those subjects.

The present volume, handsome in appearance and of high quality in contents, embraces several important philological and philosophical contributions. The papers most likely to interest historical students are that of Professor John Rhys, "Studies in Early Irish History", which proceeds from the Irish druidic inscription of Killeen Cormac as a starting-point; that of Baron de Bildt, Swedish and Norwegian minister, on the Conclave of Clement X. (1670), in which Queen Christina was so deeply interested; that of Dr. F. G. Kenyon on the Evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual Criticism, reassuring to those who have to depend on the ancient historians; that of Sir Frederick Pollock on Locke's Theory of the State; and that of Sir Courtenay Ilbert on occasion of the centenary of the French Civil Code. If the historical student is also a teacher he will be interested in Mr. Michael E. Sadler's suggestive paper on "The Ferment in Education on the Continent and in America". The two annual addresses of the president, Lord Reay, call for little comment. The American eye will be caught by a phrase in the second, in which, speaking of the next triennial meeting of the International Association of Academies, at Vienna in the spring of 1907, he expresses the hope "that by that date that other great branch of the English-speaking Race—the great American people—may be represented among the Academies of the world by a constituent Academy in the Section of Letters". The notion, not undiscussed in America, has much to recommend it. Of the projects considered by the International Association in its session of 1904, the protocols of which are given in an appendix to this volume, there are several in which American learned opinion should be strongly interested; and, speaking more broadly, as American society

ages and cultivation on the side of the humanities ripens, a central body representative of such interests may soon come to seem as desirable as a national academy of the physical sciences.

Of the obituary notices of members, which convention perhaps requires, few have much vital power, or make real, as the French Academy's notices often do, the human being of whom they treat. Those of Lord Acton, Mr. S. R. Gardiner, Mr. Lecky and Sir Leslie Stephen will especially appeal to students of history. A sketch of Ernst Curtius, by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, already sent out in advance from Vol. II., is extremely interesting. The papers contained in the volume can all be obtained in separate form from the publisher.

The final volume of *The Historians' History of the World*, containing the index, has recently been issued (The Outlook Company, New York, 1905, pp. viii, 662). The index is one both of names and of topics and seems to have been prepared with intelligence and care. In addition there is a complete "Bibliographical Index", giving in alphabetical order the names of all the writers whose works were drawn upon in putting the narrative together, with exact references indicating each place in the body of the work where any given writer has been quoted. For example, "Gorce, Pierre de la, *Histoire du second empire*, Paris, 1894, 4 vols.; Napoleon's address at Bordeaux (op. cit. I, 97-100), 13, 126-127; Battle of the Alma (op. cit. I, 261-267), 17, 565-568; The fall of Sebastopol (op. cit. 434-441), 17, 579-584." The English reader by the help of this index may get brief samples of the narrative of a rather wide range of foreign authors whose works have not been translated.

E. G. BOURNE.

*Actes du Congrès International pour la Reproduction des Manuscrits, des Monnaies et des Sceaux tenu à Liège, les 21, 22 et 23 Août 1905* (Bruxelles, Misch et Thron, 1905, pp. xxviii, 338). Technical as much of the discussion at this congress naturally was, the volume of its proceedings contains much to interest the student of history, especially the student of medieval sources. The history of the organization of the congress is given in the first pages, the formal journal of its sessions in the last, but the greater portion of the book consists of the papers read or submitted beforehand in print for discussion. Even the student of American history may derive profit from the technical papers, for instance, those relating to photography in libraries and archives. Perhaps a larger number will find interest in M. Paul Bergmans's account of previous endeavors toward international co-operation in the making of facsimiles, M. Alphonse Bayot's survey of the present status in respect to the publication of facsimiles of manuscripts, and M. Maurice Prou's more specific report regarding reproductions of charters and other archive-documents. The latter is accompanied by a valuable bibliographical list, prepared by M. Prou and M. René Poupardin. Pro-

fessor Charles M. Gayley of the University of California laid before the congress his project for a central agency in America for the reproduction of European manuscripts and early printed books. His scheme contemplates an endowment of at least half a million dollars, the extensive manufacture of facsimiles to be sold to the subscribing libraries and individuals at a price little above cost, and the formation by regular deposit of a central library of such facsimiles. The plan seems to us to be worthy of all commendation in most of its general features, but to have been thought out less thoroughly than should be in some of its details, especially as regards historical documents and the relative usefulness of facsimiles of different classes of them. The central library of facsimiles seems to us useless. Several American libraries would subscribe to all the reproductions that the agency should publish, and we can think of no readers who would not prefer to study them in places where they had also the use of a great store of other books. The precise vote of the congress respecting Mr. Gayley's propositions, which we were not able to give in our last issue, reads as follows: "Le Congrès émet le vœu de voir M. Gayley organiser aux États-Unis un bureau destiné à provoquer l'exécution de reproductions de manuscrits, de monnaies et de sceaux."

*Glimpses of the Ages, or the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History.* By Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D., etc. (London, John Long, 1905, pp. xvii, 409). The purpose of this book is to review the arguments advanced in support of the alleged superiority of the white race and the alleged inferiority of the colored races. The first part of the volume is rather biological than historical in treatment. The author rejects the whole theory of evolution and holds to the common descent of the races of men from a single pair. With few exceptions the authorities quoted by Mr. Scholes are among those whose names are found in the foot-notes to Darwin's *Descent of Man*.

Turning from biology to history, Mr. Scholes discusses the "mental" side of the alleged inferiority of the colored races. The descriptions of Caesar, Tacitus, Polybius, Plutarch, and Strabo are sufficient to show the original barbarism and unprogressiveness of the European races. Next, arguments from physiology, language, and history are adduced to prove the negro origin of the ancient Egyptians. Then, with somewhat of a leap, Mr. Scholes passes from the old civilization of the Nile to describe the Mandingos, a tribe now resident in the Soudan. These, we are told, show a higher civilization than the early Germans, and prove the ability of the African to assimilate the higher culture.

By all serious students it is recognized that, in the United States, under freedom, the negro population has progressed both industrially and intellectually. This development is much emphasized by Mr. Scholes, but with an enthusiasm which is hardly discerning. One of Du Bois's books is ascribed to George Williams. The names of certain colored

teachers are connected with the University of Virginia. Newspaper articles furnish much material, and statistics are handled somewhat incautiously. The study of soils in "the Department of Agriculture connected with Tuskegee" is evidently regarded as a feature in some way peculiar to that notable school. The period of slavery is referred to in terms of lurid exaggeration, and there is no reference whatever to the civilizing influence of the plantation.

The author's wish to combat Chamberlainism and to urge a juster dealing with the colored races under British rule is perfectly legitimate. To write a book with this purpose is fully justifiable. To include therein a philosophy of history is dangerous, to say the least. However, if such a work were founded upon sound scholarship and executed in a scientific way, it might possibly be helpful. To this standard, unfortunately, the work of Mr. Scholes in no way attains.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

*Constantine the Great: the Reorganisation of the Empire and the Triumph of the Church.* By John B. Firth. (New York, Putnams, 1905, pp. xiii, 368.) The author of this volume is already known to historical readers from his recent biography of Augustus, likewise in the "Heroes of the Nations" series. Mr. Firth does not attempt the impossible task of making Constantine a hero; indeed he is not quite sure that the title of "Great" is well deserved, the importance of the age lying not in the personality of the ruler but in "the first conversion of a Roman Emperor to Christianity, with all that such conversion entailed" (p. v). Accordingly the church bulks large in the narrative, and the character of the emperor falls, quite properly, into the background, although Mr. Firth is one of those who hold that "the only reasonable view to take of the religious character of Constantine is that he was a sincere and convinced Christian" (p. 328). Amid the bitter controversies of the fourth century Mr. Firth shows an evident desire to be fair-minded, and while he is not a profound student of the period, he has read the principal contemporary historians to good purpose and quotes from them freely. Moreover he writes agreeably, and in the dearth of books in English upon these times he has performed a service in giving us a convenient account of the external history of Constantine's reign.

On the side of institutions, however, the book is distinctly weak. The title-page does indeed place the reorganization of the empire side by side with the triumph of the church, but this promise is quickly forgotten. There is no adequate description of the imperial government or of the structure of society, and the few perfunctory pages devoted to these topics in the concluding chapter do not represent present-day scholarship. Evidently the author is unacquainted with the special studies of Mommsen, Hirschfeld, and Seeck in this field, not to mention less-known writers. It is of course not fair to judge the extent of his knowledge by the five authorities which are singled out for mention in

the introduction, but for a period in which German scholars have accomplished so much it is at least suspicious to find no German work cited.

The illustrations compel a word of protest. There are, it is true, several reproductions of coins and monuments, the latter mainly from Grosvenor's *Constantinople*, but what shall we say of the paintings by Raphael, Veronese, and Cranach and the portraits of Constantine and Athanasius "from the British Museum Print Room"? Surely the time has passed when such things can appear, without comment or distinction, among authentic illustrations.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*Overzicht van de door Brunnienpublicatie aan te vullen Leemten der Nederlandsche Geschiedkennis.* [By the] Commissie van Advies voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. (Hague, Nijhoff, 1904, pp. ix, 108.) In 1902 the Queen of the Netherlands instituted a Commission of Advice on historical publications to be undertaken by the state. Organizing under the royal archivist, Dr. T. H. F. van Riemsdijk, as president, and with Dr. H. T. Colenbrander as secretary, the commission proceeded to make a systematic survey of the field of Dutch history, to consider with care what portions were well supplied with printed documentary materials and what portions were lacking, and so, after ample deliberation on possible state undertakings, their varieties and scope, to make this excellent and very interesting report on the gaps needing to be filled, whether by documentary series of general character and many volumes, by briefer and more special series, or by individual volumes relating to particular episodes, persons, or other subjects. Invaluable as the report is to the thoughtful student of Dutch history, it is not here mentioned for this reason, but as a model of how things ought to be done. In the United States, the departments of the federal government, states, cities, historical societies, individuals, pour out documentary volumes in great profusion but with no concert. Duplication, waste, over-production on one side, neglect of another, inevitably ensue. Few persons bestow thought, of more than local scope, on the question what things are really needed; and to those persons governmental agencies almost never listen. It is not thus that "the Dutch are taking Holland". At the end of the report are printed the rules which the commission have framed for the execution under their care of governmental historical publications.

*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1175-1176.* With an introduction by J. H. Round. (London, The Pipe Roll Society, Spottiswoode and Company, 1904, pp. xxx, 268.) The Pipe Roll Society has again placed all students of the twelfth century under deep obligation by an addition to its invaluable series, which has been interrupted for four years. The volume appears in a changed form, the roll being printed *in extenso*



instead of in "Record" type as hitherto—a modification which must be considered of questionable advantage since the extensions are not italicized nor is there indication of their editorship. The questionableness of giving up the "Record" type is accentuated when the accuracy of the extension is impugned; and that some charge against its reliability must be brought is seen from a glance at the accounts of Cambridge and Hunts (pp. 70 *et seqq.*).

Under the heading of these counties we find two sheriffs, Ebrard de Beche and Warin de Bassingeburn, jointly accounting for the "firm" of the two counties. At the end of this account, which is rendered unquestionably by both of them, occurs the item, "Et habet de superplus .xij. d." (p. 71). Here we find the singular *habet* when the subject, implied by what precedes, is plural.

The extension of the next item is also doubtful; the entry reads: "Idem vicecomes debet .xx. l. blancorum de tertio anno de firma de Huntendon' que remanent de ipso anno propter werram donec Rex precipiat inde voluntatem suam." The position of the entry, immediately following the account for the "firm" of the year, suggests that it represents a debt of the joint sheriffs, Ebrard and Warin. This suggestion is confirmed by the first lines of the preceding year's account rendered by these same men: "Ebrardus de Beche et Warinus de Bassingeburna redd. Comp. de .xl. l. et .vii. s. et .iv. d. blancorum de veteri firma Comitatum. In thesauro .xx. l. et .vii. s. et .iii. d. blancorum. Et deb. .xx. l. blancorum que remanent super Huntendon de ipso anno propter Werram", etc.<sup>1</sup> Here in almost identical language we find the remnant of the "firm" of Huntingdon debited to Ebrard and Warin, so that whatever the words in the manuscript of the Roll of 22 Henry II. may be, we feel certain that both men are debtors jointly for this item. Clearly then, we rightly expect "Idem vicecomites debent" in this entry.

As we read further we come on groups of doubtful extensions; in every case to determine whether the phrase "Id vic deb" is to be rendered by the singular or by the plural, we may turn for help to the previous Pipe Rolls. In one of these we are certain to find the item entered with some variation that indicates the number of "vic". Groups of these suspicious extensions occur not only in the accounts of Cambridge and Hunts, but also in those of Lincolnshire (pp. 80, 82), London and Middlesex (pp. 11 *et seqq.*), Beds and Bucks (pp. 17, 18, 19). The frequency of passages of this sort makes one long for a scientific text in which all extensions are italicized; or better, the more exact reproduction of the original given us heretofore in the "Record" type. But even as the Roll stands, all scholars must express their thankfulness at the renewal of its valuable work by the Pipe Roll Society.

CURTIS HOWE WALKER.

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Pip.* 21 H. II., p. 138. Extended from "Record" type.

*England in the Age of Wycliffe.* By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (London and New York, Longmans, 1904, pp. xiv, 380.) In this new edition of his book Mr. Trevelyan has made several alterations, especially in his valuable chapter on "The Peasants' Rising of 1381". These changes have been chiefly suggested by the articles of Mr. George Kriechn, "Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt in 1381", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, January and April, 1902 (VII. 254-285, 458-484), and to a less extent by the reviews of Mr. Trevelyan's book in the *English Historical Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1900.

In a few instances the author has simplified his somewhat exuberant style or suppressed a bit of speculation. Of more consequence are the modifications of his views regarding various incidents connected with the Rising. He accepts Mr. Kriechn's conclusions as to the trustworthy character of the *Anonymous French Chronicle*, and has modified his account of Tyler's death and of the Smithfield Articles so as to bring them into agreement with that narrative. The anti-ecclesiastical nature of the revolt is somewhat more clearly recognized. A few changes in phraseology and a new paragraph on p. 255 give a tone to the whole account that is more sympathetic with the peasants, more appreciative of the justice of their demands, and hence less like the tone of Froissart than before.

Mr. Trevelyan has not altered his opinion as to the results of the Rising, although in the light of Mr. Alexander Savine's researches ("Bondmen under the Tudors", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., XVII. 235-286) it is difficult to see how the position can still be maintained that "this attitude of resistance [on the part of the peasants] was an important factor in the economic causes which drove the landlord to manumit his serfs" (p. 254).

Altogether the new matter inserted here and there in the book amounts to not more than two or three pages, to make room for which an equal amount of old matter has been withdrawn.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

*Relations between England and Zurich during the Reformation.* By Th. Vetter. (London, Elliot Stock, 1904, pp. 61.) The author, professor of English philology in Zurich University, published in 1901 *Litterarische Beziehungen zwischen England und der Schweiz im Reformationszeitalter*. The present pamphlet names twenty-seven "English scholars and fugitives" who "found a quiet abode" at Zurich; and gives brief information concerning about half of this number. Among the earlier students were John Butler, William Udolph, Nicholas Partidge, Nicholas Eliot, William Peterson, Bartholomew Traheron, or Trehern. Two English merchants, Richard Hilles and John Burcher, were friends of Bullinger and the Reformation in England and Switzerland. Swiss students recommended by Bullinger were kindly treated by Traheron and Hilles, and Johannes von Ulm was engaged to instruct Lady Jane Grey. Among the prominent exiles influenced by the Zurich

reformers five bishops are mentioned: Bale of Ossory, Hooper of Gloucester, Horn of Winchester, Jewel of Salisbury, and Parkhurst of Norwich. Some fifteen exiles came to Zurich on the accession of Mary. "Almost all the high dignitaries of the English church had been his [Bullinger's] guests, and they all referred to him, when anything of importance was to be decided." "About twenty of his works and treatises were translated into English."

The pamphlet shows familiarity with the *Zurich Letters*, *Original Letters*, and *Bullinger's Decades*, published by the Parker Society; with rare English books printed at Zurich; and with recently published sources like the Bullinger *Diarium* and the *Zwingliana*. Possibly some additional information might have been gleaned from the letters and scholarly notes in Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*. A letter from Bullinger quoted by Herminjard (IV. 310-311) shows that Eliot had been in Zurich since 1536, not 1537, as Professor Vetter implies (p. 6). No attempt is made to characterize the teachings of the Zurich reformers or their influence on English theology and polity. It is a brief but scholarly account of the amount rather than the nature of the influence of Zurich on England.

H. D. FOSTER.

*L'Établissement du Régime Espagnol dans les Pays-Bas et l'Insurrection.* Par Ernest Gossart. (Brussels, Lamertin, 1905, pp. xii, 331.) So recently has the loss of the Philippine Islands proved to be the culmination of the decline of Spanish dominance in the world beyond her peninsula that any new light on the first step of this slow retreat should be welcomed. The author of this volume on the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II. sets out with a definite thesis, namely that the religious side of the struggle has received too much and the political elements too little attention.

M. Gossart's previous studies: *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire du Règne de Charles-Quint* and *Charles-Quint et Philippe II.* have both been published by the Royal Academy of Belgium in the series of *Mémoires Couronnés* (vols. LIV. and LV., 1896 and 1897). A third article entitled "Projets d'Érection des Pays-Bas en Royaume sous Philippe II." appeared in the *Bulletin* of the same society (Classe des Lettres, 1900, pp. 558-578).

Chief of one of the departments of the royal library in Brussels, M. Gossart was in a position to obtain easily all knowledge of the material of sixteenth-century history. In no other city are there such rich stores as in the Belgian capital. Still, in 1897 he deemed it insufficient for his projected exhaustive history of Charles V., and waited for further printing of the records in the archives of Vienna, Lille, Paris, Simancas, and London.

Nothing has been more interesting among the publications of late years than the issues of the records and the diaries of the Venetian ambassadors. The vast mass of Sanuti's papers, whose publication was

completed in 1896, alone offered a wealth of information. Sanuti's training at Louvain gave him a knowledge of the vernacular and thus he had opportunities of knowledge closed to his fellow-countrymen, who remained outsiders though keen observers of passing events. These M. Gossart has studied closely. Thus equipped, it would seem that the result of his labor would be peculiarly fresh and interesting. It must be confessed, however, that one lays down the volume with singular disappointment. It is a fair narrative of events, told without passion and without prejudice, but it is curiously destitute of originality in presentation or in theory. The style is pleasant but colorless. In general summary the author differs naturally from d'Aubigny and from Motley, but on the whole there is little difference in his point of view from that of Pirenne, of Blok, and of other recent writers. His work can, therefore, not be rated as a great contribution to the literature of the subject, but the bibliography has some valuable suggestions.

RUTH PUTNAM.

*The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature.* Clark Lectures given at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Year 1902-1903. By Barrett Wendell. (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. ix, 360.) Apology must be made for a tardy notice of this interesting book, whose title, perhaps, scarcely suggests with how much justice it may claim a place among historical works.

With his usual admirable clearness, Professor Wendell traces the changes that occurred in the temper of the English people during that century in which such changes were most conspicuous, and in which also the history of the two great branches of the English-speaking race began to diverge. In the early years of the seventeenth century the English temper was spontaneous, enthusiastic, and versatile; and these traits were characteristic of the nation as a whole. But, somewhat later, disintegration occurred and the isolated individual, speaking only his own message, and splendidly typified by Milton, is characteristic of the period. The intense ideality of the times appears in the civil conflict in which both parties attempted to make legal "rights" conform to ideal "right" as they conceived it. During the period of belief in ideal "right" as "behind and above law", New England was planted; and here the temper of Elizabethan Puritanism long survived unchanged. In England, on the other hand, after the Restoration appeared a new temper of reverence for fact and for the common sense that, while not lacking in ideality, yet did not attempt to "make spiritual ideals materially dominant".

From this brief summary of the book it will be evident that some of the main conclusions are the same as those which Professor Wendell has arrived at in some of his previous writings. Yet the fact that these are treated in a new connection and with fresh illustrations will make the book of interest both to those who were convinced and to those who were unconvinced by his earlier arguments.

F. G. D.

*The Cromwellian Union: Papers relating to the Negotiations for an Incorporating Union between England and Scotland, 1651-1652, with an Appendix of Papers relating to the Negotiations in 1670.* Edited, with introduction and notes, by C. Sanford Terry, M.A. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, volume XL.] (Edinburgh, Constable, 1902, pp. xcvi, 239.) On September 9, 1651, six days after the destruction of the Scottish army at Worcester, the English Parliament began to take measures for the annexation of the conquered country, and shortly afterward appointed a body of commissioners to settle Scottish affairs. On October 28 the policy of Parliament was clearly defined as one of political incorporation. In the following January the commissioners met at Dalkeith to receive from the deputies chosen by the Scottish shires and boroughs their assent to the proposed union, as well as petitions and recommendations from the Scottish constituencies. During the four months that the commissioners passed in Scotland they also set in motion again the administrative machinery of local government.

The majority of the documents in the volume now under review are the "Assents", "Petitions", or "Desires" presented to the commissioners from February to April, 1652, from various shires and boroughs of Scotland. Other documents relate to matters connected with the restoration of administrative government in Scotland; and there are also several news-letters. All the documents except two news-letters date from 1652. They of course throw much light on the attitude of Scotland toward the proposed union.

In his long and admirable preface Mr. Sanford Terry traces the history of the Parliamentary negotiations relative to the union through the Parliaments of 1653, 1654, 1656, and 1658 to the reassembling of the old Scottish Parliament in 1661.

In 1669 a scheme of union was again proposed, and commissioners were appointed by both countries. In an appendix to his volume Mr. Terry has printed, together with some other documents, the "Official Journal" and the "Particular Journall" of the joint meetings of the commissioners.

F. G. D.

*English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon, 1660-1667.* By Percy Lewis Kaye, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 5-6.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 150.) Dr. Kaye's paper begins with a brief survey of British colonial policy during the early years of the Restoration, in which he sets forth the general principles of commercial regulation and describes the rudimentary development of the central administrative system. One could wish that he had provided a more adequate setting of contemporary English politics and that the public character of Clarendon had been drawn in a more substantial and vital fashion. This general statement of principles is followed by a

study of their application to a few specific questions of American policy. There is a slight reference to the Carolina colonies and a brief account of the conquest of New Netherland as conceived by the British government and carried out by Nicolls and his associates. The insular colonies are almost wholly ignored and the bulk of the paper is devoted to an account of the dealings of the English government with New England, especially with the recalcitrant colony of Massachusetts, the most detailed treatment being given to the visits of the royal commissioners to New England during the years 1664-1665. The positive results of Clarendon's administration receive, in the final impression left by this paper, less prominence than its inconsistencies and failures. The lavish grants of privilege contained in the Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Carolina charters were certainly at variance with the general purpose of the crown to establish a more effectual control over the colonies, especially in the interest of British commerce and revenue. The negotiations with Massachusetts ended in a decided, though temporary, victory for the colonists.

The author has made a careful use of the familiar sources for this period, and shows some capacity for independent criticism of conclusions reached by earlier writers. On the whole, however, a comparison of Dr. Kaye's paper with earlier treatments of the same subject indicates no considerable addition to our stock of information and no decided novelty in the handling of the material. In the opinion of the reviewer, there is still room for a comprehensive exposition of British colonial policy during this critical period of its development.

The bibliographical apparatus is limited to foot-notes, which are not always full enough to be distinct. It would appear, for instance, that the author's citation of the English state papers is confined to the abstracts in the *Calendars*; but in several instances the brief citation, "Colonial Papers," leaves the reader in doubt whether the writer has gone back of the *Calendars* to the documents themselves.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

*Tre Anni di Guerra e l'Assedio di Torino del 1706.* Narrazione Storico-Militare. Per Pietro Fea. (Rome, Voghera, 1905, pp. 382.) The occasion of this volume is the approaching bi-centenary of an important episode in the war of the Spanish Succession—the relief of Turin by Prince Eugene. The book is a clear and copious narrative of the military operations in Northern Italy from 1703 to 1706 with special reference to the siege and relief of the former capital of Piedmont. No attention is given to the political history of the period.

The style is popular rather than technical; but the book appears to be based on a thorough study of printed sources. No use has been made of unpublished material. An analytical index and four plans of Turin and its environs in 1706 and in modern times add to the usefulness of the work.

F. G. D.

*Der Krieg des Jahres 1799 und die Zweite Koalition.* Von Hermann Hüffer. (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1904, 1905, two vols., pp. xxiv, 472; xii, 384.) These volumes constitute a contribution to that specialized study of the wars of the French Revolution of which the author is the foremost German exponent, and in which he has steadily labored and produced for the last twenty-five years. His method of production in late years has been to publish separately the selected sources upon which his historical narrative is based, and to follow these with the narrative itself. Thus in the present case very few documents are given and but few brief quotations from documents, while on the other hand the foot-note references to source-material, whether in the *Quellen* or in other published sources, is comprehensive and even exhaustive. The present volumes cover the campaigns of 1799 in Italy and in Switzerland in particular, and an especial study has been made of the battle of Cassano, April 27, the battles on the Trebbia, June 17-19, the battle of Novi, August 15, and the contests about Zurich, on June 4 and September 25 respectively.

In preparing his accounts of these military events the author has searched every possible source for information bearing not only on the immediate incidents of a battle, but on general plans of campaigns, political conditions and objects, diplomatic manœuvres—in a word for everything, near or remote, that seemed to have a bearing on his study. He uses ordinary historical accounts, official newspapers, memoirs, and letters with discretion, but naturally places most confidence in military and diplomatic archives, and for these last has studied the archives of every important state collection. His work is then most detailed and intensive, and it would be idle to attempt any summary of his statements. For these volumes Professor Hüffer has made research principally in the Record Office in London (primarily for the activities of Nelson at Naples), at Paris, at St. Petersburg, and most of all at Vienna, where the liberality of the Austrian government has made it possible for him to obtain much new material. In all respects his work is marked by the greatest scholarly care and thoroughness and is the final word, to date, upon the topics of which he treats.

E. D. ADAMS.

*Russia.* By Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace. (New York, Holt, 1905, pp. xx, 672.) The first edition of this work appeared in 1877. In the present edition the author has made some revision of old material and has added much that is new regarding the principal political, economic, and social developments of the last quarter of a century. Of the five new chapters (100 pp.), three relate to successive stages of the revolutionary movement, one to the rise of great manufacturing industries, with the consequent creation of a capitalist class and of an industrial proletariat, and one to "The Present Situation".

The connection between recent economic changes on the one hand, and on the other hand the acceptance of Marxian doctrines, the different

groups in the Social Democratic party, and the tendency of the workingman to accept a programme of political as well as of economic reform are made clear. But although a wide difference exists between the old-fashioned nihilist and the modern Social Democrat, yet the evolution of the latter from the former shows complete continuity. The various revolutionary bodies have all had the same aims. "What has differentiated them from each other is the greater or less degree of impatience to realise the ideal" (p. 600). Similar historical continuity appears in the domestic and foreign policy of the country, so that the author acknowledges that the changes occurring within the quarter of a century are neither so numerous nor so important as he had at first supposed. The additions to the book will be of primary interest to the student of contemporaneous political, social, and economic conditions rather than to the historian.

F. G. D.

The second volume of the Chancellor and Hewes *United States* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, pp. xxi, 539) deals with colonial history from 1697 to 1774. Eight volumes more are promised. The first volume of the series was reviewed at length in the April number of this REVIEW (X. 642-645). In plan and in execution the present volume has all the characteristics of the first. The reader will find occasionally a fruitful suggestion or a stimulating freshness of statement; but upon the whole I am constrained to agree fully with the writer of the April notice. It is unfortunate that so faulty a work should be launched upon the public by the reputation of a great publishing house and by strangely favorable notices from several literary periodicals of high standing.

W. M. WEST.

*The Napoleonic Exiles in America: a Study in American Diplomatic History 1815-1819.* By Jesse S. Reeves, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 9-10.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 134.) This monograph of seven chapters and an appendix describes, with considerable detail and with long quotations from the sources, the American experiences of the picturesque, even pathetic, little group of Napoleonic exiles, expatriated by the restored Bourbons—Napoleon's brother Joseph, ex-king of Spain, two marshals of the imperial army, six generals, a dozen colonels, counts, and others of less distinction. Dr. Reeves points out the fundamental unfitness of the exiles, by temperament and training, for the prosaic work of colonization. He omits the details of Joseph Bonaparte's quiet life in New Jersey, but traces the unsuccessful experiments of the visionary, flighty Lakanal, ex-priest, professor, and Representative, who purposed to settle in Kentucky, there to write a history of the United States; of Parmentier and his colony of several hundred exiles at Aigleville on the Tombigbee River in Alabama, under the auspices of the French Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, known



also as the Society for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive; and of the brothers, Generals Charles and Henri Lallemand, with their unauthorized, military Champ d'Asile on the banks of the Trinity in Texas, conveniently near the borders of distracted Mexico.

The material for this clear story of attempted settlements, impossible schemes, and half-formed, impracticable intrigues is drawn from well-known sources: the *American State Papers*, the published memoirs and writings of John Quincy Adams, Gallatin, Joseph Bonaparte, and Hyde de Neuville, and the unpublished papers in the archives of the Department of State. There is no evidence that the French archives were investigated. On the whole, this brochure fails to convince the reader that these exiles from France by their presence or actions influenced in any significant particular the history, institutions, or diplomatic policy of the United States. At most they were annoyances to Monroe, Rush, and Adams, and a sprinkling of spice in the otherwise tasteless, though wholesome and nourishing, mass of immigrants of the early nineteenth century.

The appendix, about one-sixth of the whole, is devoted by Dr. Reeves to some valuable documents and letters relative to the proposed cession of Texas and the Floridas by Joseph, king of Spain and the Indies, in 1811, but it is not clear why this monograph on the Napoleonic exiles, the first of whom reached the United States late in 1815, should be padded with these earlier papers. It certainly does not need them.

KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK.

Reverend William Salter, with whose investigations in Iowa history the publications of the Iowa Historical Society have made the public familiar, has written a small volume bearing the explanatory title *Iowa: the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase* (Chicago, McClurg, 1905, pp. 289). The period covered is from the earliest discoveries to the admission of the state to the Union. It dwells especially, as indicated in the title, upon the acquisition of the territory by the United States and the exclusion of slavery through the Missouri Compromise. Limited thus by time and motive, it makes no pretensions to being a comprehensive history of the state.

The first chapters travel familiar ground in the discoveries of Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle, the beginnings of the lead industry, the coming of Father Julien Dubuque, and the Spanish occupancy. Although the transition to American ownership is a special feature of the book, the limitations of space prevent an extended treatment or the introduction of new material. The condensation in places causes the danger of uncertainty in minds unfamiliar with the story. For instance, Federalist influence in the administration of Jefferson might easily be estimated too weighty from these sentences (p. 56): "Jefferson suggested a constitutional amendment [to validate the purchase of Louisiana], and Madison drew up one. Alexander Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris thought it unnecessary, that the United States had complete

power, and the suggestion fell to the ground." Jefferson's opinion on Hamilton's influence in dropping the proposed amendment would be interesting.

Subsequent chapters trace the evolution of statehood through the District of Louisiana, the Territory of Louisiana, the Territory of Missouri; the interregnum from 1821 to 1834, the Territory of Michigan, the Territory of Wisconsin, the Territory of Iowa, and, finally, statehood in 1846. Few portions of the United States have seen more changes of control. The recital is unmarked by any details or descriptions, except a long extract (pp. 129-136) from a volume, by Miss Eva E. Dye, called *The Conquest: the True Story of Lewis and Clark* (1902). Descriptions of early Iowa are reprinted from the journal of Lieutenant Albert Lea in the *Iowa Historical Records*, and from Catlin's works.

In connection with the free-soil of Iowa, a sketch is given (pp. 241-244) of the case of Ralph, a fugitive slave, in which the territorial Supreme Court gave a decision in 1839 exactly the opposite of that given in the Dred Scott case nearly twenty years later. He had been sent from Missouri to the Dubuque lead-mines, on a written agreement with his master to work out the price of his freedom. Although he failed to keep the agreement, the court decided that he was a free man because he had come to reside on free soil with the consent of his owner.

The little book seems quite free from errors. "Thirty-six years" (p. 268), the period elapsing between the Compromise of 1820 and the admission of the state, should evidently be "twenty-six". The volume is a very creditable addition to the bibliography of the state of Iowa.

E. E. SPARKS.

*History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River: Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge, Pioneer Navigator and Indian Trader, for Fifty Years Identified with the Commerce of the Missouri Valley.* By Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. [American Explorers Series.] (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1903, two vols., pp. xiv, 248; iii, 249-461.) In these two volumes Captain Chittenden admirably supplements his invaluable study of *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (1902) by bringing together material illustrative of the early navigation of the Missouri. Captain La Barge was born in 1815 in St. Louis, and in 1896 he dictated to Captain Chittenden the memoirs of his life, which "embraced the entire era of active boating business on the river". His experiences, therefore, constitute a thread on which the author has strung a large amount of information with regard to transportation in the days of the fur-trade, Indian relations, the competition of rival firms, the relation of the steamboat to army occupation, and, finally, the downfall of steam navigation in the far West by the competition of the railroad.

It would seem that Captain La Barge in his old age presented a somewhat idealized view of the contact of the Indian and the fur-

trader before the days of the emigrant (p. 354). The reader of Coues's *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, for instance, will certainly find it hard to reconcile the statement that the "relation of the two races was ideal, and during its continuance the Indian is seen at his best." However, the Indian at his best is a comparative statement after all.

In general, it may be said that the two volumes furnish an entertaining picture, as well as a body of useful information on the early history of the industrial occupation of the Missouri valley.

F. J. TURNER.

*History of the Bahama Islands, with a Special Study of the Abolition of Slavery in the Colony.* By James Martin Wright. [Special publication from *The Bahama Islands* by permission of the Geographical Society of Baltimore.] (Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, 1905, pp. 419-583.) The significant part of this brochure is a monograph upon negro slavery and the process of emancipation in the Bahamas. It is written by a very capable student after thorough study of the archives, which are very full and complete in the premises. The Bahamas in this period of chief interest were a microcosm exhibiting many of the essential features of English colonial policy and its difficulties, on the one hand, and of American problems of slavery and abolition on the other. There were the long wrangles between the imperial government and the colonial assembly, so typical of constitutionally governed colonies; and in particular the conflict of the principles of central control and local self-government which arose conspicuously in the federal government of the United States. Theories, policies, and interests, debates and their outcome in successive new problems, are concretely demonstrated, with many personal and administrative details. Full references to sources are given. The rest of the work is made up of a very brief introductory sketch of the early history, which might have been improved by research in continental American newspaper files, and of a fuller but somewhat disjointed treatment of developments in the later period, extending to near the present day. The style varies widely as different topics are treated.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

*The Genealogist, a Quarterly Magazine of Genealogical, Antiquarian, Topographical, and Heraldic Research.* Edited by H. W. Forsyth Harwood. New Series, Vol. XXI. (London, Bell, 1905, pp. viii, 318, 23, 241-272.) Important features of the twenty-first volume of the new series of the *Genealogist* are the indexes of the subjects and illustrations contained in the first twenty volumes of the series. Of historical interest is the article by Mr. V. Gibbs on the battle of Boroughbridge and the Boroughbridge Roll in which the attempt is made to give a list of the most important persons concerned in the revolt against Edward II. Transcripts of wills and other documents preserved in French or

English archives are included in some articles, notably in that on the families of Lacy, Geneva, Joinville, and La Marche.

### TEXT-BOOKS

*A School History of the United States.* By HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE, Ph.D., D.D., formerly Professor of History in Washington and Lee University. (New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 422, 49.)

*A History of the United States.* By WILLIAM C. DOUB, Ex-Superintendent of Schools for Kern County, California. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xxvii, 631, xxxviii.)

By the publication of these volumes two more texts are added to the rather extensive list intended for grammar-schools. Dr. White informs us, in the preface, that while he "has endeavored to write impartially of all sections", he "has taken special pains that due attention should be given to the part played by the people of the South in all periods of American history".

The forty-one chapters are grouped into seven parts or periods, given the usual names: Period of Discovery and Exploration; Period of Colonization, etc. The conventional method of discussing the settlement and early history of each colony has been followed. The story of the saving of John Smith by Pocahontas is related (p. 29) without a doubt expressed as to its authenticity. Emphasis is given to the influence of European affairs in America. The use of the terms King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and King George's War is continued, however, with little to indicate that they were but a part of great struggles carried on in Europe under other names. One of the best chapters is on "Life in the Colonies in 1763." Here are discussed roads, education, occupations, etc. This feature of our text-books is now a necessity; and it is to be regretted that the other "periods" are not strengthened in a similar way.

The determination by a writer to see that full justice is done any section of our country has its limitations. Beginning with the chapter on "The Thirteen Confederate States", and in the succeeding chapters to the year 1877, Dr. White has placed special emphasis upon the views held by the South on the great questions at issue. Writing of the ratification of the Constitution (p. 184), he says: "The new Confederation was formed by the voluntary union of eleven states, each of which seceded from the Confederation formed in 1781." Giving an account of the "Hayne and Webster Debate", he writes (p. 240): "Daniel Webster, in a speech that was brilliant in manner and style, contended that Hayne's view of the matter was not correct, and claimed that the Constitution was not a compact. Most persons now believe, however, that Webster himself was incorrect in his view concerning the origin of the

Constitution." Again, he writes of the outbreak of war (p. 298): "In 1861 two American confederacies stood face to face upon the field of war."

The proportion is, in the main, good. It is believed, however, that New England and the Middle States together should be given more than twenty-three pages, if thirty-three pages are assigned to the discussion of the early history of the southern colonies. Too many pages, sixty-eight, are used in the campaigns connected with the Civil War when but one hundred and five pages are regarded as adequate for the history between the years 1789 and 1861. The style is clear and well suited to pupils of the grammar-schools. There is a wealth of good biographies. The text is well supplied with maps and other illustrative material. Good portraits of leading men form a special feature. The author, no doubt, could justify his selection of the portraits of twenty Southern leaders and only ten Northern for illustrating the period between 1861 and 1865; or why in this list Secretary of War James A. Seddon and General Van Dorn should be included and not Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and General Rosecrans; or why, of the four portraits of noted Americans in the Spanish-American War, three are of men from the south.

Errors in statement are numerous, as: in discussing the Articles of Confederation (p. 171), "A central Congress was established, consisting of seven delegates from each state." Again (p. 204): "James Monroe and Robert Livingston were sent to France, and they made with Napoleon a treaty whereby Louisiana was sold", etc. In the discussion of the Monroe Doctrine, we read (p. 229): "Russia, Prussia, Austria and France then formed the so-called Holy Alliance, for the purpose of helping Spain to conquer the South American republics that had once been her colonies."

Our history should be written in such a manner that it may be studied by pupils in all sections of the country without creating prejudices. This book does not seem to be written impartially and cannot, although it has many excellent qualities, be recommended for use in our schools.

The leading feature of Mr. Doub's text-book is the "division . . . into periods"; "the division of each period into topics"; and the "continuous discussion of each topic". The plan appears at its best in the presentation of the material between the years 1789 and 1861. Chapters and administrations disappear. Two periods are selected: (1) National Growth and European Interference, from 1789 to 1828; and (2) Westward Expansion and Slavery. Five topics are discussed in each period—as under (1): 1. The Period of European Interference; 2. Financial Legislation: the Tariff; 3. Political Parties; 4. Growth of the Nation; and 5. Institutional Life; and under (2): 1. Political Methods and Political Parties; 2. Financial Legislation: the Tariff; 3. Growth of the Nation in Territory and Population; 4. The Slavery Question; and 5. Institutional Life. The author

has carried the grouping system to the extreme. It would seem natural to speak of the earliest Spanish and French settlements in connection with the explorations by the representatives of those nations in place of leaving the discussion until after the English colonies have been established. The Period of European Interference (pp. 356-392), including such subjects as: the French Revolution, Jay Treaty, Purchase of Louisiana, War in 1812, and Monroe Doctrine, precede the discussion of Hamilton's financial measures, so essential to an understanding of the establishment of the new government.

Mr. Doub has made the study of "civics" a second leading feature. With a limited number of pages, the various functions of government receive but little consideration. In the analysis of the Constitution (pp. 341-347), the judiciary is unduly emphasized by giving it as much space as the legislative and executive departments together. Among the commendable features are the following: the space given to the life of the people; comparatively few pages given to accounts of the wars; and the large number of well-executed maps. "Questions and topics" are given at the close of each general period, the questions being chiefly upon the paragraphs of the text. To use some sixty-five pages in this way is a very doubtful expedient. There is but slight emphasis placed upon supplementary work. Four books only are recommended for the use of pupils and eight for teachers.

The reviewer believes the text, as a whole, to be too comprehensive for pupils of the grammar-school age. Parts of it might be used to advantage for reference, and it would also be valuable to teachers in conducting reviews. A few omissions should be noted. No mention is made of the Portuguese expeditions and their influence on Columbus. The difficulties Columbus encountered and the means by which he was finally enabled to start on his expedition are not related. No reference is made to Cortez and Pizarro; to the charters of 1609 and 1612; and to the influence of Thomas Hooker in Connecticut. The accounts of the expeditions of Marquette and La Salle would have been strengthened had the routes they took been sketched. The influence of John Hay on the problems of the Orient might well have been discussed.

J. A. JAMES.

*A Brief Survey of British History*, by C. E. Snowden, M.A. (London, Methuen, 1905, pp. xii, 159), is such an ingenious compilation of dates, names, and facts as a candidate for the doctor's degree in this country may sometimes excerpt from his store of notes and jot down together to aid his memory at the supreme test. But such a compilation, however valuable to the compiler, is rarely of much service to others. Mr. Snowden's compilation, according to the modest and ingenuous preface, was originally "made for the benefit of a class of small boys preparing for the Oxford Local Juniors Examination"; subsequently it was enlarged and "compared with and checked by several of the best school text-books". Though larger in bulk than Acland and Ransome's well-

known little *Handbook*, with which a comparison is natural, it is decidedly slimmer in contents, and can scarcely be as useful to students or teachers. In numerous notes, made by boiling down parts of Medley's *Manual*, an attempt is made to give the essence of England's constitutional history, but the attempt is not a complete success. Several appendixes, "illustrative of the points of contact between Great Britain, her colonies, and foreign nations", are too disjointed to be suggestive. One would gladly have spared the lists of "Ladies of England" and of English queens since the Norman Conquest to make room for some such helpful tables of the composition and growth of the two Houses of Parliament as Acland and Ransome give. The full genealogical tables are good and mostly accurate. Half the value of a book of information of this kind lies in a good index; this book has none.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

## COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

I ask the privilege of pointing out some of the incorrect statements and deductions made by the writer of the notice of my *Short History of Venice* in the REVIEW for October, 1905, pp. 132-135. Similar treatment of a work on American or English history might well go unnoticed, for we have a hundred experts in those fields who could judge between the reviewer and the author: but in Venetian history we have few experts, and were I to remain silent, your readers might infer that I accept the condemnation implied by your reviewer's strictures. A historian who has devoted years to his work cannot rest under the imputation of neglecting the elementary sources of material; especially when that imputation is made in the special organ of his fellow-workers in history.

As it would be impossible for you to print a detailed rebuttal, I shall limit myself to showing that on all the main questions I have the support of one or more of the recognized modern authorities. This will serve to dissipate the impression which he creates, that I am hopelessly wrong and alone on all points, while he is infallibly right and has the accepted opinion of every student of Venetian history behind him.

I. This is the paragraph from my history on which your reviewer first fastens: "So the year 452 stands as the date of the origin of Venice, although the old chroniclers, *with the suspicious precision of ignorance*, set March 25, 421, as the very day when, 'about noon,' the foundation stone of the city was laid. Their earlier date doubtless refers to an actual event—the sending from Padua of maritime tribunes to govern the settlers on the islands of Rivoalto, or Rialto; but to Attila's scourge we trace the decisive emigration from the mainland to the Lagoon out of which the Venetian Republic sprang" (p. 4).

To this statement, sufficiently guarded as it seems to me, your reviewer, omitting to quote the qualifying phrase which I have italicized, proceeds to say, what every student knows, that the document on which rests the story of the founding on March 25, 421, is a forgery; and he adds, "it is hard to see how the truth of an event of the fifth century can be inferred from a forged document of a much later period." It has apparently not occurred to him that tradition has also its place in any account of the obscure origins of states. A historian of ancient Rome who should omit the legend of Romulus, because as yet we have no baptismal record signed by the parish clerk, might be deemed over-scrupulous. The question to decide is, Did the Paduans at that early



period probably control the island settlements? Mr. Horatio F. Brown says: "There is little doubt that the document, as we have it, is a forgery; though it is highly probable that its substance is true to fact; and if it cannot be taken as establishing the date of the foundation of Venice, it is instructive for various reasons."<sup>1</sup> Professor Musatti—whose recent critical work your reviewer seems to have overlooked—says: "It is indeed true that Malamocco and Chioggia were subject to the jurisdiction of Padua, which had its boundary precisely at Rialto."<sup>2</sup>

II. Your reviewer continues: "Equally unfounded is the statement that Attila's invasion in 452 was the occasion of the foundation of an independent Venetian commonwealth." It will be observed that your reviewer, misusing my phrases "the origin of Venice" and "the decisive emigration from the mainland to the Lagoon out of which the Venetian Republic sprang", would have me appear to state that "an independent Venetian commonwealth" was founded in exactly 452. If a historian should write, "To the settlers at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620 we trace the decisive emigration out of which the American republic sprang", I venture to say that no critic would care to object that the American republic did not come into existence until 1776. But your reviewer, by imposing on my words a rigidity which does not belong to them, argues therefrom that my brief account of the origin of Venice is erroneous.

As to the causal relation between Attila's invasion and the origin of Venice, many authorities might be quoted; I confine myself to three: Mr. Hodgson says: "The first beginnings of Venice are thus an incident in the history of Attila, the scourge of God, and he may in a sense be looked on as the founder of the city."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Horatio Brown says: "Although the year 452 has no more claim than the year 421 to be reckoned as the precise date for the foundation of Venice, yet it undoubtedly marks the first great point in the development of the lagoon population into a separate state."<sup>4</sup> Professor Musatti describes in some detail how the inhabitants of the mainland fled to the islands of the Lagoon, "and particularly to Rialto", and how Padua was thenceforth constrained to allow the islands to govern themselves. "Having become entirely independent [of Padua and the parent cities], the inhabitants of Maritime Venice were obliged to choose their own tribunes," etc.<sup>5</sup>

III. Your reviewer says: "There is no credible evidence that any city was founded *at Rialto* until centuries after 421." This is a peculiarly elusive misstatement of my position: I nowhere affirm that a *city* was founded at Rialto in 421. I do imply, on the other hand, that refugees settled on the islands of Rialto and on the neighboring islands during the invasion. On this point Brown, Musatti, Molmenti,

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Brown, *Venice* (London, 1893), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Eugenio Musatti, *La Storia Politica di Venezia* (Padua, 1897), 10.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Hodgson, *The Early History of Venice* (London, 1901), 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10-11.

Hodgkin, Hodgson, Hazlitt, and all modern authorities are agreed; and all the earlier historians, at least back to Andrea Dandolo (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scriptores*, XII.), held the same view.

IV. The next statement to which your reviewer objects is this: "During more than thirteen hundred years from the time when they [the island settlers] fled from Attila, they never submitted to domination from abroad, nor suffered a tyrant at home" (p. 4). Wrenched from its context, and from the qualifications of the succeeding forty pages, this statement is susceptible of misinterpretation. Your reviewer ought in fairness to have given my entire position: to have stated that later I am careful to use the phrase "virtual independence", as showing that, although for several centuries Venice was nominally dependent on the Eastern Empire, actually there is no record that a foreign envoy, governor, or other official ever dictated a single command in the Lagoon settlements, or that those settlements did not regulate their own affairs without foreign interference. If this does not constitute "virtual independence", in the sense in which I use these words, what does? Your reviewer's quotation from Procopius has long been known to scholars, but unfortunately it has not had the effect of clearing up doubts: on the contrary, opinions are still as divided as if it did not exist.

In regard to the nature of the influence of the Eastern Empire on the early Republic opinions vary greatly. Your reviewer, instead of saying, "Equally unfounded is the statement that Venice was never dependent upon Constantinople", ought, in candor, to have defined what he means by "dependent", and to have hinted that this is one of the ancient controversies among historians. Instead of that, he makes this bald assertion, and leaves the reader to infer that my position throughout is unsound and unsupported. The plan of my book did not permit controversial digressions; but from p. 12 or from such a note as that on p. 18 an open-minded reader may see that I had considered both sides of this question of dependence. In general I lean to the side of the Venetians rather than to that of the Byzantines, and in this I have the support of many eminent authorities. I quote only three: "From this account [of the Chronicle of Altinum], confirmed by later chronicles, it appears clear then that the first political relation of the Venetians toward the Empire was (like that previously with the Gothic kings of Italy) that of a protectorate rather than of subjection (*servitù*)."<sup>1</sup> "They recognized the emperor as overlord (*alto signore*); they bound themselves to the servile forms required by the haughty vanity of the eastern court; they accepted the general custom of heading their own acts with the name and year of the reigning Caesar; but they continued to rule themselves with their own laws, with their own magistrates; they made wars, concluded treaties—all things which they could not have done in a condition of subjection."<sup>2</sup> "Most readers will, I believe,

<sup>1</sup> Musatti, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> S. Romanin, *Storia Documentata di Venezia* (Venice, 1853), I. 82.

think that Gfrörer has given this feature of the History [the dependence of Venice on the Eastern Empire] undue prominence."<sup>1</sup>

V. Your reviewer says (p. 134): "Mr. Thayer's account of the growth of the Venetian state gives us little that is new, and there is a lack of distinction in bringing out the perspective of the great events." These statements do not agree with those which have reached me during the past few months from the best living authorities in America and Italy on Venetian history, and from other historians and scholars.

VI. Your reviewer censures me for not explaining "as clearly as we should wish how the degenerate Romans . . . became transformed into the . . . masterful Venetians". I do not explain for the very good reason that there is no sufficient evidence. Gfrörer (*Geschichte Venedigs*, Graz, 1872, p. 4), not to mention other writers, found the same blank.

VII. Your reviewer finds my account of the Council of Ten "quite misleading". He says that "the political activity of that council was called forth (like the dictatorship in Rome) in emergencies," etc. This is as correct as it would be to say that the British prime minister acts in time of war only. He extols the account of the Venetian constitution in the *Quarterly Review* as being "perhaps the best". My own account was derived directly from the Venetian sources; I did not, in fact, read the *Quarterly Review* article until many months after writing my chapter, and I am therefore innocent of the imputation of plagiarism. One familiar with the Venetian sources on this point would hardly set a high value on the *Quarterly's* article, which even in English is not to be compared, for instance, with Mr. Horatio Brown's summary in his *Venetian Republic* (Temple Primer Series, 1902, pp. 98-118).

In conclusion let me remark that your reviewer has failed to give the reader a true idea of the general character of my book. One might infer, from his method, that I had produced a voluminous critical history, inviting controversy on the most minute verbal and textual matters. Instead of that, I have attempted in the course of 80,000 words to make a rapid narrative of the general course of Venetian development, and to interpret its significance. In this respect, the book might still have value, even were its account of the origins as absurd as a reader might gather from your reviewer's opinions. Every scholar welcomes criticism which helps to correct errors: but is there, for a critic, a greater error than to apply to one species of historical writing methods of criticism which are appropriate only to a very different kind? What should we think of a critic who treated Mr. John Morley's terse monograph on Voltaire by canons fitting for Professor David Masson's six colossal volumes on Milton? Any historian, from Thucydides to Bryce, can be discredited by the method which your reviewer has applied to my book.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

<sup>1</sup> Hodgson, *op. cit.*, xviii.

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR:

It would be ungracious to question the justice of the criticism in the excellent (and flattering) review of the Library of Congress edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, printed in the October issue of this REVIEW (XI, 170-172); but the point of view of the editor of the *Journals* may be of interest and perhaps offer some ground for introducing a better general system of treating such compilations. So many details are concerned in the preparation and printing of such a work that it is impossible to believe that serious errors have not been committed; and the most careful consideration may not have prevented technical blunders which reduce the utility of the volumes to the student. For all such errors the editor is responsible.

It was my original intention to include in each volume a list of the members of the Congress for the period covered by the volume. I soon concluded that such a list would be misleading. The times of the beginning and of the length of service differed in the different colonies and states, and vacancies were filled on various systems. A member might serve for only a part of his term, and the delegation from a colony in December might be very different from that in January of the same year. The usual manner of preparing such lists, *e. g.*, William C. Houston, 1779-1782, was apt to mislead, because there was no evidence when the actual service began or when it terminated. I saw the same difficulty in a single year's record, and believed that a simpler and more certain method was to leave to the investigator the task of determining the membership and attendance as should meet his particular needs. The means of doing this is to be found in the index. Is the delegation of a colony in question? Under each colony is a reference to the credentials of its representation, and the credentials give the precise conditions of appointment. Is an individual delegate needed? Under each name is given a reference to the credentials under which he acted, and mention of his attendance where particularly noted. Further, a list of the committees on which he serves will indicate in a general way his attendance from day to day, so far as that can be determined; and from his correspondence notes supplementing this record are taken. By these means his actual service can be traced and the incompleteness of a bald list of members obviated. The person consulting the volume can hardly go astray. In the volume for 1776 will be given a list of the "standing committees" as they existed from year to year, but I cannot believe that a list of the members of the Congress would be an addition.

The use of erased (or lined) type is to show the development of a paper in the process of composition or passage through Congress. The writer of a report will weigh his words and phrases, and the changes made are of value as they indicate the processes of his thought. His original propositions may be altered by others, or struck out, or displaced by amendments; and a comparison will mark the differences of opinion in committee or in Congress. The erased type permits the en-

tire paper to be given in an intelligible form without the awkward multiplication of brackets, parentheses, and notes, and without resorting to typographical vagaries which disfigure the page, when erasures of text and insertions are sought to be shown in cold type. Lined type was used in the *Writings* of Jefferson, Washington, Monroe, and Madison (Putnams), and I did not believe any explanation to be necessary. The selection of the year as a unit was to obviate a great multiplication of indexes. If 1776 require three volumes, there would be six volumes and six indexes, and with 1777, nine, in place of three and four as under the present scheme. A final volume, comprising a combined index to the series, will obviate in part the objection to the method adopted. An account of the papers or manuscripts themselves is reserved for the "Calendar of the Papers of the Continental Congress", now in preparation.

I shall welcome criticism and suggestion, as the opportunity presented by the liberal management of the Library of Congress for a final edition is not one to be wasted or impaired by an insistence on personal methods or individual prejudices.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### GENERAL.

The American Historical Association holds its twenty-first annual meeting at Baltimore and Washington on December 26-29. At the first session, held jointly with the American Political Science Association, addresses will be delivered by the presidents of the two associations. Two sessions are devoted to conferences on questions connected with history in elementary schools and in colleges, with the work of historical societies, and with church history, two sessions more are given up to papers on American history, and one to papers dealing mainly with the history of Europe. A full account of the proceedings of the meeting will be given in the April number of the REVIEW.

The second annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Francisco on December 1 and 2. At the general session, on Friday afternoon, three papers were read: "Legislating through State Constitutions", by Eugene I. McCormac; "Origin of the National Land System under the Confederation", by Payson Jackson Treat; and "Fugitive Slave Legislation in America", by F. G. Franklin. In the evening an informal dinner was held at which the annual address by President Horace Davis was delivered. The Saturday morning session was devoted to the subject of the teaching of history, while that in the afternoon was given over to Pacific coast history, with papers by Professor Schafer on "The First Great Movement of Americans to the Pacific"; by C. K. Bonestell on "Secularization of the Missions of Upper California"; and by Professor C. A. Duniway on "Slavery in California after 1849". At the business session the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Horace Davis; vice-president, William D. Fenton; secretary and treasurer, Max Farrand; executive committee, James D. Phelan, H. Morse Stephens, Joseph Schafer, C. A. Duniway.

Samuel Adams Drake died December 5, at Kennebunkport, Maine, aged seventy-two. His historical writings dealt principally with New England subjects, although he published a volume on Virginia and another on the West. His work, although much of it was purposely adapted to younger readers, was scholarly and careful. His tastes were antiquarian, as is shown in the titles of a number of his pamphlets and sketches relating to New England. Among his more important works are *Border Wars of New England* (1897), based on material collected by his father, Samuel G. Drake, *The Making of New England* (1886), and a volume of eleven British narratives relating to Bunker Hill. At

the time of his death he was at work on a history of the United States, which his father began, and which he had labored long to complete.

M. Alfred Rambaud, Member of the Institute and professor of modern history at the Sorbonne, died in Paris on November 10 at the age of sixty-two. He was an active participant in public affairs and a leader of public opinion as well as a distinguished historian. In 1870, his thesis on *L'Empire Grec au X<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Constantin Porphyrogénète*, marked the revival of Byzantine studies in France. For reasons of public policy he desired that his countrymen should be acquainted with the history of Russia and together with a few others undertook the task of familiarizing them with it. In 1876 he published *Chansons Héroïques de la Russie*, in 1877, *Moscou et Sébastopol*, and in 1878, his well-known *Histoire de la Russie*. From 1879 to 1880, he was Minister of Public Instruction under Jules Ferry, and a zealous defender of his chief's policy of expansion. In collaboration with others, he brought out in 1886 *France Coloniale* and in 1885-1888 published his *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*. In 1890 appeared his *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France en Russie*, and in 1893-1901 the admirable *Histoire Générale du IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle à nos jours*, which he edited in co-operation with M. E. Lavisse. From 1896 to 1898 he was again Minister of Public Instruction. In 1897 he became a member of the Institute. His last work was *Jules Ferry* (1903). M. Rambaud excelled in brilliant and exact synthesis and was able to present sound learning in a popular form. He was the author of a few novels and for some years was the editor of the *Revue Bleue*.

Professor Wilhelm Oncken, of the University of Giessen, who died on August 11, aged sixty-six, is most widely known as the editor of the *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, 1879-1893, to which he contributed three monographs on different periods of the modern history of Prussia. His earlier works mostly concerned the ancient history of Greece.

Professor Ernst Berner, archivist of the royal family of Prussia, died on October 12, at the age of fifty-two. His writings include: *Die Geschichte des preussischen Staats*, 1896; *Wilhelm der Grosse*, 1897; *Aus dem Briefwechsel König Friedrichs I. von Preussen und seiner Familie*, 1901; *Der Regierungsanfang des Prinzenregenten von Preussen und seiner Gemahlin*, 1902. Professor Berner's place as editor of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* will be taken by Dr. Georg Schuster.

Sir William Muir, an eminent Arabic scholar and Principal of the University of Edinburgh from 1885 to 1902, died on July 11 at the age of eighty-six. Among his works are the *Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Hegira*; and *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*. At the time of the Indian Mutiny he was in charge of the Intelligence Department of the government of the Northwest Provinces of India;

and in 1902 superintended the publication of the *Records* of this department.

Captain Montagu Burrows, who died on July 10, at the age of eighty-five, had had a long and active career in the Royal Navy, during which he was engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade on the African coast. Since 1862 he had been Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford and had written a considerable number of books, among which were the lives of three admirals, several volumes on the constitutional and political history of England, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court*, and *Cinque Ports* in the "Historic Towns" series.

The work of the Bureau of Historical Research (now officially styled Department of Historical Research) of the Carnegie Institution has proceeded during the past quarter mostly along the lines of development already instituted under the wise and skilful management of Professor McLaughlin. *Writings on American History, 1903*, a bibliographical volume compiled by Messrs. McLaughlin, W. A. Slade and E. D. Lewis, attempting to list all books and articles on that subject which appeared in that year, has been published. Preparations are well under way for similar volumes relating to 1904 and 1905, and it is hoped that ultimately such surveys of the annual historical product may appear within a few months after the close of each year. Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government in Washington* having come to be out of print, a revised edition is being prepared. Mr. McLaughlin's pamphlet *Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State* is also to be reissued. Considerable progress has been made in the collection of material for the proposed volumes of *Letters written by Delegates to the Continental Congress and Congress of the Confederation* to the authorities of their states, which when completed will, it is hoped, furnish valuable records of proceedings in Congress, supplementing the Journals. Another documentary publication which is in preparation is a collection, edited by Miss Frances G. Davenport, of treaties or parts of treaties between European powers, which have a bearing on the history of the United States.

The publications of the Department will naturally fall into two classes, a series of texts, of which two specimens have just been mentioned, and a series of reports, aids and guides, relating to materials; *e. g.*, the three publications first named above. This latter class will be enlarged before long by several reports on the materials for American history in foreign archives. It is likely that the first of these to be issued will be Mr. Luis M. Pérez's report on the archives of Cuba. The materials are nearly all collected for those of Mr. C. M. Andrews on England and Mr. W. R. Shepherd on Spain, but their preparation for the press will naturally take some months. The listing of transcripts now in the United States made from documents in those archives is proceeding under the care of Mr. W. G. Leland. Through the kindness



of the archivist of the Dominion of Canada, Dr. A. G. Doughty, arrangements have been made whereby reports on materials for the history of the United States found in the provincial archives of the Maritime Provinces and Quebec will be supplied by Dr. James Hannay and Father P. M. O'Leary respectively.

The Prussian Government is to erect in Berlin a statue to the memory of Mommsen and it is proposed to erect a companion statue of Ranke. The statue of Mommsen will be of marble and will be placed in front of the University, to the right of the main entrance.

Professor Hermann Oncken of the University of Berlin is giving instruction in modern German history at the University of Chicago during the autumn and winter quarters of the present year.

Mr. Wallace Notestein of Yale University has been appointed assistant professor of European history in the University of Kansas.

In the *Report of the Eighth International Geographical Congress*, held in the United States in 1904 (58 Cong., 2 Sess., Ho. Doc. 460) are a few papers that may properly be noted in these columns: "Rise and Development of the German Colonial Possessions", by Graf von Pfeil; "The Cabot Landfall", by G. R. F. Prowse; "Some Early Geographers of the United States", by Rear-Admiral C. M. Chester; "Des Chrétiens de Saint Mathieu existant en Afrique au commencement du XIV<sup>me</sup> Siècle et de l'Identification à l'Ouganda de l'Empire Chrétien de Magdador", by Professor Frédéric Romanet du Caillaud; "Fundación de Mexico-Tenochtitlan", by Professor Alfredo Chavero; and "Geography and History in the United States", by Professor Albert Perry Brigham.

The fifteenth international congress of Americanists is to be held in Quebec, from September 10 to 15. The last congress was held in Stuttgart. The programme of the Quebec meetings has not yet been announced, but the native races of America, American archaeology, and European discovery in America will be dealt with.

An English version of Putzger's *Historischer Schul-Atlas* is under preparation at the hands of Professor W. R. Shepherd of Columbia University.

We note the organization in Chicago, last summer, of the Swedish-American Historical Society. Its objects, as set forth in the constitution, are to promote the study of the history of the Swedes in America and their descendants; to collect a library and museum illustrating their development in America; to issue publications relating to the history of the Swedish people in Sweden and America; and to encourage the study of Swedish history and literature in American universities. The officers of the society are: president, John A. Enander; vice-president, Gustav A. Andreen; secretary, Anders Schön; treasurer, Aksel G. S. Josephson.

A work by G. B. Brown entitled *Care of Ancient Monuments: Account of Legislative and other Measures adopted in European Countries for protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural*

*Beauty, and for preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities*, has been published by the Cambridge University Press (pp. 274).

A co-operative work that promises to be of great value and interest is *Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele*, edited by P. Hinneberg (Leipzig, Teubner). The purpose of the work is to present, in untechnical language and from the historical point of view, a systematic account of the culture of the present day; and of the significance to general cultural development of the most fundamental results arrived at in the various fields of learning. The co-operation of many eminent scholars has been secured. Part I. treats of religion and philosophy, music and art, and is in fourteen divisions, each of which is to form a substantial volume. Part II., dealing with state and society, law and economics, is in ten divisions, of which the first to appear are *Staat und Gesellschaft Europas und Amerikas in der Neuzeit*, and *System der Rechtswissenschaft*. Other divisions treat of anthropo-geography, constitutional and administrative history from primitive to modern times, both in the Orient and in Europe; state and society in the Orient, ancient and medieval history of Europe, general legal and economic history, etc. Parts III. and IV. deal with the physical sciences and with the technique of industry, commerce, agriculture, etc. Single divisions of the work can be obtained separately.

Mr. W. H. Tillinghast has rendered a service to historical students in adding to his translation of Ploetz's *Epitome of Modern History* (Boston, Houghton) an appendix of 34 pages covering the period 1883-1903. The work of compilation has been mainly performed by Mr. D. M. Matteson, who has also had general supervision of the new issue. Cross-references to the appendix have been inserted in the earlier portion of the work, and the genealogical tables have been brought down to date.

In his forthcoming work entitled *A History of Modern Liberty*, Dr. J. MacKinnon will treat of the development of political, intellectual and religious liberty from the Middle Ages down to recent times. The first two volumes, which are about to be published by Messrs. Longman, bring the subject down to the age of the Reformation.

*Modern Constitutions in Outline*, by Leonard Alston (Longmans, 1905, pp. viii, 72), may be of some service to the reader who wishes to get a little knowledge of a big subject in a short time and with little effort: it is a short cut to learning. However, one is astonished in these days to learn that in America the President "is a fossilized George III.," that the really important personage is chosen to act as Vice-president, and that in consequence much valuable political talent is "shelved" for four years.

Of interest to historians as well as to educators is Dr. E. Parisot's dissertation, *Un Educateur mystique: Jean-Frédéric Oberlin (1740-1826)* (Paris, Paulin, pp. 324). The work is based in part on un-

published documents and treats of the influences that affected Oberlin as well as of his pedagogical ideas.

In a *Handbuch für Lehrer höherer Schulen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 2 vols., pp. c, 688) the following matters are considered in connection with various branches of learning: the historical development of methods of teaching; the methods now employed in the most important countries; some account of the text-books and periodicals with which the teacher should be familiar. The section devoted to history is by Dr. A. Auler of Dortmund.

The following handbooks are of interest to teachers: *A Bibliography of Text-Books and Works of Reference in Ancient, Medieval and Modern, English and American History* (Recommended for use in the Approved High Schools of Missouri), edited by Professor N. M. Trenholme (University of Missouri, pp. 27); a revised edition of Professors H. D. Foster and S. B. Fay's *Syllabus of European History from the German Invasions to the French Revolution* (Sold at Dartmouth College Book Store, Hanover, pp. 31); *Syllabus of Continental European History from the Fall of Rome to 1870*, by Professor O. H. Richardson in collaboration with Dr. G. S. Ford and Mr. E. L. Durfee (Ginn, pp. 84); a revised and enlarged edition of Mr. H. C. Bowen's *Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Novels and Tales* (London, E. Stanford); and by the Department of History in the University of Wisconsin, a pamphlet (22 pp.) containing lists of reference-books desirable for high-school libraries.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Creighton and Stubbs* (The Church Quarterly Review, October); G. Lanson, *La Formation de la Méthode Historique de Michelet* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October, also in English in The International Quarterly, April); G. Stanley Hall, *The Pedagogy of History* (The Pedagogical Seminary, September); Thomas Dent, *Of Law Reports as Memorials of History and Biography* (American Law Review, September-October); E. Maunde Thompson, *The Creation of the British Museum* (Cornhill Magazine, November); C. H. K. Marten, *The Study of History in Public Schools* (The Nineteenth Century and After, October).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY.

The *Société Préhistorique de France*, which was founded last year, is about to publish an illustrated *Manuel de Recherches Préhistoriques*, dealing with the general and special technique of the subject and including an index of terms (Paris, C. Reinwald-Schleicher).

Two recent contributions to Egyptology are *A History of Egypt* (Scribners) by Professor J. H. Breasted, director of the Egyptian expedition of the University of Chicago, and *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (Putnams), containing lectures delivered by Professor Georg Steindorff under the auspices of the American Committee for lectures on the history of religions.

*Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien, 1517-1518, beschrieben* (Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, edited by L. Pastor, Vol. IV., pp. xii, 186).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Vacandard, *La Confession dans l'Eglise latine du Ve au XIIIe siècle* (Revue du Clergé Français, October 15); M. Vaes, *La Papauté et l'Eglise Franque à l'Époque de Grégoire le Grand* (590-604), concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); R. Poupardin, *L'Onction Impériale* [Carolingian period] (Le Moyen Age, May-June); A. Struck, *Die Eroberung Thessalonikes durch die Sarazenen im Jahre 904* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, August); K. Hampe, *Eine Schilderung des Sommeraufenthaltes der Römischen Kurie unter Innozenz III. in Subiaco 1202* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, October); R. H. Tierney, *The Religious Element in the Mediaeval Guilds* (The American Catholic Quarterly Review, October).

#### MODERN HISTORY.

The four large index volumes to Clunet's *Journal du Droit International Privé* (Paris, Marchal and Billard) contain a great deal of material that will be of interest to the worker in diplomatic history. Apart from references to matter contained in the *Journal* itself, Volume I. includes a systematic bibliography of international private law (182 pp.), including a full bibliography of collections of treaties, while Volume II. gives the text of many treaties, most of them subsequent to 1845, and a table of treaties from 1631 to 1903 to which France has been a party (564 pp.).

The point of departure in M. Jules Sottas's *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 1664-1719* (Paris, Plon, 1904, pp. 496), is the account of Du Quesne's expedition to the Indies in 1690-1691 by Grégoire de Chasles. In connection with the republication of this account M. Sottas has given a detailed exposition of the operations of the company up to its fusion with the great *Compagnie des Indes*.

Mr. John Murray announces the publication of two volumes of *The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* by Dr. Fredrik Nielsen, formerly professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Copenhagen, and translated by Dr. A. J. Mason, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. They treat of the external fortunes of the church down to the death of Pius IX. A third volume covering the period to the end of the reign of Leo XIII. is in course of preparation and this it is hoped will also be translated. The translated volumes form part of a larger Danish work treating of the general history of the Roman Catholic Church during the nineteenth century, including its inner life.

Coquelle's *Napoléon et l'Angleterre*, which was noticed in a recent number of the REVIEW (X. 692), has been translated by Gordon D. Knox and published by Bell and Sons, London, with an introduction by J. Holland Rose.

In the preparation of his book entitled *Le Pape et l'Empereur* (Paris, Plon), M. Henri Welschinger has had access to the public archives of France which the government of Napoleon III. denied to the Orleanist Comte de Haussonville when he was investigating the same theme.

The large work by M. Ch. Auriol entitled *La France, l'Angleterre et Naples de 1803 à 1806* (Paris, Plon, 2 vols., pp. vi, 683, 834) is in great part of collection of documents, some of which, e. g. the despatches of Hugh Elliot, the English minister at Naples, have not been previously published.

The Macmillan Company will issue an édition de luxe, uniform with their Hakluyt and Purchas, of the famous seventeenth-century account of Japan by the Dutch doctor Engelbert Kaempfer.

Documentary publications: Comte Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat et sur les autres rapports de la France avec le Saint-Siège de 1800 à 1801*, Vol. VI., Publications de la Société d'Histoire Diplomatique (Paris, Plon); Comte de Jaucourt, *Correspondance du Comte de Jaucourt avec le Prince de Talleyrand pendant le Congrès de Vienne*, Publications de la Société d'Histoire Diplomatique [with Introduction and Life] (Paris, Plon, pp. 361).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Paul Kalkoff, *Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess*, pp. 212 (Bibliothek des k. preussischen historischen Instituts in Rom); W. H. Hutton, *Erasmus and the Reformation* (Quarterly Review, October); F. Lennel, *Le Siège de Calais par les Espagnols* (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, October); E. P. Cheyney, *International Law under Queen Elizabeth* (English Historical Review, October); L. Willaert, *Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques, 1598-1635*, con. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); Mme. C.-B. Favre, *La Diplomatie de Leibniz* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, October); E. Rod, *Jean Jacques Rousseau et les Affaires de Genève: La Condamnation* (Revue Historique, September-October); E. Driault, *Napoléon I. et l'Italie*, II., III.: *Bonaparte et la République Italienne, Napoléon Roi d'Italie*, concl. (Revue Historique, September-October, November-December); *Naples and Napoleon* (Edinburgh Review, October).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Sir Benjamin Stone, President of the National Photographic Record Association, has formed a collection of 25,000 photographs illustrative of national life, which will be of great value to future historians. Selections from the Parliamentary, State Ceremony, and Popular Custom pictures are announced for immediate publication by Messrs. Cassell.

*The Royal Forests of England*, by Dr. J. C. Cox, has been added to the series of "Antiquary's Books" issued by Methuen (pp. 388).

*The Ancren Riwele, or Nun's Rule*, as modernized by Rev. James Morton in a volume of the Camden Society, 1853, has been reproduced

by the De La More Press with a few alterations and with an introduction by Abbot Gasquet.

In his study of the *Wives of Henry the Eighth and the Parts they played in History*, Major Martin A. S. Hume has endeavored to show how each of the queens "was but an instrument of politicians intended to sway the King on one side or the other". The book is published in America by McClure, Phillips, and Company (pp. 467).

The August number of the *Hartford Seminary Record* is made up of articles on John Knox: "The Times of John Knox", by Professor C. M. Andrews; "The Life of John Knox", by Professor C. M. Geer; "John Knox's Contribution to America", by Professor Samuel Simpson; and "John Knox; His Religious Life and Theological Position", by Professor James Denney.

A new edition of H. E. Egerton's *History of British Colonial Policy* is announced by Methuen.

*Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plates xxi-xxx, printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum (Longmans), contains illustrations of 160 medals dealing with the reign of Charles I. from 1630 to his execution. They throw light on the history of the reign and form a portrait gallery of the most important men of the day.

In the *King in Exile* (New York, Dutton), Miss Eva Scott covers the period of the wanderings of Charles II. from June, 1646, to July, 1654.

Mr. Martin Haile's *Mary of Modena, Queen of James II.* (New York, Dutton, pp. 523), contains a number of documents such as the queen's letters and despatches and letters of her contemporaries which have never before been printed in English.

A *Memoir of Archbishop Temple*, by Seven Friends, edited in two volumes by Archdeacon Sandford, is announced by Messrs. Macmillan.

Sir Horace Rumbold's *Final Recollections of a Diplomatist* (New York, Longmans, pp. 408) constitutes the fourth volume of his reminiscences and covers the period from 1885 to his retirement from the diplomatic service in 1900. Between these years he served as minister to Greece, to the Netherlands and to Austria.

Mr. W. A. Copinger, sometime President of the Bibliographical Society, has compiled a remarkable work, the nature of which is indicated by its title: *County of Suffolk. Its History as Disclosed by Existing Records and other Documents, being materials for the History of Suffolk, Gleaned from Various Sources—mainly from MSS., Charters, and Rolls in the British Museum and other Public and Private Depositories, and from the State Papers and the Publications of the Record Commissioners, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and of the Master of the Rolls.* In five substantial volumes, to which a volume of indexes is to be added, the promise of the title appears to be most admirably fulfilled. The material is arranged alphabetically under names of places, families, and, to some extent, subjects.

In his work on *Worcestershire Place Names* (Oxford, Frowde) Mr. W. H. Duignan has received the assistance of Professor Skeat and Mr. W. H. Stevenson. The preface contains a summary of the early history of the county.

The articles relative to London contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* have been brought together by G. Laurence Gomme into three volumes entitled *The Gentleman's Magazine Library: London* (London, Stock).

The first number in the Economic Series of the Publications of the University of Manchester, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry*, a Study in Economic Development, by Professor S. J. Chapman (1904, pp. vii, 309), describes and explains the different forms of organization that have characterized production and distribution in the cotton industry from the establishment of the industry in Lancashire to modern times.

Messrs. Bell announce the publication in one small volume of Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* edited by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith. A new edition of the whole *Itinerary* is to be issued later.

Professor C. Sanford Terry, one of whose numerous contributions to Scottish history is reviewed in the current number of the REVIEW, is the author of *The Scottish Parliament: Its Constitution and Procedure, 1603-1707*, recently published by Messrs. MacLehose. The book contains an appendix of documents.

In his book entitled *The Ruthven of Freeland Peerage and its Critics* (Glasgow, MacLehose, pp. 84), Mr. J. H. Stevenson argues that Mr. J. H. Round has not successfully demonstrated, in Mr. Foster's *Collectedanea Genealogica* and elsewhere, that the peerage of Ruthven of Freeland is extinct.

Although by an Act of 1875 the parish registers of the former Established Church in Ireland were placed under the control of the Master of the Rolls of Ireland, yet a large proportion of the Registers were not deposited in the Public Record Office at Dublin. "The Parish Register Society of Dublin" has recently been organized "to supply the genealogist and local and family historian with printed copies of the more important and older surviving Registers, beginning with those of Dublin, more especially those not deposited in the Record Office".

Professor Goldwin Smith's *Irish History and the Irish Movement* (McClure) is "an attempt to trace the general course of the history [of Ireland] as it leads up to the present situation."

A. M. S. Methuen's *Peace or War in South Africa*, first published in 1901, is to be reissued under the title *The Tragedy of South Africa* with additions which make the book a complete narrative of the events of the years 1899-1902.

Mr. John Murray announces the publication of the second volume of *The German Official Account of the War in South Africa, prepared in the Historical Section of the Great General Staff, Berlin*. The volume

deals with the advance to Pretoria, the Upper Tugela campaign, etc., and is translated by Colonel H. Du Cane.

George W. Stow's *The Native Races of South Africa, a History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting-grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country*, edited by George McCall Theal (Sonnenschein), is said to be the most valuable work upon the natives of Africa that has appeared.

British Government publications: *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.*, 1231-1234; *Year Books of the Reign of King Edward the Third*, years xviii and xix, edited and translated by L. O. Pike; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1401-1405; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1667-1668; *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, 1697-1699; *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*, 1660-1662; and reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the manuscripts of Lady du Cave, the Earl of Egmont (Vol. I., Parts 1 and 2, with an introduction on the Irish Percivalls), and on manuscripts in the Welsh language (Vol. II., Part 3).

Other documentary publications: *Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-third year of the Reign of King Henry the Second*, A. D. 1176-1177, The Pipe Roll Society (London, Spottiswoode); J. M. Rigg, *A Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. I., Henry III., 1218-1272, pp. xix, 366, Jewish Historical Society of England (Macmillan); F. H. M. Parker, *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, 1222-1260 (Kendal, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society); J. Parker, *A Calendar of the Lancashire Assize Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 parts (London, The Record Society); H. B. Walker, *The Book of the Cinque Ports*, an index volume to the Decrees of the courts of Brotherhood and Guestling of the Cinque Ports from 1433 to the present time [Decrees are entered in epitome] (London, Stock); J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay, editors, *The College of St. Leonard*, being Documents with Translations, Notes, and Historical Introduction.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. E. Ross, *Henry III. and the Church* (Dublin Review, October); L. Mirot, *Isabelle de France, Reine d'Angleterre*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, October); W. T. Waugh, *Sir John Oldcastle*, II. (English Historical Review, October); L. Willaert, S. J., *A Catholic College of the Seventeenth Century* [St. Omer] (The American Catholic Quarterly Review, October); L. H. Berens, *A Social Reformer of the Days of the Commonwealth* [Gerrard Winstanley] (The Westminster Review, September); Lady Burghclere, *A Courtier of James the Second* (Quarterly Review, October); Mr. Trevelyan's "Stuarts" (Edinburgh Review, October); D. Hannay, *Nelson the Civilizer* (Macmillan's Magazine, November); J. K. Laughton, *The Centenary of Trafalgar* (Quarterly Review, October); Sir Cyprian Bridge, *Nelson: The Centenary of Trafalgar* (Cornhill Maga-



zine, September); J. Holland Rose, *The True Significance of Trafalgar* (Independent Review, November); A. T. Mahan, *The Strength of Nelson* (The National Review, November); A. T. Mahan, *The Personality of Nelson* (United Service Magazine, October); Col. G. H. Trevor, *A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny: Rajputana* (Gentleman's Magazine, September); Lord Granville (Edinburgh Review, October); Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, *The Threatened War of 1875* (National Review, November); Rev. Albert Barry, *Gladstone and Ireland* (New Ireland Review, November).

#### FRANCE.

At the international exposition which took place at Liège last June, there was held a series of conferences relative to various phases of the history of the French Revolution, in which M. Aulard and other distinguished historians took part. *La Révolution Française* for October contains a report (24 pp.) of these conferences.

The notable work undertaken by the Ministry of Public Instruction at the instance of M. Jaurès, in collecting and publishing archive material relating to the economic history of the French Revolution, is being carried on vigorously throughout France. In each department committees have been appointed to undertake the listing of documents found in the local archives and to direct the work of publication. The *Annales de Bretagne* for July prints the text of the circular which one departmental committee has addressed to collaborators, indicating the classes of archives and of documents most likely to prove fruitful. *La Révolution Française* for September and *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* for October contain accounts of the progress made in several departments. A number of volumes in the series relating to the parochial cahiers of 1789 have been published or are nearly ready for publication and the same is true of the *procès-verbaux* of the committee of agriculture and commerce of the Constituent Assembly and of the main documents of its committee on feudal rights.

The annual for 1905 of the École Pratique des Hautes Études states that the following publications are about to be added to its list: L. Gautier, *Les Lombards dans les deux Bourgognes*; Lasalle-Serbat, *Les Assemblées du Clergé de France (1561-1615)* (Paris, Bouillon).

In the "Bulletin" of the *Revue Historique* for September, M. Ch. Pfister discusses a few recent publications relating to the history of medieval France, and M. Rod Reuss reviews a large number of recent works dealing with the Revolution and the First Empire.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett's book on *Famous French Women* treats of Joan of Arc, Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII., Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I., Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis I., and Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. It will be published in this country by A. Wessels Company.

The Stanhope Essay for 1905 bears the title of *The Fronde*. The author is G. Stuart Gordon (London, Simpkin).

A translation of a work by Arvède Barine is announced by the Putnam's under the title *Louis XIV. and La Grande Mademoiselle*.

The *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France depuis 1789*, which has been under preparation for several years, is nearly ready for the press. It will appear under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire Moderne (Paris, Cornély).

The house of Hachette has decided that the *Histoire de France*, edited by M. E. Lavisse, which was originally intended to stop at the year 1789, shall be continued to the present time in seven additional volumes. The first volume, in which M. P. Sagnac will treat of the Constituent Assembly, 1789-1791, will not be issued till 1908, when it is expected that the history up to 1789 will have been published.

M. Funck-Brentano has written an introduction (100 pp.) to the eighteen letters included in the volume entitled *Joliclerc, Volontaire aux Armées de la Révolution: Ses Lettres (1793-1796)*, collected and published by Étienne Joliclerc (Paris, Perrin).

The forthcoming ninth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* is entitled *Napoleon* (Cambridge University Press).

The sixth volume of the *Histoire Socialiste* published under the direction of M. Jaurès and written by MM. Brousse and Turot deals with the Consulate and Empire, 1799 to 1815, and contains fresh information concerning the economic and social history of that period (Paris, J. Rouff).

*The Battle of Wavre and Grouchy's Retreat*, a study of an obscure part of the Waterloo Campaign, by W. Hyde Kelly (London, Murray), contains a sketch of the opening and progress of the Waterloo campaign, the pursuit of the Prussians by Grouchy and an explanation of the way in which he extricated his forces and led them back to Paris.

The third and last volume of M. Henry Houssaye's important work entitled *1815* has recently been published (Paris, Perrin, pp. 602).

The important work *Histoire du Second Empire* (Paris, Plon) by Pierre de la Gorce has been completed by the issue of the seventh volume, which brings the narrative down to the proclamation of the Third Republic. The work has been crowned by the French Academy.

Dr. E. A. Crane has edited the memoirs of Dr. Thomas W. Evans, who was court dentist to Napoleon III. and under whose escort the Empress Eugénie escaped to England. The book has been published by Appleton.

Two books of historical interest written by eye-witnesses of the events they describe are Comte d'Haussonville's *Mon Journal pendant la Guerre, 1870-1871* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy); and Le Vicomte de Meaux's *Souvenirs Politiques, 1871-1877* (Paris, Plon, pp. 419).

Workers in the field of French local history will find an important bibliographical aid in the *Inventaire des Collections Manuscrites de la Bibliothèque Nationale sur l'Histoire des Provinces de France* by P.

Lauer. Vol. I. (Paris, Leroux, pp. 31, 504) is devoted to Burgundy and Lorraine.

*La Franche Comté* by Lucien Febvre is the fourth number in the series "Les Régions de la France", published by the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, Cerf, 1905, pp. 76). The monograph contains abundant bibliographical information, sums up briefly what is known regarding the district and indicates the important *lacunae* to be filled.

The seventh volume of M. A. Tuetey's *Répertoire des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française* (Ville de Paris, *Publications relatives à la Révolution Française*, Imp. Nouvelle), brings the catalogue down to the end of the period of the Legislative Assembly. The municipal council of Paris has voted the continuation of the *Répertoire* for the period of the Convention.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Poëte, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de Paris et les Historiens de Paris* (*Revue Politique et Littéraire*, November 18); Dom A. du Bourg, *Vie Monastique dans l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés aux différentes périodes de son histoire* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); K. Müller, *Calvin's Bekehrung* (*Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen*, 1905, II.); L. Batiffol, *Marie de Médicis* (*Revue Historique*, November-December); P. Bliard, *Deux Épisodes de la Vie de Louis XV. d'après un journal inédit* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); H. de Grimouard, *Les Bureaux des Finances de l'Ancien Régime* (*Revue de Science et de Législation Financières*, July-September); A. Onou, *La Valeur des Cahiers de 1789 au point de vue Économique et Social* (*La Révolution Française*, November); M. Kovalewsky, *La France Économique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution*, I. (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, August-September) [the first chapter of a book which will appear under this title in the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale*]; V. Pierre, *Le Clergé de France en Exil: Pays-Bas Autrichiens, Liège, Trèves et Luxembourg, Hollande, 1791 à 1794 et 1795* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); A. Lieby, *L'Ancien Répertoire sur les Théâtres de Paris à travers la Réaction thermidorienne*, concl. (*La Révolution Française*, September); A. Aulard, *Les Origines de la Séparation des Églises et de l'État: L'Assemblée Législative; La Laïcisation de l'État civil; La Convention nationale* (*La Révolution Française*, September, October, November); F. J. Stimson, ed., *The Coup d'État of Louis Napoleon* [a contemporary letter] (*Scribner's Magazine*, October); H. Prentout, *Le Travail d'Histoire Moderne en Province: La Normandie, année 1904* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, October).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN.

The publication of a historical quarterly devoted to matters relating to the "Risorgimento" in Umbria from 1796 to 1870 has been undertaken by G. Mazzatinti, G. Degli Azzi and A. Fani. The journal

will contain documents, catalogues of archives and museums, and bibliographical notes, but not articles.

In the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, N. S., Vol. IX., Part 1, the bibliographical bulletin of the Venetian region [1902] is concluded; and in the succeeding number of the journal, a similar bulletin for 1903 is begun. In both numbers, C. Cipolla continues his survey of the publications regarding medieval Italian history for 1901.

A new work in two volumes by F. Marion Crawford, *Salve Venetia! Gleanings from History*, is announced for immediate publication by Macmillan. It will be uniform with his *Ave Roma Immortalis* and *Rulers of the South*, the second of which is to be reissued under the title of *Sicily and Southern Italy*.

Professor Heinrich Sieveking of the University of Marburg has received a grant from the Vienna Royal Academy of Sciences for the promotion of his researches into the medieval records of business and commerce in Italian archives. A recent number of the Proceedings of the Academy contains his report on the *Handlungsbücher der Medici* found by him in Florence. The report is also published separately by C. Gerold's Son, Vienna.

Professor Quinto Santoli will edit for the Società Pistoiese di Storia Patria the cartulary known as the *Liber Censuum Communis Pistorii*, which, containing more than 900 documents dating from 1097 to about 1450, is not only the principal source for the history of Pistoia during that period, but also throws light on the history of neighboring communities and of the Empire and the Church.

An illustrated dictionary of the Sicilian communes, including historical and archaeological matter, is being published under the direction of Francesco Nicotra with the assistance of distinguished collaborators and of the Sicilian municipalities (Palermo, Casa Professa, via Rimpetto).

Two studies in Spanish historiography by Georges Cirot are *Les Histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X. et Philippe II.*, 1284-1565 (Paris, Fontemoing, pp. xi, 181) and *Mariana Historien* (Bordeaux, Feret).

Dr. Hans Gmelin's *Studien zur spanischen Verfassungsgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, F. Enke) contains a considerable amount of political as well as of constitutional history and much bibliographical information.

Documentary publications: *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*; I. *Regesto di Camaldoli*; II. *Regesten von Volterra*, Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken herausgegeben von dem k. Preussischen Historischen Institut in Rom (Rome, Loescher); G. Chiesa, *Regesto dell'Archivio Comunale della Città di Rovereto*, Fasc. I, 1280-1450 (Rovereto, Imp. Roveretana, vii, 75).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Tocco, *I Fraticelli* [XIII. and XIV. centuries] (Archivio Storico Italiano, serie v, t. XXXV., 1905, 2); E. Rodocanachi, *L'Éducation des Femmes en Italie* [XIV.-XVIII. cent.] (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); C. Lagomaggiore, *L' "Istoria Viniziana" di M. Pietro Bembo, saggio critico con documenti inediti* (Nuovo Archivio Veneto, n. s., Vol. IX., Pts. 1 and 2); Konrad Häbler, *Zur Geschichte der Kastilischen Comunidades, 1520-1521* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCV. 3); *The Execution of General Torrijos and Robert Boyd, 1831* (English Historical Review, October).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND.

Professor G. von Below of Tübingen, well-known for his valuable contributions to the constitutional history of Germany, has contributed a work on *Die Ursachen der Rezeption des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland* to the *Historische Bibliothek* which is directed by the editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg).

M. Albert Waddington of the University of Lyons treats of the rise of the Prussian power in his book entitled *Le Grand Électeur Frédéric Guillaume de Brandebourg: Sa politique extérieure, 1640-1688* (Paris, Plon, pp. 496).

A new volume has been added to the beautifully illustrated series of *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte* in Professor Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's *Maria Theresia* (Bielefeld, Velhagen and Klasing, pp. 111).

We have recently received the report of the fourteenth session of the Commission for Württemberg History. During 1904, the Commission added three volumes to its series of historical sources, the titles of which are noted below among "documents". The publications planned for 1905 include part of a collection of historical songs and sayings; a volume of *Württembergische Landtagsakten*; an additional volume of the letters of Christopher, the Lutheran Duke of Württemberg, 1555, *seqq.*; an edition of the German works of the Swabian mystic Heinrich Suso, etc.

The historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for September-October gives an account of monographic literature of the last few years relating to the history of Bohemia up to 1300. Monographs dealing with a later period will be noticed in a following number of the journal.

The historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for November-December reviews the works published since 1884 dealing with the source-material for the mediæval history of Switzerland.

The Vienna Academy of Sciences has made a grant to Professor J. Loserth of the University of Graz, to be used in the investigation of the archives of Hungary and Croatia essential to the editing of the second part of the *Akten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Inner-Österreich unter Ferdinand II.*

Documentary publications: R. Esallner, *Quellenbuch zur vaterländischen Geschichte* (Hermannstadt, Krafft, pp. 296); W. Levison, *Vitæ*

*Sancti Bonifatii, Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum (Hanover, Hahn, lxxxvi, 241); Dr. Knupfer, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Heilbronn*, I. (pp. xiv, 681), Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte; Dr. A. Diehl, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Esslingen*, II. (pp. xxvii, 305), ditto; C. Mollwo, *Das Rote Buch der Stadt Ulm* (pp. vii, 304), ditto; A. Reifferscheid's *Neun Texte zur Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung in Deutschland während des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Festschrift der Universität Greifswald, pp. 58); F. Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, I. 1517-1524, Schriften der Königlichen Sächsischen Kommission für Geschichte, LXXXVIII. (pp. 848, Teubner); J. Strieder, *Die Inventur der Firma Fugger aus dem Jahre 1527*, Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft, Ergänzungsheft XVII. (Tübingen, Laupp).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Ulmann, *Die Anklage des Jakobinismus in Preussen im Jahre 1815* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCV. 3); P. Matter, *La Prusse et la Révolution de Pologne en 1863* (Annales des Sciences Politiques, September); Paul Vinogradoff, *A Constitutional History of Hungary*, review of Akos v. Tímon's *Ungarische Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte* (The Law Quarterly Review, October); P. Pégard, *La Mission du Citoyen Comeyras dans les Liges Grises, 1796-1797*, I. (Annales des Sciences Politiques, September.)

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM.

R. Van Waefelghem's *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré* (Brussels, Misch and Thron, pp. 440) contains an inventory of the archives of the abbey of Parc and of other abbeys, and chartularies, accounts, rentals, etc.

L. Gilliodts van Severen in his *Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges* (Bruges, De Plancke, 1904-1905, I., II., pp. 747, 744) has made a collection of documents concerning the domestic and foreign commerce, international relations, and economic history of Bruges.

#### AMERICA.

##### GENERAL ITEMS.

The series entitled *Original Narratives of Early American History*, undertaken under the auspices of the American Historical Association and under the general editorship of Mr. J. F. Jameson, will consist of twenty volumes, with an added volume of general index, and will be published by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. It is expected that the first two volumes will appear in the spring of the present year. The first will be devoted to the voyages of the Northmen and of Columbus. The first section, edited by Professor Julius E. Olson, will present the saga in Hauksbok and that in Flateyjarbok, together with some minor Northern and papal pieces. The second section will comprise, besides some smaller documents, Columbus's journal of his first voyage, his letter to Santangel, that of Dr. Chanca, the journal of the third voyage imbedded in

Las Casas, the letter to the Nurse, and the letter to the sovereigns respecting the fourth voyage,—all edited by Professor E. G. Bourne. The three contemporary letters on Cabot's voyage will be added. Volume II., narratives of the Spanish Explorers, will comprise those of Cabeza de Vaca, the Gentleman of Elvas, and Castañeda (for Coronado), the first and third edited by Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the second by Mr. T. H. Lewis of St. Paul.

The Historical Congress held in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland met in three sessions on September 21, 22 and 23. At the first session a paper on "The Unity of History" was read by Hon. H. W. Scott, editor of the *Morning Oregonian*, which was followed by a paper by Professor E. G. Bourne, who discussed some of the salient facts in Oregon history prior to 1840. Dr. James K. Hosmer reviewed the points of significance in the explorations of Lewis and Clark, indicating the distinctive character of the two among American explorers. The sessions of the second day were devoted to conferences on the organization and development of historical activities on the Pacific coast. Reports were made by representatives of the different states and sections, and a good basis for future co-operation was laid. The session of the third day was held under the auspices of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Two formal papers were read, one by Professor Joseph Schafer on "The Location of the Sources of the History of the Pacific Northwest", the other by Professor C. A. Duniway on "Slavery in California before 1863". The writer showed that slaves had been held in the state notwithstanding its constitution and that a severe code of "black laws" had obtained.

The annual report of the Librarian of Congress will be read with more than ordinary interest this year by historical students. The manuscript accessions to the library have been unusually large, varied, and important. Among them should be noted the Breckinridge papers, presented by the children of the late Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge of Kentucky, who made an especial effort during his lifetime to collect his family papers. There are fully thirty thousand pieces in the collection, which includes the papers of John Breckinridge (1760-1806), his two sons, John (1797-1841) and Robert (1800-1871), and of W. C. P. Breckinridge (1837-1905). Through the generosity of Dr. Stuyvesant Fish Morris an addition has been made to the Van Buren collection of over 850 letters, written to Van Buren when he was Secretary of State, Vice-President, and President. Ten volumes of the correspondence of E. G. Squier, the archaeologist, have also been received, as have fifteen letters from Andrew Johnson to B. McDannel, and about 150 family letters written by George Denison during his life in Texas and Louisiana before and during the war. Among the purchases of manuscripts the papers of John J. Crittenden of Kentucky are of note, likewise the papers of Duncan McArthur and William Allen of Ohio. A collection of about twelve hundred manuscripts and broadsides of Virginian origin has been

purchased, as have the remnants of the papers of Franklin Pierce (the larger part of his papers were destroyed by fire), the correspondence, in twelve volumes, of E. B. O'Callaghan, and a unique set of nine manuscript volumes that had belonged to Charles Pinfold, Governor of Barbados from 1756 to 1766, including letter-books and transcripts of legislative journals and laws. Finally should be mentioned the Spanish records transferred to the library from the office of the surveyor-general in Tallahassee, Florida, and five volumes of transcripts from the English archives. These last are worthy of particular attention because they mark the inauguration by the library of a plan for securing transcripts of large portions of the American material in foreign archives. An important acquisition by the Division of Maps and Charts is the collection of 72 maps formed by Lord Howe, illustrating the American coast, the West Indies, and the Philippines. Seven of these, in manuscript, have to do with the Revolution.

The H. H. Bancroft library has been purchased by the University of California. Although this collection is well known to students, it is perhaps not generally realized how great its value is. In a printed report by Dr. Thwaites to the University of California it is estimated that the library contains at least 125,000 manuscripts, about 43,000 books and pamphlets, 5,000 volumes of newspapers, periodicals, transactions, and scrap-books, and 2,000 maps, atlases and engravings. The manuscript material consists of original and transcribed mission and presidio records, papers relating to Spanish governmental and commercial affairs in North and Central America, accounts and letter-books of Russian, Canadian, and American fur companies, consular papers, diaries, dictated narratives, and important documents bearing on Spanish rule in Louisiana. Frederick J. Teggert has for the present been appointed custodian of the collection.

Through the generosity of James Speyer, a chair has been established in the University of Berlin to be known as the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship of American History and Institutions. Professor J. W. Burgess will be the first to occupy the new position.

The Library of Congress has published a *List of the Benjamin Franklin Papers*, compiled by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick of the Division of Manuscripts, under the direction of Worthington Chauncey Ford. The papers here listed constitute those of the Franklin collection known as the "second series" and are exclusive of the diplomatic papers, which were retained in the Department of State when the collection was transferred to the Library of Congress. The compilation is termed a "list" rather than a "calendar" because, although each piece of manuscript is regularly entered, only the more important of its contents are noted. The list covers over two hundred pages, the items run in chronological order, and a full index is provided.

By the compilation of the two-volume *Comprehensive Index to the Publications of the United States Government, 1881-1893* (58 Cong., 2



Sess., Ho. Doc. 754) John G. Ames has filled the gap between Poore's Index and the volumes issued by the Superintendent of Documents.

The first two volumes of the *Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*, selected by A. B. Hulbert (A. H. Clark Company) have appeared. The first volume contains fifty plates and is devoted to rivers, lakes, waterways, etc. The second volume is made up of military maps and plans.

In an edition of three hundred folio copies, magnificently bound in vellum, Mr. Archer M. Huntington has published the *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus*, a facsimile reproduction of the unique manuscript index or *registrum* in the Biblioteca Colombina, at Seville.

Students of naval history will be interested in the annual report to the Secretary of the Navy, by Mr. Charles W. Stewart, Superintendent of Library and Naval War Records. Captain A. T. Mahan has presented to the library his transcripts of British naval records relating to the War of 1812, while the papers of Flag Officer William Mervine, Rear-Admiral William Reynolds, and Commodore Guert Gansevoort have also been received as gifts, and other collections are promised.

The library of the late Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon of London, said to be especially rich in material relating to the Puritans, has been purchased by William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri.

A tenth edition, revised, of Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation* in Appleton's series of Twentieth Century Text-books, has just been published.

Houghton, Mifflin and Company have put out a second revised edition of Judson S. Landon's *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States*. The changes in the edition are but few and of minor importance.

Lippincott and Company are publishing a very handsome edition of Prescott's historical works in twenty-two volumes, to be called the Montezuma edition. It will be illustrated by one hundred and ten photogravure plates by Goupil and will be limited to one hundred copies.

Houghton, Mifflin and Company have commenced the publication of The American Statesmen, second series. The first volume, just published, has already been noted: *James G. Blaine*, by Edward Stanwood. Three others are in preparation: *John Sherman*, by Theodore E. Burton; *Ulysses S. Grant*, by Samuel W. McCall; and *William McKinley*, by T. C. Dawson.

Of interest to students of American history will be the fifth volume of the series Zürcher Beiträge zur Rechtswissenschaft: *Der Bundesstaatsbegriff in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von ihrer Unabhängigkeit bis zum Kompromiss von 1850*, by Dr. Ernst Moll (Zürich, Schulthess).

*American Diplomacy, Its Spirit and Achievements*, by John Bassett Moore (Harper), is a brief sketch of the foreign policy of the United

States. With the addition of a chapter on the "Fisheries Questions" it is made up of the articles, somewhat amplified and revised, that appeared in *Harper's Magazine*.

The Statute Law Book Company of Washington, which has already published over thirty reprints of early collections of laws, announces five more works, in photo-facsimile: *Laws for the Government of the District of Louisiana* (Vincennes, 1804); *Laws of the Territory of Louisiana* (St. Louis, 1810); *Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1819); *Journal of the Missouri State Convention* (St. Louis, 1820); *Private, Local, and Temporary Laws passed at the ninth and tenth sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas* (Lincoln, 1873). A limited edition of fifty copies of each volume has been printed.

Of bibliographical interest to the student of German-American affairs will be the contribution by Edward Z. Davis, commencing in the *German American Annals* for October: "List of Translations of German Prose, and List of Articles on the German Countries". This list "is intended to show the amount of information about Germany, Austria, Switzerland, etc., which was presented to the readers of the early American magazines".

Two works, of widely different character, relating to the Jews in America have been published this fall. *The Jews of South Carolina*, by Rabbi Barnett A. Elzas (J. B. Lippincott Company), is based on original local materials, notable among which are the recently rediscovered records of the Congregation Beth Elohim, which, like so much other material in South Carolina, were supposed to have been destroyed in the burning of Columbia. The edition is limited to 175 volumes. *The Jews in America*, by Madison C. Peters (John C. Winston Company), while covering a wider field than the work of Dr. Elzas, is altogether sketchy in character and does not pretend to original investigation.

Two noteworthy contributions to the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for June should be mentioned: "Monsignor Adrian J. Croquet, Indian Missionary", by Rev. J. Van der Heyden, and "Sketch of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister to the United States, from 1779 to 1783", by James J. Walsh.

We note the publication by the Appletons of *The Journal of Latrobe*, "being the notes and sketches of an architect, naturalist, and traveler in the United States from 1796 to 1820". There are chapters on Virginia and its people, a visit to Washington at Mt. Vernon, Philadelphia, New Orleans, the building of the national capitol, and other subjects of interest. A biographical introduction is furnished by J. H. B. Latrobe, while the editing is the labor of Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

#### ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

We note the appearance of *Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas: Eine historische Skizze*, by Professor Dr. Otto Waltz (Bonin, M. Hager).

James A. Robertson has translated and edited for the Arthur H. Clark Company Pigafetta's *Magellan's Voyage around the World*. The Italian text, accompanied by a page-for-page translation into English, has been accurately transcribed from the early sixteenth-century Ambrosian MS. of Milan, and is for the first time accessible in a complete and unchanged form. An index and bibliography have been added, together with an early map illustrating Magellan's discoveries in the far east, while the original charts are carefully reproduced.

*Hernando Cortés*, by Frederick A. Ober (Harper), is rather historical than biographical, for considerably the major part of it is devoted to the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

A sumptuous product of the Riverside Press is George Parker Winship's collection of *Sailors' Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524-1624*. Mr. Winship has selected for this volume the accounts of Verrazano, Gosnold, Pring, Champlain, Weymouth, Popham and Gilbert, Hudson, Argall, John Smith, and Dermer. The editing is from the most authoritative texts, an introductory note has been supplied for each narrative, and facsimiles of maps and title-pages have been inserted.

The next contribution to the Trail Makers series (A. S. Barnes) will be *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain, narrated by Himself*, the 1532 *Voyages* freshly translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne, and edited with an introduction by Professor E. G. Bourne.

Another volume has been added to the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, bringing the calendar to the close of 1698.

The publication of *Franklin in History*, by William MacDonald, announced for this past fall by McClure, Phillips, and Company, has been postponed until spring.

We have received *A Contribution to a Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson*, compiled by Richard Holland Johnston of the Library of Congress, and separately printed, from the Memorial edition of the *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. The compilation does not pretend to completeness, but is rather "an attempt, in the main, to indicate the books and articles in periodicals in the Library of Congress". The bibliography is in two parts: "Jefferson's Writings" and "Books and Articles in Magazines relative to Thomas Jefferson". The arrangement of the entries is, rather curiously, chronological, but the obvious obstacles thus created are removed by a thorough alphabetical index. Descriptive notes add to the value of the bibliography.

Volumes IV., V., and VI. of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, edited by Worthington C. Ford, are to be issued immediately by the Library of Congress. They cover the year 1776.

*A Memoir of the First Treasurer of the United States*, by Rev. Michael Reed Minnich (Philadelphia, published for the author), is a brief sketch of Michael Hillegas, followed by chronological compilations

from the *Votes* of the Assembly of New Jersey and from the *Journals of Congress*, relating to Hillegas and his office.

*Stark's Independent Command at Bennington*, written by Herbert D. Foster, with the collaboration of Thomas W. Streeter, has been reprinted from the proceedings of the New York Historical Association for 1905. Valuable appendixes are included: a calendar of documents on Bennington battle and campaign, a complete list of contemporary sources, a bibliography of recent accounts not included in Winsor's bibliographies, and a table showing the daily positions and movements of the various commanders in July-August, 1777.

The Journal of Captain Henry Hamilton (August 6, 1778-June 16, 1779), kept during his expedition from Detroit to Vincennes, and recently acquired by the Harvard Library, will soon be printed by the university.

A contemporary account of the Battle of Guilford Court House is printed in the November *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* in the form of a letter from Colonel William Campbell to Charles Cummings, Aspen-Ville, March 28, 1781.

The *Documentary History of the Constitution* published by the Department of State has been supplemented by a fourth volume, which contains letters and papers from the archives of the department relating to the Convention and Constitution to July 31, 1788. A fifth volume and a general index are to follow.

One of the most noteworthy publications of the year is the privately printed volume of *Letters from George Washington to Tobias Lear*. Here are found thirty-eight letters from Washington to his secretary, ranging from 1786 to 1798, but mostly from 1790 to 1793. They relate largely to household and personal matters, such as would be a subject of correspondence with a private secretary, but some, especially those written in 1793-1794, when Lear was abroad, relate to public affairs. One of them in particular (May 6, 1794) should be mentioned, for in it Washington dwells at length upon politics and the attitude in America toward England; it is in this letter, also, that he expresses himself as anxious to liberate his slaves, could he see his way clear to do so. In an appendix are given several miscellaneous letters and documents, including the instructions to Washington from Congress of June 22, 1775, upon his appointment as commander-in-chief, eleven Revolutionary letters from Washington to various persons, and five letters, likewise to various persons, between 1786 and 1799. The originals of these letters, most of which have not been printed before, are in the collection of William K. Bixby of St. Louis, who purchased those to Lear from the estate of John Fiske. A memoir of Tobias Lear and editorial notes have been supplied by William H. Samson. The volume is for private distribution only.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for September prints a letter from Andrew Jackson to President Monroe (Nashville, Decem-

ber 20, 1817) expressing his approbation of the presidential message. In the October and November numbers are two letters from Madison to Monroe (September 22, and July 26, 1816) on alleged Spanish intriguing, and on slavery in the West Indies.

In commemoration of the centennial anniversary of Garrison's birth (December 10, 1805) his children have selected from their four-volume biography extracts from his writings characteristic of his sentiments and have included them, together with the biographical sketch prepared for the memorial volume of the city of Boston (1886), and an appendix of portraits, bibliography, and chronology, in a small volume: *The Words of Garrison* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

*A Life of Stephen A. Douglas*, by William Gardner, has been recently put forth by the Roxburgh Press of Boston. It is a small octavo volume of some 240 pages, and while its author claims for it the credit of being an original work he has given no notes or references in substantiation of his claim. It is based largely on the biographies by Sheahan and Flint and upon search in the *Congressional Globe*. It is unfortunate that the principal source for a life of Douglas was destroyed when the Douglas papers were burned in Washington. The few that remain in the hands of his son, Robert M. Douglas of North Carolina, are fragmentary and of but small value.

Through arrangements with the Century Company the Francis D. Tandy Company have brought out a twelve-volume edition of Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*. Much new material has been incorporated and a general introduction has been written by Richard Watson Gilder.

Another volume has been added to the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, edited by Charles W. Stewart. It is Volume XIX. of Series I. and is devoted to the manoeuvres of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron from July 15, 1862, to March 14, 1863.

The sixth volume of the *Journals of Congress of the Confederate States* has lately come from the Government Printing Office. It contains the House journals of the third and fourth sessions of the first Congress: January 12-May 1, 1863, and December 7, 1863-February 17, 1864.

A group of lately published volumes relating to the Civil War should receive fuller notice than is possible here. Mainly a military study is *The Fredericksburg Campaign, 1861-1864: a Strategical Sketch*, by Major G. W. Redway (Swan Sonnenschein and Company). Two volumes are by ex-Confederate officers and relate largely to their own experiences: *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer*, by the late General G. Moxley Sorrel; and *The War between the Union and the Confederacy and its Lost Opportunities*, by General William C. Oates (both by Neale Publishing Company). A book which deals mainly with the causes of the conflict, written from the southern point of view, is *The Brothers' War*, by John C. Reed (Little, Brown and Company), while

on the biographical side should be mentioned the latest of the "Crisis Biographies"; *William T. Sherman*, by Edward Robbins (Jacobs).

Scribner's Sons have published a new and somewhat less expensive edition of General Gordon's *Reminiscences of the Civil War*. The text is unchanged.

We note recent accounts of three Civil-War military organizations: *A History of "Battery A" of St. Louis*, by Valentine M. Porter, published by the Missouri Historical Society; Michael Hanifen's *History of Battery B, First New Jersey Artillery*; and *History of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, Sixtieth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers in the American Civil War*.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER.

The exploitation of New England local history goes constantly forward. Since our last number four volumes have made their appearance: *Mount Desert, a History*, by the late George E. Street, edited by Samuel A. Eliot (Houghton, Mifflin and Company); *History of the Town of Rye, New Hampshire*, by Langdon Brown Parsons (published by the author); *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, by Franklin T. Waters (published by the Ipswich Historical Society); and *A History of the Town of Middleboro, Mass.*, by Thomas Weston (Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

*The Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Volume VII. (Boston, The Society, 1905, pp. xix, 454) is devoted to the transactions of the period from April, 1900, to April, 1902. Among the more important communications are those on Captain Thomas Preston and the Boston Massacre, presenting new documents and details; on the term "Brother Jonathan" and on the term "Indian summer", by Mr. Albert Matthews; unpublished diaries of Washington, extending from September 27, 1785, to April 30, 1786, presented by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and accompanied by several letters of Washington; an unpublished letter and report on the condition of the Massachusetts colony about 1639, by the Reverend Edmund Browne; and the journal kept by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Vose on the expedition against Canada in 1776. A generous donation from Mr. F. Lewis Gay will enable the society to print an additional volume containing the early records of Harvard College.

We have just received an encouraging illustration of the advantages of co-operation between public officials and historical experts in the publication of original records, in the form of Volume I. of *The Records of the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire, 1761-1818*, being "the records of the town meetings, and of the selectmen, comprising all of the first volume of records". In the town-meetings of 1903 and 1904 appropriations were made for copying and printing the early records, and an editing committee was appointed, consisting of Professor Herbert D. Foster, Mr. George M. Bridgman, the town clerk, and Professor

Sidney B. Fay. An exact copy has been printed, the original pagination being clearly indicated by bracketed heavy-face type, and indexes to names, subjects, and places are provided.

The extensive mass of Winthrop manuscripts possessed by the late R. C. Winthrop, Jr., has passed into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Directors of the Old South Work have brought out, under the title *The Story of Massachusetts*, the last eight of the Old South Leaflets, numbers 153 to 160, which accompanied the Old South lectures during the summer of 1905. The leaflets are as follows: The Voyage of the "Mayflower", from Bradford's *History*; The Planting of Colonies in New England, from John White's *The Planter's Plea*; Captain Thomas Wheeler's Narrative of the Fight with the Indians at Brookfield, 1675; The Lexington Town Meetings from 1765 to 1775; *The Lowell Offering*, October 1845; Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature, May 14, 1861; Selections from the Poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet; and Memorials of the First Graduates of Harvard College, by John Farmer.

The second publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints, just issued, bears the title *Boston in 1682 and 1699*. It consists of two rare tracts: Edward Ward's "A Trip to New England", and "A Letter from New England", by "J. W.". Edward Ward was the editor of the *London Spy* and a well-known pamphleteer, while "J. W.", whoever he was, was an enthusiastic partizan of Edward Randolph. Both tracts are bitterly hostile to New England and were written for popular consumption in London. The introduction to the volume, by George Parker Winship, deals with contemporary affairs and social conditions in Boston, and quotations from leading clergymen are included, which tend to confirm many of the statements in the tracts. One hundred copies of the volume have been printed.

We have received an attractive pamphlet printed by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green and containing his address delivered at Groton, Massachusetts, on the celebration, in July, of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town. The address deals in an entertaining way with local history, and in an appendix are included comments on the name of Groton, the records of the two-hundredth anniversary, and a list of the towns established in Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies prior to 1655.

H. R. Hunting and Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, have reprinted in separate form the introduction by George Sheldon to the new edition of Judd's *History of Hadley*. The pamphlet bears the title *Whalley and Goffe in New England, An Enquiry into the Angel of Hadley Legend*.

The leading article in the October number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* is an entertaining account, by Sallie H. Hacker, of "The Society of Friends at Lynn, Mass." In the same

number two documents are printed: a letter from General Denison, bearing date of March 19, 1676, relating to the crossing of the Merrimac by the Indians, and the report of the military committee, March 29, 1676, containing an account of the garrisons in Essex county towns.

A timely contribution to Massachusetts biography is a *Memoir of Colonel Henry Lee*, by John T. Morse, Jr. (Little, Brown and Company). The memoir, which is followed by selections from the writings and speeches of Colonel Lee, is hardly a biography, but rather a biographical sketch dealing with the subject's early life, his career in the Civil War, and his connection with Harvard.

Dr. James J. Putnam's *Memoir of Dr. James Jackson, with a sketch of his Father and Brother and of his Ancestry* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company), will be of general interest, as well as of moment to Bostonians. Dr. Jackson was a Boston physician of prominence in the first part of the last century, his brother Charles was on the supreme bench of Massachusetts from 1813 to 1824, and his father, Jonathan Jackson, a Newburyport merchant, was a delegate to Congress and held various state offices.

Notwithstanding its title, *Newport, Our Social Capital*, by Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer (J. B. Lippincott) contains several historical chapters. The general history of Newport is recounted at length and there are chapters on naval heroes, slave-ships and pirates, institutions, churches, etc. The volume is nobly illustrated, and the edition is limited to 347 copies.

A local history that displays the evidences of considerable research is *The Eagle's History of Poughkeepsie, 1683-1905*, by Edmund Platt (Poughkeepsie, Platt and Platt). The historical account occupies 267 double-columned pages, while the customary material relating to distinguished citizens and prominent institutions is relegated to an appendix of less than one hundred pages.

The recently organized Pennsylvania History Club is composed of about forty members. The active membership of the club is limited to those who have done work of recognized value in Pennsylvania history, and its object is to aid in the collection of historical material, promote historical research, and to study and discuss Pennsylvania history and related subjects. Five meetings a year will be held, in the building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The following officers have been elected: president, C. M. Andrews; vice-presidents, H. V. Ames and Sydney George Fisher; secretary and treasurer, Albert Cook Myers.

The third part of Volume I. of the *Transactions* of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, contains the proceedings of the society's meetings from January, 1904, to June, 1905. Among the addresses delivered before the society may be mentioned that by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker on "Fort Washington [Harrisburg] in 1863"; and "A Journey from Harris' Ferry to Shamokin in 1747", by Dr. John W. Jordan.



The September number of the *Publications* of the Southern History Association contains important contributions: "Lafayette's Campaign in Virginia", by M. J. Wright, is concluded; under the title "The Making of the Confederate Constitution", A. L. Hull prints a series of extracts from the almost daily letters of Thomas R. R. Cobb, member of the Provisional Congress from Georgia, to his wife, and Cobb's notes on the Confederate constitution; a brief sketch by Luis M. Pérez on "French Refugees to New Orleans in 1809" is followed under the same title by documents selected from Claiborne's correspondence in the State Department; and "McHenry Papers", communicated by Bernard C. Steiner, include letters between the years 1785 and 1815.

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for October, William Henry Mann presents a sketch of "The Ancestry of General Robert E. Lee", attempting to demonstrate that the study of genealogy is a necessary adjunct to the study of history. In the same issue is the second part of Professor David Y. Thomas's "Executive Prerogative in the United States", while Hon. Junius Davis, in the first instalment of his "Some Facts about John Paul Jones", stoutly upholds the North Carolina tradition that Jones took his adopted name from one or other of the brothers Allen and Willie Jones. "The Franklin Bi-Centenary" is a rather severely critical account of Franklin as a writer, by Professor Edwin W. Bowen.

Aside from continued and concluded series of documents the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October contains "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752", including the commission, instructions, journal of the Virginia commissioners, text of the treaty, etc. and the text of the treaty of Lancaster, 1744, the confirmation of which by the Six Nations was the object of the treaty of Logg's Town.

President Lyon G. Tyler has printed a small pamphlet on *Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College*, being an extract from his address delivered before the Alpha Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society on December 5, 1904.

A sign of the growing interest in Southern local history is the publication of the first part of *Historic Camden*, by Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy (Columbia, State Company). The volume is devoted to the colonial and Revolutionary history of the town and contains in an appendix some original material in the form of two diaries: that of Samuel Mathis is from March to August, 1781, while a journal of very brief entries by James Kershaw extends over the years 1791-1815.

The second part of Woodbury Lowery's *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States* (Putnam's Sons) bears the subtitle *Florida, 1562-1574*.

The fourth annual report of Dunbar Rowland, as director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, shows that much has been accomplished during the year in the collection of historical material, and in the arrangement and classification of the archives. In

accordance with the plan outlined in the third report for the publication of official archives, the executive journals of territorial governors Sargent and Claiborne have been edited and printed; these will be noticed at greater length in a subsequent issue.

The leading article in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for July is a valuable contribution, "The Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas", by J. L. Worley. The study is based chiefly upon the diplomatic, consular and domestic correspondence of the Republic of Texas in the State Library at Austin. "John H. Reagan", by Walter F. McCaleb, is a character and biographical sketch of the Confederate Postmaster-General.

An anonymous MS., the author of which has been identified as Elias Pym Fordham, has been brought to light by the Arthur H. Clark Company: *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818*, edited by Frederick Austin Ogg. Fordham was a young Englishman who assisted Morris Birkbeck in establishing his Illinois settlement, and made many journeys in the middle west, land-hunting for new emigrants. The narrative abounds in comments on persons and manners, agriculture, politics, prices, slavery, etc.

Volumes XIX. and XX. of Dr. Thwaites's *Early Western Travels* contain George W. Ogden's "Letters from the West", William Bullock's "Sketch of a Journey through the Western States", and Josiah Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies". Of these the first two are of minor importance, being interesting as accounts of the Ohio valley and Cincinnati about 1825, but the third is a classic, a careful and accurate history of the Santa Fé trade.

*Audubon's Western Journal: 1849-1850* is published for the first time by A. H. Clark Company. John W. Audubon, son of the ornithologist, was a member of Colonel Webb's California expedition, which left New York in February, 1849. With a view to publication he kept a journal of his trip to Texas and through Mexico and Arizona, but the manuscript was never printed. In the present volume are included a biographical memoir by his daughter, Maria A. Audubon, editorial matter by Professor Frank H. Hodder, a map, portrait, and original drawings.

A reprint of Captain Philip Pittman's *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (London, 1770) is put forth by the Arthur H. Clark Company, thus making once more available an authoritative and extremely rare source. The reprint is edited by Professor Frank H. Hodder.

The "Old Northwest" *Genealogical Quarterly* for October, a double number, is devoted to the Granville, Ohio, centennial. The opening article, by Professor F. W. Shepardson, on "The Historic Setting of Granville", should be noted. The remaining contributions are for the

most part of the usual type, reminiscences, biographical sketches, extracts from records, accounts of local churches, etc., etc.

Of most general interest in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October are "Water Highways and Carrying Places", by E. L. Taylor, "The Underground Railroad", by S. S. Knabenshue, and "Early Cincinnati", by Joseph Wilby.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has published a *History of the Ohio Canals*, with particular reference to their construction, cost, use, and partial abandonment. The work was prepared by graduate students of the Ohio State University, C. P. McClelland and C. C. Huntington, under the direction of Professor J. E. Hagerty. Another publication by the same society is *The Serpent Mound, Adams County, Ohio*, a compilation by the secretary, E. O. Randall, giving descriptions of the serpent mound, and summarizing the literature respecting the worship of the serpent.

The contents of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for the "third quarter" (the date of issue is not otherwise indicated, an omission which it would seem desirable to remedy) are not especially noteworthy. A few letters of John Gibson, 1812, acting governor of Indiana Territory, respecting Indian attacks, should be mentioned, as should also a brief account of the "Howe Collection" of books and pamphlets relating to Indiana, in the Indianapolis Public Library.

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan intends to print in several volumes a translation of the papers printed in Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*. Pains are being taken to collate the originals, and it is expected that additional documents will be included.

In the *State Review* for November 4, under the title "A Michigan Library", is an account by Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, of the manuscripts relating to Michigan that he has been engaged in collecting for the last thirty-five years.

The first fruits of the endeavor by the Illinois State Historical Library to make a survey of the county archives within the state appear in the form of *Bulletin No. 1*, a small pamphlet bearing the title *Illinois in the Eighteenth Century* and the subtitle "A Report on the Documents in the St. Clair County Court House, Belleville, Illinois, Illustrating the Early History of the State". The work has been done by Professor Clarence W. Alvord and is careful and thorough. As an archive-report, however, it seems to be less successful than as an account of the early institutions of Illinois. It is undoubtedly desirable to fashion such a work somewhat after the manner of a descriptive bibliography; Mr. Alvord has, however, given a bare list, covering a page and a half, which is rather swallowed up in over thirty pages of history.

*Some Indian Land-Marks of the North Shore* is the title of a small pamphlet printed by the Chicago Historical Society, being an address

delivered before the society by Frank R. Grover. Stone implements, Indian trees, traces of Indian trails, camps and villages, to be found along the lake shore to the north of Chicago are described, and a few photographs are inserted.

The annual meeting of the Wisconsin State Historical Society was held at Madison on November 9. Two sessions were held, that in the afternoon being devoted to business and reports. The report of the superintendent showed an addition in the last year of over 12,500 titles to the library, the estimated strength of which is at present about 272,500 titles. Among the publications of the society now in preparation none will be of more interest and importance than a report on the manuscript collections possessed by the society, which will include mention of important manuscript material to be found in Wisconsin. At the evening session several papers were read: "Historic Sites Around Green Bay", by Arthur C. Neville; "Duluth, the Fur-Trader", by Henry Colin Campbell; "Early Wisconsin Travels Prior to 1800", by Henry E. Legler; and "The Impeachment of Judge Hubbell", by Dr. John B. Sanborn.

*The History of Agriculture in Dane County, Wisconsin*, by Professor Benjamin H. Hibbard, published over a year ago as Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 101, marks a beginning in a new field of American economic history. In Part I. early conditions are described, the immigration of settlers, the purchase of land from the government, the selection of land, the difficulties of early farming, the monopoly of wheat as a crop, and the problem of transportation. In Part II. the transition from simple to complex agriculture is indicated, the history of hops and tobacco growing, and the rise of the dairy industry are treated and consideration is given to the size of farms, land values and density of population.

In the *Thirteenth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Historical Society should be noted a full list of the contents of the eleven volumes of the society's *Collections*.

The October number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a short sketch of Judge Joseph Williams by Edward H. Stiles, and the conclusion of Ida M. Street's article, composed largely of documents, on "The Simon Cameron Indian Commission of 1838". The principal contribution to this number is a lengthy biographical account of Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, by T. J. Fitzpatrick. Rafinesque, who was born in Constantinople in 1783 and died in Philadelphia in 1840, was one of the early investigators in the field of American natural history, whose fame is entirely incommensurate with his services.

"The Early Swedish Immigration to Iowa", by George T. Flom, is the single paper of historical import in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently obtained from Spain a number of transcripts of documents of considerable historical value, and from the National Archives of Cuba two elaborate censuses of St. Louis and its districts, in 1787 and 1791, discovered there by Mr. Luis M. Pérez in the course of his searches on behalf of the Carnegie Institution.

The Historical Department of the University of Oregon is planning a co-operative bibliography of the history of the Northwest.

*Vikings of the Pacific*, by Miss Agnes C. Laut (Macmillan), is a companion volume to her *Pathfinders of the West*. It is biographical in form and deals with the adventures and discoveries of Bering, Gray, Cook, Vancouver, Benyowsky, Drake, and Ledyard.

In the March and June issues of the Oregon Historical Society's *Quarterly* should be noted "The Higher Significance in the Lewis and Clark Expedition", by F. G. Young; "The Story of Lewis and Clark's Journals", by Reuben Gold Thwaites; "Origin of Pacific University", by James R. Robertson; and "The Political Beginnings of Washington Territory", by Thomas W. Prosch. An interesting document commenced in the March number is "Dr. John Scouler's Journal of a Voyage to N. W. America"; Dr. Scouler was ship surgeon on the Hudson Bay Company's vessel "William and Anne" and his journal is from July, 1824, to the early part of 1826.

Principal William I. Marshall of Chicago has recently published a thirty-six page pamphlet, bearing the title *The Hudson's Bay Company's Archives Furnish no Support to the Whitman Saved Oregon Story*, in which "seven pure fictions of the Whitmanites" are set forth and the entire absence of any supporting evidence demonstrated.

We are glad to note that a movement is under foot in California to secure scientific treatment of the public records of the state. A committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, of which Professor C. A. Duniway was chairman, was appointed to investigate the condition of the archives and recommend measures for their preservation. They conferred with the governor and other officials of the state, and after an examination of the records recommended that such of the archives as are mainly of historical value should be placed in the State Library, where they should be arranged, catalogued, and made accessible. It is to be hoped that the legislation necessary to carry out the recommendation of the committee will be effected by the next legislature.

An interesting contribution, not without value, to California history is George Wharton James's *In and About the Old Missions of California* (Little, Brown and Company). A general history of the missions is followed by accounts of individual missions in which history and description are combined. The author does not claim originality for his work except in the chapter on the Indians and their relations to the missions, and in the purely descriptive chapters.

Those who are interested in the history of the Philippines will be glad to learn that the *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, four volumes of which appeared between 1895 and 1898, is to be continued under its former editor, Señor W. E. Retana. The purpose of the work is to publish such original sources as are now inaccessible outside the archives and libraries of Europe, bibliographies relating to the Philippines, and results of research in Philippine history. The fifth volume, which is now in press, will contain documents dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, political and scientific studies by J. Rizal, and a bibliography. It is published by the house of V. Suárez, Madrid.

During the latter part of the year some five volumes relating to the Philippines have appeared. *Our Philippine Policy*, by Henry Parker Willis (Holt), is not historical but is a criticism of the insular policy of the government by a bitter opponent. Two of the volumes are mainly descriptive, but with brief historical accounts: *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, by James A. LeRoy (Putnam's Sons), and *The Philippine Islands*, by Fred W. Atkinson, first general superintendent of education in the Philippines (Ginn and Company). Both are well illustrated and entertainingly written by men familiar with their subjects. The remaining volumes are wholly historical and are designed for school use. *A History of the Philippines*, by David P. Barrows, general superintendent of public instruction (American Book Company), is to serve as an introduction to the study of the history of Malaysia; but a comparatively small part of the 320-page book is devoted to American control. Much the same should be said respecting Prescott F. Jernegan's *A Short History of the Philippines* (Appleton).

Dr. A. G. Doughty's second report as Archivist of the Dominion of Canada will contain a summary of the documents relating to that country in the Depot of Fortifications in Paris; also a very interesting journal of Jean La Roque, written in 1752.

The first publications of the recently organized Champlain Society will be a volume on Seigneurial Tenures and a volume of the Cartwright Papers.

The most recent additions to the "Makers of Canada" series (Toronto, Morang) are *Champlain*, by N. E. Dionne, and *Mackenzie, Selkirk and Simpson*, by Reverend George Bryce.

Volume XII. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society's *Collections* is made up of three biographical sketches by James S. Macdonald: "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax", "Life and Administration of Governor Charles Lawrence", and "Richard Bulkeley". Each is based on original research and is accompanied by a portrait, that of Cornwallis, taken from the only known and recently discovered picture, at Gibraltar, being especially noteworthy.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has published as Bulletin 28 (58 Cong., 3 Sess., Ho. Doc. 477) a volume on *Mexican and Central*

*American Antiquities, Calendar Systems, and History*, a collection of twenty-four papers by Eduard Seler, E. Förstemann, Paul Schellhas, Carl Sapper, and E. P. Dieseldorff, translated from the German under the supervision of Charles P. Bowditch.

A German contribution to South American studies is *Die Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker und ihre Beziehungen zu denen Nordamerikas und der alten Welt*, by P. Ehrenreich (Berlin, A. Asher u. Co.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Bellemo, *Su due Errori nei Viaggi dei Caboto e sul Cosmografo Salvat[ore] de Pilestrine* (Nuovo Archivio Veneto, N. S., Vol. IX., Part 1); Martin I. J. Griffin, *The Commodores of the Navy of the United Colonies: Hopkins, Jones, Barry* (Appleton's Booklovers Magazine, November); C. O. Paullin, *The Administration of the Continental Navy of the American Revolution* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, Volume XXXI.); William MacDonald, *The Fame of Franklin* (Atlantic Monthly, October); Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, *Commodore Biddle's Visit to Japan in 1846* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, September); M. A. De Wolfe Howe, ed., *Letters and Diaries of George Bancroft*, II. *Student Days in Europe*, III. *Paris from 1847 to 1849* (Scribner's Magazine, October, November); Calvin Dill Wilson, *Black Masters: A Side-Light on Slavery* (North American Review, November); Frederick Trevor Hill, *Lincoln the Lawyer*, I. (Century Magazine, December); William Garrott Brown, *The Tenth Decade of the United States*, V: *Andrew Johnson and "My Policy"* (Atlantic, December); Frederick E. Snow, *Unpublished Letters of Horace Greeley* (Independent, October 19); Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, II. (McClure's Magazine, December); Joseph Schäfer, *Sources of Northwestern History* (Library Journal, October); Melvin G. Dodge, *California as a Place of Residence for the Scholar* (Library Journal, October); Bryan J. Clinch, *The Destruction of the California Missions* (The American Catholic Quarterly Review, October); W. E. Retana, *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal* (Nuestro Tiempo, November); G. O. Bent, *The Dutch Conquest of Acadia* (Acadiensis, October); A. McF. Davis, *Emergent Treasury-Supply in Massachusetts in Early Days* (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, N. S., XVII, 1).

The  
**American Historical Review**

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSO-  
CIATION AT BALTIMORE

IT is the established practice of the American Historical Association to hold its annual meeting one year in an eastern city, one year in a western city, and the third year in Washington, which, according to the charter, is the official headquarters. Now that East and West have come to be terms of such dubious import, it may be well to explain that the geographical centre of the membership is nearly at Pittsburgh, so that eastern must be taken to mean farther east, western farther west, than that town. Since Baltimore, so near the Capital, would run little chance of being selected as the meeting-place of a year immediately after a Washington meeting, and since many annual meetings have been held in the latter city and none in Baltimore, it was agreed that the meeting of December, 1905, normally a Washington meeting, should be held chiefly in Baltimore, with a supplementary session in Washington. The American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, instituted two years ago, and the still newer Bibliographical Society of America also held their annual meetings in Baltimore at the same time.

The hospitality for which Baltimore has long been noted was abundantly manifested, both in the social entertainments themselves and in the careful preparations which had been made beforehand for the comfort and convenience of the guests by the local committee of arrangements, and especially by Mr. Theodore Marburg, its chairman, and by Professor John M. Vincent of the Johns Hopkins University, chairman of the committee on programme. There was a reception of the gentlemen of the associations at the house of Mr. Theodore Marburg, and at the same hours a reception of the ladies at the house of the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America; a "smoker" on the next evening, and simultaneously



another reception of ladies, by Mrs. William M. Ellicott, at the Arundell Club; and on one afternoon Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte threw open her very interesting house to the ladies. If it was possible for any of the ladies, members of the Association, to feel regret that its unity should be lessened at these meetings by the provision of so many occasions for their separate entertainment, doubtless they felt compensated by the unusual grace and kindness with which they were entertained. All the members were entertained at luncheon by the Johns Hopkins University on the first day, by the Bishop of Maryland and Mrs. Paret on the second, and by the Washington members, at the Library of Congress, on the third.

Nearly all the sessions in Baltimore were held at the university, and chiefly in McCoy Hall, an agreeable and commodious place. The evils attendant upon divers meeting-places and city travel were thus minimized. The business session was held in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society, on Thursday afternoon. On Friday morning a special train conveyed the members to Washington by way of Annapolis, where Governor Warfield received them in the historic senate-chamber of the old State House, and where the United States Naval Academy was also visited. The number of registrations was two hundred and seventy-six, a number even greater than at the Chicago meeting, and it may be presumed that in respect to attendance of members the twenty-first annual meeting was the most successful ever held. Its programme was also of high excellence.

The number of formal papers presented was, to advantage, made less than usual. But this advantage was more than neutralized by the indifference with which nearly all the readers of papers regarded that rule of the Association which limits papers to twenty minutes. The length of some was nearer to forty minutes than to twenty—a gross abuse of the notorious patience and amiability of the profession.

Good as several of the papers were, and large as was the general audience which they elicited, it seems probable that the four round-table conferences awakened a keener interest on the part of the members. These conferences were organized on much the same plan which was so successful last year at Chicago; but it was an improvement that only two were held at the same time. Actual joint sessions with the American Economic Association were not attempted. The first evening (Tuesday, December 26) was devoted to a joint session of the American Historical and the American Political Science Association.

On this occasion, after an address of welcome by President Ira

Remsen of the Johns Hopkins University, presidential addresses were delivered by Professor Frank J. Goodnow of Columbia University, president of the American Political Science Association, and by Professor John B. McMaster of the University of Pennsylvania, president of the American Historical Association. Professor Goodnow's subject was "The Growth of Executive Discretion." One of the marked characteristics of the Anglo-American governmental system, he pointed out, has been the subjection of executive discretion to judicial control. The tendency of late years has, however, been toward recognizing greater independence on the part of executive and administrative officers; and this tendency is evidenced and recognized by many decisions of the highest courts. Mr. Goodnow devoted his address mainly to the discussion of the reasons for this departure from principles once deemed fundamental, and for the resulting approach of our law toward that of Continental Europe in this particular. He found the cause in those social and economic changes which have transformed the United States, since our constitutions were first adopted, from a country marked by the conditions of a simple rural life into one characterized by the complex urban and industrial life of the modern day. Under the former circumstances great reliance could safely be placed in individual effort; present conditions demand a great increase of effective social control. Immediate action, necessary to effective social control, requires the increase of executive discretion, at the expense of judicial control. The extension of the sphere of executive discretion is not to be deplored as a departure from the faith of the fathers, but rather to be accepted as evidence that we are conscious of changing social conditions and are striving to bring our law into harmony therewith. But this extension, it was pointed out, requires increased regard to character and efficiency in the choice of administrative officials, that they may occupy a position similar to that which by universal consent has been accorded to those occupied with the administration of justice.

The theme of Professor McMaster's presidential address was "Old Standards of Public Morals." Its text will be found on a later page of the present number of this journal (pp. 515 *et seqq.*).

Wednesday morning's session was devoted to the reading of papers in American, and largely in Southern, history. Professor St. George L. Sioussat of the University of the South read the first paper, entitled "Virginia and the English Colonial System, 1730-1735." Mr. Sioussat laid stress upon the close relation between the history of the colonies and that of Great Britain, and as an illustration of the effect of that relation upon the colonial system

discussed Walpole's bill for placing an excise upon tobacco. This bill was introduced by the ministry as a means of relieving the Virginia planters. The characteristic economy of Virginia gave rather the appearance than the substance of wealth. The planters were much in debt to English merchants; the illegal trade gave to many an unfair advantage; over-production, especially of poor tobacco, was another evil. Successful regulation of the quantity and quality of the crop could not be effected without co-operation on the part of Maryland. What Virginia could do to help itself, however, it did; the act of 1730 provided for inspection, inflicted penalties for illegal shipping, and supplied a system of tobacco-notes. This was not sufficient, however. A report of the legislature printed at Williamsburg in 1732, entitled *The Case of the Planters of Tobacco*, protested against the practices of English merchants and urged among other remedies the levying of an excise tax upon tobacco. Its proposals were embodied by Walpole in the excise bill which he laid before Parliament; this bill provided for the removal of the customs-duties, substituting an internal revenue tax on tobacco in royal warehouses. The opposition, led by the representatives of the London merchants, charged that the representation of the Virginia legislature had been procured by the ministry. Whether this was the case or not is not known. Parliament was prorogued before the bill was passed, but the fact that a bill had been introduced ostensibly emanating from the legislature of Virginia at least revealed a willingness on the part of the ministry to give ear to the colonial grievances against the London merchants.

Professor Charles Lee Raper of the University of North Carolina read a brief address on the subject, "Why North Carolina at First Refused to Ratify the Federal Constitution." He explained the grounds of objection as lying in the centralized form of the new instrument; the power which it gave to the federal government over elections, taxes, and justice; and the extent to which its provisions ran counter to those notions of popular sovereignty and freedom of self-government which North-Carolinians had long been accustomed to regard as fundamental, and to the individualism of their character.

The third paper of the session was by Professor W. A. Dunning of Columbia University: "The Second Birth of the Republican Party." Despite the popular conception the serious student cannot agree that the Republican party has had an unbroken existence of fifty years. When in 1860 the Republican party won its first great national victory, it was heterogeneous, agreed only on slavery. Party lines, at first broken up by the war, reappeared after a year

of fighting and the employment of war powers by the administration. The supporters of the administration avoided resort to the name and traditions of the Republican party, while its opponents called themselves Democrats. It became necessary to form a new party, whose platform should be the maintenance of the Union. The Union party, formed at the Baltimore convention of 1864, had no continuity with the old Republican party. It was composed of all parties, but was more than a temporary fusion; it was distinctly a new party. The Democrats, however, resenting the appropriation of the name Union by their opponents, insisted on calling them Republicans, and in some local organizations the old title was retained. These connections were merely nominal, however. It was the Union party that was victorious in 1864, and secured the successful conclusion of the war and the abolition of slavery by constitutional amendment. Unprepared for Reconstruction, however, the new party soon developed a line of cleavage, and appeared divided into conservatives and radicals; the latter, at first in the minority, profited by Johnson's lack of tact, and by 1866 controlled the party machinery. Adopting negro suffrage as a national issue, the radical element won a striking victory in the elections, and the movement to nationalize the Union party along conservative lines failed. The conservatives went into the Democratic party, or joined the radicals, thus modifying somewhat their extreme tendencies. The term Republican came again into use; in 1868 the title National Union Republican party was adopted; in 1872 the word Union was dropped and a continuity of existence from 1860 was claimed.

The final paper, by Professor R. C. H. Catterall of Cornell University, "A French Diplomat and the Treaty with Spain, 1819," was a study of the part played by Hyde de Neuville, minister of France at Washington, in securing a peaceful settlement of the disputed issues between the United States and Spain. It is well known that such a solution was not expected by John Quincy Adams; the Spanish-American revolt, the determination of the United States to secure Florida, and the dead-lock over the Louisiana boundary all combined to make a resort to arms most probable. Hyde de Neuville was instructed to use his efforts to maintain peace; he realized that his course was to persuade Spain to yield the Floridas for what she could get in the settlement of the Louisiana boundary. His first opportunity to prevent war came in the fall of 1817, when he supported Adams in his opposition to Monroe's desire to recognize Buenos Ayres. When in January of the next year Great Britain's offer of her services in negotiating the cession of Florida was declined by the United States, Hyde took the matter up with

the Spanish minister; finding that Spain was willing to cede the Floridas, he urged an accommodation of the Louisiana boundary. Jackson's seizure of Pensacola gave him an opportunity of direct intervention. Adams refused to disavow Jackson's act, and desired the French minister to secure a proposal from Spain; this he did, and then, acting as mediator, continued the negotiation until a compromise had been effected. It is safe to say that without the services of Hyde de Neuville the treaty of 1819 could not have been secured.

The afternoon of Wednesday (there was no session in the evening) was given up to conferences and sessions of committees. Of the two conferences, the more numerously attended was that on History in Elementary Schools, while the other was occupied with topics in Church History. In the former the proceedings consisted of the reading of a preliminary and partial report of the Committee of Eight, appointed a year ago to consider a course of history for elementary schools, and of a discussion based upon the report. Both report and discussion were limited to a consideration of the work of the last four years of the grammar grades.

The chairman of the meeting, Professor James A. James of Northwestern University, chairman of the Committee of Eight, traced the steps leading to the appointment of that committee, noting the reports on history in elementary schools presented in the Madison Conference of 1892, and Miss Salmon's report on the same subject in the second appendix to the *Report of the Committee of Seven*. The programmes of historical courses in elementary schools presented in these two reports are the only ones hitherto drawn up by national organizations.

In presenting the formal report for the committee, Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University said that historical instruction in the grammar grades should bear exclusively upon American history. The subject-matter should be subdivided into periods and treated in chronological order. Our conception of the scope of American history is by no means to be confined to the period after 1492 and the territory west of the Atlantic and east of the Pacific. It as truly includes a history of European events as does that of any European people. This is true not only of the period of origins but also of the later periods. In brief, the problem of the teacher is to explain the American world, not to tell merely what has happened in America. The chronological order should be followed, since facts lose none of their value by this arrangement, and the present rests upon the past. The fifth grade should be taught the place of exploration and discoveries in the world as

a whole; the sixth grade the story of settlement and growth to 1763; the seventh grade the period of revolution until the Spanish colonies won their freedom and both North and South America were politically independent; the eighth grade the period from about 1820 to 1906.

The work of the fifth grade presents serious but not insuperable problems. In his work in geography and language the child receives ideas of the world. History should strengthen the impressions thus gained; but it has not always done this. Thus in his study of literature he is taught to look upon England as a country to which we owe a great debt, whereas from history he generally receives a different impression.

Professor Bourne then showed in detail how the plan might be carried out. By means of stories, for instance, the children can be given an idea of the various countries of Europe, the characteristic features of their civilization, and their relative importance.

Miss Mabel Hill, of the Lowell Normal School, approved the plan both psychologically and pedagogically. The chronological order is to be commended. The proposed syllabus has a logical sequence and presents a view of history that is without narrowness or prejudice. It is desirable that children should be taught the story not only of the Reformation but of the Counter-Reformation and the work of the Jesuits; the contributions of pagan nations to civilization; the influences, other than human, which have affected the history of the race; and other countries, both geographically and historically, as well as our own.

Mr. Henry Johnson, of the State Normal School of Charleston, Illinois, believed the suggested plan to be practicable, and was pleased by the enlarged conception of American history. But he questioned whether the field should be limited to American history; whether the capacity of the children in the grammar grades was fully understood; and whether there was not an impression that history could not be presented to the children as history. The problem is what kind of history can be brought within the cultivated intelligence of children. As early as the fourth grade, it is possible to arouse an interest in history proper and in questions of historical evidence. The fifth grade can read such documents as the Rule of St. Benedict and Einhard's Life of Charlemagne. The sixth grade had voted Petrarch more interesting than Froissart; the seventh grade can read enough of colonial charters to correct statements in the text-books. Whatever the period and the countries selected by the committee, the report should estab-

lish a definite relation between history in schools and history in histories.

Dr. Tolson of Baltimore, while in general agreement with the report, considered the outline for the fifth grade too comprehensive to be entirely satisfactory, and thought that the course was overcrowded.

In the discussion that followed a number of speakers took part. Dr. James Sullivan of New York City and President Ward of the Western Maryland State Normal School spoke in favor of the report. The chief adverse criticisms were that the course as presented was overcrowded; that it lacked real historical unity; and that teachers in some sections of the country at least were not sufficiently well equipped to make its adoption practicable. Other speakers especially commended the division of the subject-matter. Professor Fling of Nebraska believed that it is customary to underestimate what grammar and high-school pupils can do in weighing historical evidence.

Professor Bourne indorsed story-work because in it English and history go together. History should be fastened to stories already familiar and to geography. As to overcrowding, the proposed course sounded more crowded than it was, but the intention was to give plenty of material for selection.

At the Church History Conference, of which Professor Williston Walker of New Haven was chairman, there was an attendance of about thirty, mainly composed of theological instructors and visiting clergymen. The programme, which had been planned to satisfy a variety of interests, was successful in engaging attention and provoking discussion. The conference opened with a paper by Professor A. C. McGiffert of Union Theological Seminary, on the "Rise of the Modern Conception of Divine Immanence." Although a few of the hearers were tempted to discuss the bearing of the conception on certain doctrines of the Church, the address was a purely historical exposition of the influences co-operating to give dominance to the idea of divine immanence. The factors in the process were presented as Pietism, the growth of the idea of evolution since Leibnitz, Herder's reconception of Spinoza's monism, and the influence of the romantic movement.

The second contribution to the conference was a plea by Dr. J. C. Ayer, jr., of the Philadelphia Divinity School, for a source-book to aid in the teaching of church history. This was an admirable statement of the needs to be met in the actual conditions of church-history classes, and its precise conception of the book desired will be read with interest in the full report of the proceedings.

Professor Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, brought before the conference for discussion a statement on the publication of materials for American church history, suggested by the remarks of Professor Shailer Mathews in the conference of the preceding year. Dr. Richardson based his opening remarks on a search, which did not pretend to be exhaustive but was certainly suggestive in its results, for instances in the last five years of the publication of manuscripts of the sort which formed the theme of his paper. He showed that there had been, in books and journals, a not inconsiderable amount of documentary publication; that the Protestant theological seminaries had had very little hand in this, and as for systematic attention to the matter had been doing practically nothing; and that a greater amount of good work, in the way of publication of materials for American church history, was being done by the Catholics and the Jews than by all the Protestant denominations put together. Without attempting to enumerate the materials awaiting publication, he specified their leading classes and by instances exhibited their interest. Next he addressed himself to the question, what could be done. Obviously the theological seminaries are in a better position to do work of this sort than any other existing agencies. They can work through their graduates to gather materials, can sometimes utilize their postgraduate students for editing, can in some cases use their journals as organs of publication, and through their financial agents can easily secure funds for so plainly appropriate a line of endeavor. Taking up the question how the seminaries shall be stirred up to this task, and how induced to persevere in it, the speaker laid the responsibility on the American Historical Association, as heir of the American Society of Church History; and suggested organic provisions in its system whereby it could accomplish the work. It may be mentioned that, pending such action, the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution has undertaken, in a manner described on a later page, to lay the necessary foundation for such activity in documentary publication, by whatever agency attempted. It is hoped that it will thereby afford a strong stimulus toward its inception.

The exercises of Thursday morning, like those of Wednesday afternoon, consisted of two conferences, in this case occupied respectively with History in the College Curriculum and with the Problems of State and Local Historical Societies. In opening the former, its chairman, Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard University, said that, of all the questions that concern the college teacher of history, none is of greater importance than that of the first year of college work. Its importance is recent; for when history was in-



troduced into the college curriculum, twenty or twenty-five years ago, it came in at the top and slowly worked down into the sophomore and freshman years. With this change in the position of history in the curriculum, new problems arise, for the younger student has to be taught college methods of work; college teaching is brought into relation with the teaching of history in schools; and the problem of handling larger classes has also to be met. Various conditions in the different colleges give rise to different problems. Since the matter is still largely in the experimental stage, it has seemed desirable that teachers representing different types of colleges and of methods should come together to exchange experiences.

The introductory course in history at Harvard is mainly taken by freshmen; it deals with the Middle Ages and primarily with the Continent. The lectures aim at explaining, connecting, enlarging, and vitalizing the facts gained from the prescribed reading. The reading is in weekly instalments of from seventy-five to one hundred pages; and is tested in the weekly meetings of the sections, where there are brief papers, discussions, and map exercises. At regular intervals each student also meets his assistant for individual conference. Source-books are regularly used.

Professor O. H. Richardson described the introductory course at Yale, which gives a general survey of Continental European history from the fall of Rome to 1870. The class is divided into sections of less than forty. A syllabus forms the basis of the work, and there are daily quizzes, short written tests at least once a week, and examinations of students' note-books. An important and successful feature of the work is the training in knowledge of books which comes through bibliographical exercises, directed through personal interviews. Collateral reading in compendiums and standard works is carried on throughout the year; the majority of the instructors believe that the source-method is available to only a small extent in a course of this kind.

In the absence of Miss Salmon, the paper that she had prepared was read by Miss Ellery of Vassar College. The purpose of the first year's work in history at Vassar is to teach the technique of the subject by giving students a knowledge of books on the mechanical side, and showing them how to get at historical material and present it; to teach them how to think historically by giving them a bird's-eye view of the history of Western Europe from the fall of Rome, and an idea of historical perspective and of the unity of history; and to arouse an interest in the subject. There are personal conferences and illustrated lectures. The class is divided into sections of twenty-five students each. Formal lectures and formal essays are avoided.

The effort is to make the student independent and to create a basis for the later elective work.

Professor Frank M. Anderson of the University of Minnesota brought out the point that the character of the first year's course should be determined by the preparation of the students; and that there ought to be two or more courses to meet different needs, so that preparatory work would receive the recognition that it ought to receive. At Minnesota two courses are offered: one (13 B. C.-1500 A. D.) for those who have previously had one year of history or less; the other on English constitutional history for those who have had two years or more. No broader field should be traversed. The day of the old general course in history is ended in the high-schools and should be ended in the colleges. All or a large part of the work should be done in small classes. In the first course strong emphasis should be laid on training and preparation for more advanced courses; and documents should be critically studied as evidence.

Mr. Hiram Bingham explained how the preceptorial system recently introduced into the methods of instruction at Princeton had been applied to the teaching of history. The plan, which required an increase of one-half in the teaching force, aims to bring the student into sympathetic personal contact with the preceptor. Each course is conducted by a professor who lectures twice a week; and in addition there are small conferences held two or three times weekly at which four or five men meet and report to their preceptor. What the average undergraduate needs is more reading, and to be kept at work by a live discussion of what is read. The relations with the preceptor are those of friendship. The preceptor can debar any man from taking an examination but gives no mark. The system is flexible and adaptable. The preceptor is not a coach, nor a quiz-master. He should see that the student has been working, but chiefly he should make it his endeavor to arouse and establish a strong and healthy interest in intellectual matters.

Professor Fling of the University of Nebraska spoke of the distinguishing characteristics of the work there, especially in the department of European history. Much emphasis is laid on method-work. In the first year, the attempt is made to teach the method by which historical truth is arrived at, since the man is not a scholar who knows results but does not know how the knowledge is obtained.

Professor Morse Stephens deprecated the attack on the formal lecture; its excellence or lack of it depends on the lecturer. The more formal and careful the lecture is, the better. Perhaps the most

important work is with the freshmen, and the most experienced professors should have charge of this work. The attack upon the system of having all the men together in one class was also deprecated. In the large courses students come to know their classmates; they can be taught a point of view, not facts. A stimulation comes from being in a crowd; clergymen do not divide their congregations into sections. But section-work should be used as a supplement. English history is perhaps the best to begin with; although the students do not learn much about English history, they deal with various kinds of historical material, and learn to know the documents and the different sources of authority. What we have to do with the freshmen mainly is to expel the school-boy and give the freshman the nature of the thinking man. It matters little what subject is taught—the end is the same.

Professor Farrand of Leland Stanford University said that students at that institution are given a practical library course; combined with this is work on simple problems of historical criticism, which is at first confined to text-books. Professor Fay of Dartmouth College spoke in favor of the syllabus as an aid in keeping the various sections together in their work. Professor Trenholme of the University of Missouri believed in the formal lecture if the lecturer were worth hearing. If the lecture did not prove attractive, class discussion might well take its place. There is danger of making the teacher of history too mechanical through the elaboration of machinery. Other speakers were Dr. Fite of Harvard, Mrs. Abbe of New York, Dr. Sullivan of the New York Commercial High School, Professor Brown of New York University, and Dr. Shepherd of Baltimore.

In summing up the results of the conference, Professor Haskins called attention to the very slight emphasis that had been placed upon the subject studied. The matter of greater interest was that pupils should learn something about studying history. But the subject chosen must be neither too large, nor too small. As to how students should be introduced to the subject, the speakers were not in agreement; but students vary greatly in preparation and ability, and the course must be adaptable so that it will hit all, and so that the better students may be encouraged to do more than the others. The net result of the conference is that we must get the interest of the students and teach them how to study. Ways must differ, and fields of study must differ.

The fourth of the conferences, which occurred at the same time with the one last mentioned, was devoted to the Problems of State and Local Historical Societies. Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh

of the State University of Iowa presided; Mr. Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society acted as secretary. Problems of co-operation were first considered. Mr. William O. Scroggs of Cambridge, Mass., read a paper on the relation of the college chair or department of American history to the work of historical societies. He had sent out systematic inquiries as to these relations, intended to collect information from the societies as to the aid which they rendered to the work of instruction in the neighboring colleges, as to contributions by professors and college students to the proceedings of the societies, as to assistance by them in the editing of publications, and as to definite efforts to recruit the membership of the societies from among the collegians. The result of the inquiries was to show the existence of little more than relations of general friendliness, though these took a wide variety of forms. The speaker urged the maintenance of a broader view on the part of the societies, and more serious efforts to enlist the members of colleges and universities in their work.

Another phase of co-operative activity was illustrated in a paper on the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies by Mr. S. P. Heilman of Heilman Dale, secretary of the federation. There are thirty-six historical societies in the state. An act of the legislature allows the county commissioners of each county to appropriate two hundred dollars to the county historical society, but hardly a third of the counties in the state have such organizations. The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies was formed at Harrisburg on January 5, 1905, with a view to encouraging the formation of local historical societies, to promoting research into Pennsylvania history, to the preparation of check-lists for a complete bibliography of the commonwealth by a combination of local or county bibliographies, to mutual communication of information as to what each society is doing, and to the keeping of lists of historical workers. The federation began with thirteen of the historical societies of the state, but now embraces twenty-three. Two counties, Lancaster and Tioga, have made lists of all publications printed within their territory. The meeting of January 4, 1906, will better define the possible scope of such a federation; and obviously in the extension of such a system to other states regard would need to be paid to the great variety exhibited in the organization of American historical societies and particularly in their relations to the state governments.

On behalf of a subcommittee of the General Committee, appointed a year ago to make a systematic report on the organization and methods of work appropriate to or employed by state and local historical societies—a subcommittee consisting of Dr. Reuben G.

Thwaites of Wisconsin, Professor Shambaugh of Iowa, and Professor Franklin L. Riley of the University of Mississippi, Dr. Thwaites presented parts of their report, the whole of which is to be printed in the *Annual Report* of the Association. The questionnaires which were sent out by the subcommittee asked the societies to report as to their date of organization, the number of their members, the value of their buildings, the amount of their income and of their endowments, and the number of volumes contained in their libraries. It proved difficult to obtain information from some of the societies, especially in the East. Replies had, however, been received from nineteen national, eight sectional, sixty-two state, and one hundred and six local societies. (It is understood that there are somewhat more than four hundred historical societies in the United States.) The inquiries extended to societies privately endowed or sustained by the dues of members, to state historical departments and commissions, to the relations of these to the societies, and to the various forms of organization prevalent in both sorts of institutions.

Dr. Thwaites discussed to some extent the relative merits of the Alabama plan, somewhat too sweepingly commended by the Association last year; of the plan followed in Wisconsin, namely, resting on a state society; and of the compromise adopted in Iowa, which combines features of the departmental and of the societary régime. His report also entered into the relations of the societies to the state universities, and the functions of the former with respect to publication and research. In the latter particular he urged better printing and especially better editing. It was mentioned that the State Historical Society of Wisconsin expected to have ready in about a month an index to its manuscript materials, and that this publication would embrace information regarding historical manuscript material to be found elsewhere in the Upper Mississippi Basin.

Professor U. B. Phillips of the University of Wisconsin spoke briefly on documentary collections in the old states of the South. He went over in general terms the material possessed by the Georgia Historical Society and various private holders in Georgia, that possessed by the state of South Carolina at Columbia, and the rich colonial material at Charleston, instancing particularly the remarkable set of newspapers at the Charleston Library, the interesting plantation records of St. John's Berkeley, and the numerous collections of pamphlets within the state. He dealt similarly with the chief repositories in Virginia, and dwelt on some of the encouraging features in the present situation with respect to historical material in the South. He especially urged the paying of proper attention

to the collection and preservation of first-hand material for the industrial history of that section.

Mr. Dunbar Rowland, archivist of Mississippi, described the Spanish archives of the Natchez district. These are the records of the Spanish occupation, covering the years 1781-1798. They are bound in forty-one volumes and consist of royal orders and decrees, proclamations, papers emanating from the governor-general at New Orleans and the local governor and military commander, legal papers, such as court proceedings, depositions, wills, deeds, etc., and a quantity of letters. They were recently rediscovered in the office of the chancery clerk of Adams County, where they had remained for nearly a century, and have been temporarily transferred to the Department of Archives and History at Jackson, where they are being copied.

The discussion which followed these papers was participated in by the chairman of the meeting, by Mr. J. Alston Cabell of Richmond, Virginia, speaking on behalf of such organizations as the Virginia Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The latter dwelt especially on the desire of his department to be useful to state and local historical societies and to promote co-operation among them. As one step in this direction, it has undertaken the preparation of lists of documents from European archives, relating to American history, which have been printed or of which transcripts exist in the United States. These, especially in the case of the French and Spanish documents, will help to keep societies, especially those of the West, from duplicating each other's work in the printing of material or the procuring of transcripts.

The business meeting of the Association, held on Thursday afternoon, was preceded by the reading of a paper on Avalon and the Colonial Projects of George Calvert. The mingling of historical papers and the transactions of the business meeting is a doubtful innovation; but the fact that the paper was read in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society made it possible to enhance its interest by the exhibition of original documents illustrating the story. The writer, Professor Bernard C. Steiner of Johns Hopkins University, related Calvert's early history, described the purchase of Avalon, narrated the subsequent history of the unfortunate experiment, and set forth the relation it bore to Calvert's greater and more fruitful endeavors in the foundation of the province of Maryland.

It seems most suitable to defer till the close of this article the

narrative of the business meeting, and to proceed with the literary exercises till their termination.

The fifth session was held on Thursday evening and was devoted to European history. Professor E. P. Cheyney read a paper on the England of our Earliest American Forefathers, treating of the lacunae in our knowledge of the period and of the opportunities for further investigation. The period of English history that is of most significance to Americans is the period from 1580 to 1660, which covered the adult life of the whole body of early emigrants, the transplanted to America of English institutions. No detailed history of England covers this period, or if any, it is to deal mainly with its contentions. But when the dissatisfied element left England they left these disputes behind them, and took with them the practical capacity to govern. It is the regular forms of regular government that we need to know about, and especially the forms of local government. Again, neither the organization and personnel of the Church of England nor the social history of the time has been dealt with adequately. The existence or non-existence of historical works depends upon the documents available. The history of local political institutions could be studied from material already in print, though much of it is widely scattered. The fine body of national records in the Public Record Office is mostly classified, and full calendars of the State Papers to the number of some three hundred volumes are in print. But three or four volumes for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are issued for one volume of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; pressure should be brought to bear upon the authorities of the Record Office to print the calendars for these later centuries. Professor Cheyney's paper, mainly a plea for a more methodical, scholarly, and detailed study of the period from 1580 to 1660, with exposition of the means, may be expected to appear in a modified form in the July number of the REVIEW.

Colonel W. R. Livermore explained his project of a new historical atlas of Europe, and exhibited a considerable number of his maps. The main peculiarity of this atlas is that, except in the ancient period, it presents a map for every decade.

The third topic treated at this session was Recent Tendencies in the Study of the French Revolution. Professor J. H. Robinson of Columbia University read the paper, which was afterward discussed by Professor H. Morse Stephens and Professor F. M. Fling. Professor Robinson's paper appears in this number of the REVIEW.

Professor Morse Stephens said that in times past he had exaggerated enormously the importance of the French Revolution, which closed an old epoch rather than opened a new. Napoleon was the

last in the series of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century. If Europe be studied as a whole, as it should be, the French Revolution is seen to be an episode in which some things were done in France that had already been done in other countries by great rulers. There was not a single completed reform of the period of the French Revolution which was not completed in some other country first.

Professor Flinck, while believing that much that Professor Stephens had said was true, thought that it was not the whole truth, and that the French Revolution was not a simple imitation. The work of the last fifteen or twenty years marks an era in the study of the French Revolution. Aulard and others realized that the foundation for the study of the French Revolution was not laid. Thorough monographic work must be done and this is just being begun. The old school did not know what thorough investigation means. Aulard is on the dividing line. Young men of the new school are now doing monographic work like that done in the history of Greece and Rome and the Middle Ages. The revolutionary movement in the provinces is being related to the rest of the movement. The French have displaced the Germans in the historical world and now hold the primacy.

The papers of the last session, held on Friday afternoon at Washington, were read in one of the rooms of the Library of Congress. In a neighboring room Mr. Worthington C. Ford, chief of the Division of Manuscripts, had arranged a most interesting exhibition of historical documents, of great variety and often of the utmost individual significance, selected from the rich stores which are now in his custody and to which he is making such striking and numerous additions.

Before the reading of formal papers Professor Morse Stephens gave an interesting account of the H. H. Bancroft Library of printed and manuscript material, of its acquisition by the University of California, and of the value which it will have for the state and the university.

Dr. James Schouler's paper on the Authorship of the Monroe Doctrine was a defense of President Monroe personally against recent disparaging statements which ascribe the true authorship and inspiration to John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State. Adams himself made no such claim, and the evidence adduced from his posthumous drafts fails to establish it. On the contrary, President Monroe, though slow and patient in reaching conclusions, was in all respects a wise, capable, and far-sighted executive and took courageously all the responsibilities of his long



and eventful administration. Even supposing that phrases in his message of 1823 were suggested by others, he should have the just credit of flinging the bold challenge to Europe upon his executive responsibility.

Dr. Schouler examined Monroe's published correspondence for 1823 in connection with Adams's Diary, to show that he took here his own initiative and pursued it so as to defeat the schemes of the Holy Alliance. Before Rush's famous despatches arrived he is seen in this correspondence meditating a new pronouncement for American liberty. These despatches, when received, he promptly submitted to Ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison for advice, before consulting his cabinet; and in Jefferson's famous reply the whole scheme of what we call the Monroe Doctrine is fully set forth by suggestion.

Monroe dealt with the projected European invasion as thus advised, except, as he explained to Jefferson in December, that he considered it more conciliatory to the Allies and more effective for our own country to make the warning pronouncement in his message to Congress, instead of concerting a joint protest with Canning and Great Britain. This master-stroke in dealing with the crisis appears to have been Monroe's own idea; and it was the stand itself against foreign interference in this continent, rather than the mere phrasing of the message, which impressed Europe and baffled the intended invasion.

Mr. William R. Thayer of Cambridge, Massachusetts, read a paper entitled "American Holidays in their Relation to American History". Adverting to the importance which holidays may have as emphasizing events of structural importance, and to the use that may be made of them in stimulating enlightened patriotism, he suggested a more systematic series than is now employed by most states. Liberty, independence, and union ought all alike to be commemorated, not independence alone. April 19, now celebrated in Massachusetts, should be called Liberty Day. May 30 should be the holiday of Union, our feast of patriotism February 22. October 12 should be added as Columbus Day. Ascribing to the Pilgrims the establishment of religious freedom and tolerance, Mr. Thayer advocated the use of Thanksgiving to commemorate those blessings, while the *entente cordiale* of the English and American nations might be symbolized by making a holiday of February 12, the birthday, in 1809, of both Lincoln and Darwin.

Dr. James K. Hosmer's paper on the Theatre and the Combatants of the Civil War was a summary of the conditions under which the war was waged, and a brief statement of the relative

strength, qualitative as well as quantitative, of the two sides. He defined the area of the war, described its relations to the Appalachians, and showed how the unusually diversified character of the territory involved gave opportunity for every possible kind of warfare and taxed the resources of commanders to their utmost. The differences in number of population, degree of homogeneity, and industrial character were next adverted upon; then the relations of slave labor to military resources in the South, and the compensating of its smaller numbers by greater initial military efficiency.

Finally, Mr. William Garrott Brown read a paper on Personal Force in American History. Passing in review the great names of our last hundred and thirty years, he showed how widely in many instances the popular estimate of them differs from that put forward by the closet historian. Though there is a large illogical element in the remembrance which the mass entertains for its great men, so that the one is taken and the other left, he urged that at least one element in greatness is the power to seize upon the affections of living men and to impress their imaginations. The abiding multitude repeats largely the estimates formed by the shifting multitude of the day. While there may be no principle or formula to explain the wide divergence of popular fame from historical repute among the intellectual, yet we may be warranted in suspecting that popular fame should be more fully taken into account, and that from it suggestions may be derived which shall help toward broader estimates of the great, and toward more catholic standards of greatness.

No member could have sat through the business meeting of Thursday afternoon without being deeply impressed by the multi-fold activities of the society, the energy and fidelity with which they are being prosecuted, and the great amount which the Association is accomplishing for the cause of history. The first document read was the report of the Executive Council. It appeared that appropriations of about the usual amount had been made to the work of the various agencies of the Association. The Council also reported that it approved of the continuance of the conference on the work of state and local historical societies, and had appointed as its chairman and secretary for the ensuing year Professor Shambaugh and Mr. Severance respectively.

The treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, was unable to be present; this is believed to have been the first meeting that he has missed since the organization of the Association in 1884. His report showed the usual increase in material prosperity. The receipts for the year had been rather more than \$8,000, the expendi-

tures somewhat less than \$7,300. The assets of the society had increased by \$757, and now stood at the handsome figure of \$23,235. The secretary reported that the total enrolled membership was 2,394, and that 125 other persons had been duly nominated and elected, but had not yet qualified.

Professor Edward G. Bourne, chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, reported that the expected volume of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, to be edited by Professor George P. Garrison, would hardly be ready for insertion in the *Annual Report* for 1905. It may be expected that these papers will appear in the next report, that of 1906. In response to various requests for some sort of code of rules or suggestions for the printing of manuscript materials for American history, which might help inexperienced editors and aid in producing a greater degree of uniformity, the Commission presented (and has since printed for separate distribution) a body of simple rules of this sort. Professor Bourne feeling unable to continue as chairman of this Commission, a reorganization was effected. The chairmanship passes to Professor Jameson, who held it during the first four years of the Commission's existence. Such work as it has done in the way of collecting information respecting manuscript historical materials in private hands can now be appropriately carried on, indeed is being continuously carried on, by the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution, especially by Mr. Waldo G. Leland. In respect to documentary publication the Commission's activity will hereafter (after the issue of the Texan volume) be confined to dealing with materials of national, not local, scope, which are in private hands, are unlikely to be transferred to well-appointed public repositories, and are therefore subjected to the chance of destruction. Thus it takes to itself a definite field, not occupied by other existing agencies of publication.

The Public Archives Commission reported that the forthcoming volume of the Association would include reports on the archives of Michigan and Wisconsin, on the French archives of Illinois, supplementary information on the local records of Georgia, and something on the state archive commissions. The Commission will probably hereafter print an annual bibliographical list of record publications. Investigations of the archives of Arkansas, Florida, Minnesota, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee, Washington, and West Virginia are under way. A subcommittee, consisting of Professors C. M. Andrews and H. L. Osgood, has been entrusted by the Librarian of Congress with the function of advising with respect to the transcripts from English archives which are being made for

the Library of Congress. Some twenty-three volumes have already been copied in whole or in part thus far from the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

The committee on the Justin Winsor Prize reported that no essay submitted for the competition this year was of sufficient excellence to justify the award of the prize. The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize (now first awarded, for an essay in European history) reported that the prize had been awarded to Mr. David S. Muzzey for his essay on the Spiritual Franciscans, with honorable mention of the essay of Miss Eloise Ellery on Jean Pierre Brissot.

The chairman of the Board of Editors of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW reported that Professor H. Morse Stephens, a member of the Board from the foundation of the journal, whose term now expired, declined re-election. His services to the journal were spoken of with appreciation. It was announced that the Council had elected as his successor Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University. Professor Adams also reported that the index-volume to Volumes I.-X. would be ready this spring; and that arrangements had been made with the publishers of the REVIEW by which the cost per member to the Association had been reduced from \$2.00 to \$1.60 per annum.

For the Committee on Bibliography, Professor E. C. Richardson reported as ready for publication a reissue of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*, brought down to date. The committee has made large progress in the preparation of its list of source-publications and the libraries where they are to be found. The General Committee reported an effort to extend membership among libraries, and the preparation of a report on the special lines of research in which individual members are interested. The subcommittee charged with the making of a report on the work of state and local historical societies reported briefly through its chairman. Professor Stephens reported for the Pacific Coast Branch, describing its recent annual meeting and announcing another to take place next Thanksgiving at Portland. Mr. Jameson, editor of the series of Original Narratives of Early American History, explained in some detail the plan of the reprints and the arrangements already made for the opening volumes.

The Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools, Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University chairman, reported briefly on its meetings and work during the past year, its organization into subcommittees (on courses, methods and materials, European experience, the training of the teacher, etc.), and on its

plans for continuing the preparation of its report and for securing discussion of its recommendations by the various associations of teachers of history throughout the country.

Complimentary resolutions of the usual character were presented and passed. The committee on nominations, Professors G. L. Burr, C. D. Hazen, and J. H. Latané, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Judge Simeon E. Baldwin was elected president, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson first vice-president, and Professor George B. Adams second vice-president. Mr. A. Howard Clark, Professor C. H. Haskins, and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen were re-elected to their former positions. In the place of Professors Burr and Cheyney, who had been thrice elected to the Executive Council, Professors Charles M. Andrews and James H. Robinson were chosen. The place of meeting for December, 1906, is Providence.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION.

|                                 |                                                                  |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>President,</i>               | Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven.                              |
| <i>First Vice-president,</i>    | J. Franklin Jameson, Washington.                                 |
| <i>Second Vice-president,</i>   | Professor George B. Adams, New Haven.                            |
| <i>Secretary,</i>               | A. Howard Clark, Esq., Smithsonian Institution, Washington.      |
| <i>Corresponding Secretary,</i> | Professor Charles H. Haskins, 15 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. |
| <i>Treasurer,</i>               | Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., 130 Fulton St., New York.               |

*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers) :

|                                              |                                            |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Hon. Andrew Dickson White, <sup>1</sup>      | Professor Goldwin Smith, <sup>1</sup>      |
| President James Burrill Angell, <sup>1</sup> | Professor John Bach McMaster, <sup>1</sup> |
| Henry Adams, Esq., <sup>1</sup>              | Professor Edward G. Bourne,                |
| James Schouler, Esq., <sup>1</sup>           | Professor A. C. McLaughlin,                |
| Professor George Park Fisher, <sup>1</sup>   | Professor George P. Garrison,              |
| James Ford Rhodes, Esq., <sup>1</sup>        | Reuben G. Thwaites, Esq.,                  |
| Charles Francis Adams, Esq., <sup>1</sup>    | Professor Charles M. Andrews,              |
| Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, <sup>1</sup>    | Professor James H. Robinson.               |
| Henry Charles Lea, Esq., <sup>1</sup>        |                                            |

*Committees:*

*Committee on Programme for the Twenty-second Annual Meeting:* Professor Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman; Professors William E. Dodd, Max Farrand, William MacDonald, and Williston Walker, and George P. Winship, Esq.

<sup>1</sup> Ex-president.

*Joint Local Committee of Arrangements for the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Political Science Association:* William B. Weeden, Esq., Providence, chairman; Professors Henry B. Gardner, William MacDonald, and George G. Wilson (with power to add members at the discretion of the chairman).

*Committee on the Entertainment of Ladies at the Twenty-second Meeting:* Mrs. ———, Providence, chairman; Miss Ida M. Tarbell (with power to add auxiliary members at the discretion of the chairman).

*Editors of the American Historical Review:* Professor George B. Adams, Yale University, chairman; Professors George L. Burr, Albert Bushnell Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, and William M. Sloane.

*Historical Manuscripts Commission:* J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution of Washington, chairman; Professors Edward G. Bourne and Frederick W. Moore, Reuben G. Thwaites, Esq., Worthington C. Ford, Esq., and Thomas M. Owen, Esq.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; Professor Edward P. Cheyney, Roger Foster, Esq., Professors Williston Walker and Evarts B. Greene.

*Public Archives Commission:* Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Professors William MacDonald, Herbert L. Osgood, Charles M. Andrews, and Edwin E. Sparks, Dunbar Rowland, Esq., and Robert T. Swan, Esq.

*Committee on Bibliography:* Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; A. P. C. Griffin, Esq., William C. Lane, Esq., J. N. Larned, Esq., Professors W. H. Siebert and Frederick J. Turner.

*Committee on Publications:* Professor Earle W. Dow, University of Michigan, chairman; Professor Charles H. Haskins, A. Howard Clark, Esq., Professors Fred M. Fling, Samuel M. Jackson, Elizabeth K. Kendall, Anson D. Morse, and Charles D. Hazen.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Professor Charles Gross, Harvard University, chairman; Professors George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, John M. Vincent, and James W. Thompson.

*General Committee:* Professor Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, chairman; Professors Charles H. Haskins, Lucy M. Salmon, Lilian W. Johnson, John S. Bassett, William MacDonald, Frank H. Hodder, Franklin L. Riley, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Reuben G. Thwaites, Esq., and Professor Frederick G. Young (with power to add adjunct members).

*Finance Committee:* James H. Eckels, Esq., Chicago, chairman, and Peter White, Esq.

*Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools:* Professor J. A. James, Northwestern University, chairman; Superintendents E. C. Brooks, Wilbur F. Gordy, and J. H. Van Sickle, Professors Julius Sachs, Henry E. Bourne, and Henry W. Thurston, and Miss Mabel Hill.

## OLD STANDARDS OF PUBLIC MORALS.<sup>1</sup>

WHOEVER reads the book-lists of publishers, whoever glances over the titles of new books displayed on the counters of the book-shops, must surely have remarked the extraordinary activity shown in recent years by writers on American history. Essays, travels, monographs, biographies of our great men of every sort from frontiersmen to presidents, histories of our country in many volumes, histories of the states, and scores of books on particular phases of our national life, have come from the press year after year in a steadily increasing quantity. It should seem at first sight as if every nook and corner of the broad domain of history must have been by this time fully explored. But a sifting of the output for ten years past leaves no doubt that back of much of this activity is pure commercialism; that some of it is, after all, but a new threshing of the old straw; and that but little of it can be said to be inspired by a sincere desire to do better what has been done before. Meantime great fields of history have been left untilled. No writer has as yet thought it worth while to enrich our literature with an impartial, well-told story of the rise and fall of political parties. Much has been written concerning the political and still more concerning the military events of the great struggle for independence. But where shall we turn for a narrative of the doings and the sufferings of the people during that long period of strife and revolution? No feature of our national existence is more fascinating than the westward movement of population, the great march across the continent. Yet we have no history of this migration—no account of the causes which led to it; of the paths along which the people moved; of the economic conditions which now accelerated, now retarded it; of the founding of great states; of the ever-changing life on the frontier as the frontier was pushed steadily westward over the Alleghenies, across the valley of the Mississippi, and over the plains to disappear in our own day at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. We still wait for a history of the Continental Congress; for the man who shall compress within the limits of a single volume the history of our national life; for the man who within a like space shall tell the marvellous story of our economic and industrial development; and

<sup>1</sup> The President's address to the American Historical Association, December 26, 1905.



for the man who shall do for American what Mr. Lecky has so well done for European morals.

Such a work would indeed be an addition to our historical literature, and not the least interesting part of it would be that devoted to the study of public morals. The code of public morality which has at any time really been lived up to, in our country, is a great help to the understanding of the social and political conditions of that time. The sort of men who find their way into public life; the kind of government which prevails at any time or in any place; the acts done by Congresses, legislatures, city councils, municipal bodies of any sort, are just such as the mass of the people are content to have and often insist on having. What has been the conduct of the people when called on to meet great issues, where expediency, profit, prosperity stood on the one hand, and some principle of public morality on the other hand, is therefore very properly a part of our history, and sheds a flood of light on the phases of life which it is the duty of the historian to record.

Of struggles of this sort the annals of our country furnish many signal instances. When the Continental Congress which gathered at Philadelphia in May of 1775 found itself forced to assume the conduct of a war with the mother-country, it sought to pay expenses by an issue of bills of credit. The fatal step once taken, other issues followed fast and followed faster till depreciation brought the bills so low that to print one cost more than it was worth. On the faces of them were no solemn promises that they should ever be redeemed at any time or place. "This bill", so ran the wording, "entitles the bearer to receive two Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to the resolution of the Congress held at Philadelphia on the tenth of May 1775." But that the bills should be redeemed at some time and place was the plain intent and expectation of both the Congress and the people. To doubt this intent, to deny that the Congress money was as good as gold, to refuse to take it at par, to refuse to take it at all, was rank toryism. For so doing scores of men were dragged before committees of safety, were reported to provincial congresses, were advertised as enemies of their country, were forced to submit under threats of imprisonment, and were stripped of their property without due process of law.

In the dark days when the British were marching across the Jerseys, when the fate of the rebellious colonies seemed trembling in the balance, Putnam put forth a proclamation warning the people of Philadelphia that if any man refused to sell his goods for continental money, the goods should be seized and the offender cast into prison; Congress called on the Council of Safety for help, and the

Council decreed that any man who would not take the Congress money should forfeit the goods for which the bills were offered, or cancel the debt for which the bills were tendered and pay a fine of five pounds Pennsylvania money.

Congress meantime had again and again solemnly promised that the bills should be redeemed. On June 22, 1775, it was resolved, "That the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit"; on December 26, 1775, it was resolved, "That the thirteen United Colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit"; and after independence was declared each issue was made "on the faith of the United States", and the faith of the thirteen states was pledged for its redemption. When repeated issues had set afloat more than a hundred million dollars in paper, and men began to whisper that Congress never could and never would redeem it, Congress, on December 29, 1778, vigorously denied the imputation.

Whereas [said the resolution] a report hath circulated in divers parts of America that Congress would not redeem the bills of credit issued by them to defray the expences of the war, but would suffer them to sink in the hands of the holder, whereby the value of the said bills hath, in the opinion of many of the good people of these states, depreciated; and least the silence of Congress might give strength to the said report; Resolved, That the said report is false and derogatory to the honour of Congress.

But the report, unhappily, did not cease to circulate, and in September of 1779 Congress found it necessary to make its good name and credit the subject of a long and elaborate address to the people. In the course of it three questions were discussed: Has the faith of the United States been pledged for redemption of the bills? Are the United States in a condition to redeem them? Is there any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of public faith? In answer to this last question the language of Congress was most vigorous. From the enemy, it was said, had come the

notable discovery that as the Congress made the money, they also can destroy it; and that it will exist no longer than they find it convenient to permit it. . . . We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honour of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to shew the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt faithless republic would be a novelty in the political world, and appear among reputable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. The pride of America revolts from the idea: her citizens know for what purposes these emissions were made, and have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them; they are to be found in every man's possession, and every man is interested in their being redeemed; they must therefore entertain a high opinion

of American credulity, who suppose the people capable of believing, on due reflection, that all America will, against the faith, the honour and the interest of all America, be ever prevailed upon to countenance, support or permit so ruinous so disgraceful a measure . . . it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed.<sup>1</sup>

Six months after this bold assertion was uttered the "execrable deed" was done. In March, 1780, the famous forty-for-one act was passed, forty dollars in bills of credit were declared to be equal to one in specie, provision for their redemption at this rate in new-tenor bills was made, and thirty-nine-fortieths of the continental paper debt was repudiated. "This", said Witherspoon, was "the first and great deliberate breach of public faith."

The second was like unto it. Ten years passed away, and our country, a sovereign, free, and independent republic, had taken her place among the nations of the world. The old Articles of Confederation had been abandoned, and the Constitution framed and adopted. The people, as the phrase went, had come under the new roof. Congress had been given express power to pay the debts of the United States, and in 1790 undertook to fund those incurred by the Continental Congress, and to assume and fund those created by the states in the war for independence. The old excuse that Congress could not tax, that the states did not respond to appeals for money, were no longer available, for Congress had ample power to lay taxes, duties, imposts, and excises. For a people living under a high standard of public morals the opportunity, it would seem, had come to wipe off a foul spot on the good name of America. But the chance was not made use of; and when the funding bill passed, it contained a provision for the redemption of the continental bills of credit at one cent in the dollar, and ninety-nine-hundredths of the debt was repudiated.

But the bills of credit were by no means the only kind of indebtedness. There were the loan-office certificates, the lottery tickets, the interest indents, the quartermasters' certificates, the commissary certificates, the final settlements with the soldiers, and many other sorts of paper acknowledgments of debt. What, it was asked, shall be done with these? Some were for funding them at their face-value in interest-bearing stock. Others, and a very considerable number of others, led on by Madison, insisted on discrimination between the original holder of the paper and subsequent takers. Where the certificate, the indent, the lottery ticket, was in the hands of the man who first received it, the obligation should be funded at the value expressed on its face. Where paper had passed from hand

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of Congress*, September 13, 1779.

to hand and was in the possession of one not the original receiver, it should be funded at its highest market value. Here—aside from the effect such an act would have on the credit of the country, a question of commercial expediency—was a question of public morals.

The United States could not be legally forced to pay its debts. Was it not, therefore, morally bound to do so? The anti-funders thought not. If you gave a creditor face-value for an obligation for which he could never have received face-value from a fellow-man, or fifteen shillings for something he had taken or purchased from his neighbor for ten or five or two shillings, you were not only just, but most liberal. When the long struggle ended, the certificates were, indeed, funded at their face-value, not because it was morally right, but because of a bargain by which one party secured the passage of the funding and assumption acts and the other the location of the Federal City on the banks of the Potomac.

The question of the obligation of the body politic to pay its debts now passed to the states, and two years later appeared before the Supreme Court. A citizen of South Carolina, acting as executor, had tendered the treasurer of Georgia in payment of taxes some paper money of that state. The money was refused, and in 1792 suit was brought in the Supreme Court of the United States. The question before it was, May a sovereign state be sued by a citizen of another state? But back of it all was the greater question, May a state be compelled by process of law to redeem promises and pledges for which it stands morally bound? The court decided that a state may be sued; but Chief Justice Jay in delivering its decision added the caution:

Lest I should be understood in a latitude beyond my meaning, I think it necessary to subjoin this caution, viz.: That such suability may nevertheless not extend to all the demands, and to every kind of action; there may be exceptions. For instance, I am far from being prepared to say that an individual may sue a state on bills of credit issued before the Constitution was established, and which were issued and received on the faith of the state, and at a time when no ideas or expectations of judicial interposition were entertained or contemplated.

Despite this caution the decision was alarming; but a remedy was quickly found. The decision was handed down on the eighteenth of February, 1793, and the very next day a member from Massachusetts gave notice in the House of Representatives that he should move an amendment to the Constitution designed to protect states from being sued in the federal courts. On the twentieth the amendment was offered in the Senate. Less than two weeks of the session then remained. To act in so short a time was hardly possible, and the matter went over to the Third Congress. Ere that body met,

Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland protested against the decision of the court; and when January, 1794, came, the amendment was again offered in the Senate, was quickly adopted, and January 8, 1798, Adams in a message to Congress announced that the amendment "may now be declared to be a part of the Constitution of the United States". Of all provisions of the Federal Constitution this alone deserves to be called infamous, for under its protection many a state has since found refuge from the payment of its just debts. Yet the men who framed it are not to be condemned. They were simply following the standard of public morality set up in their day.

Two years later our annals afford another glimpse of public morals. The French Republic between February 1, 1793, and September 30, 1800, had committed spoliation on the property of certain citizens of the United States. But France also had claims on us, and in the attempt to adjust the indemnities due each party in 1800 the plenipotentiaries of France and the United States fell out. An article was therefore inserted in the convention which declared that "The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able to agree at present . . . upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties will negotiate further on these subjects at a convenient time." But the Senate before ratifying the convention struck out this article, and the document thus altered went back to Napoleon, who again ratified it in July, 1801, with this important addition: "The government of the United States . . . having omitted the second article, the government of the French Republic consents to accept, ratify, and confirm the above convention . . . with the retrenchment of the second article: Provided, That by this retrenchment the two States renounce the respective pretensions, which are the object of the said article." The convention, as amended by the First Consul, now returned to the United States, was again ratified by the Senate, and then proclaimed part of the supreme law of the land by Jefferson in December, 1801.

Our country was thereby released from all liability for damages because of alleged violation of the ancient treaties with France. The price paid for this release was the waiving of the claims of our countrymen for indemnity from France. Having cut off its citizens from the possibility of recovery abroad, the United States became morally bound to pay them at home, for it had received due consideration in exchange. But eighty years and more went by before these spoliation claims were sent for adjudication to the Court of Claims, and ninety years passed before Congress made its first appropriation toward payment of the awards.

Two years after the ratification of the convention of 1801 we had

another financial transaction with Napoleon and purchased Louisiana. By the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain had agreed to retrocede Louisiana to France on certain conditions, one of which was a solemn pledge never to alienate the province. In spite of this, however, Napoleon three years later sold Louisiana to us, an act which was a flat violation of the treaty of San Ildefonso. Nay more, Louisiana at that time did not belong to France. The retrocession had not been consummated, and when in 1803 Napoleon affixed his name and seal to the treaty of purchase, the flag of Spain still floated over every fort, and her authority was still recognized in every quarter of that broad domain. Nor could Napoleon, had Louisiana belonged to France, have sold it without consent of the French Chambers. That consent was not even asked, and the United States took title to Louisiana and received it from a man who had neither the legal nor the moral right to dispose of it.

The province thus acquired was soon cut into two pieces, and for one of them known as the Territory of Orleans a certain form of government was provided by Congress. The legislative power was vested in a governor and a council of thirteen appointed annually by the President without consulting the Senate. This council met when the governor summoned it and went home when he prorogued it, and could not frame a bill of any sort, but merely criticize such as the governor placed before it. In the selection of this body the people had absolutely no voice whatever. Yet the hand which signed that act of congress and made it law was the same that wrote those memorable words in the Declaration of Independence, all governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed". To the American of 1804 this was a living truth, not a "glittering generality", and such a storm of indignant protest followed the passage of the act organizing the Territory of Orleans that at the next session of Congress it was repealed.

Turning from the Federal Constitution and statutes to the constitutions and laws of the states, we find them richer still in illustrations of old-time standards of public morals. While the war for independence was under way, the states as well as Congress had issued millions of dollars in paper money, had made it legal tender, and had provided heavy punishments for any one who would not take it at the face-value. The merchant, the shopkeeper, the farmer who presumed to demand for his goods or produce a larger sum in paper than in specie was an enemy of his country, a forestaller, an engrosser, a sharper, and might be stripped of his property, fined, imprisoned, or banished from the state. All respect for the rights of property was thus overthrown. Such measures, said a body of

protestants against the Pennsylvania legal-tender act of 1781, "render our courts of justice the ministers of iniquity. Instead of compelling the performance of contracts, they not only permit and countenance, but aid and assist the violation of them. Hence it must follow that the magistrates will be disrespected, the laws contravened and the morals of the people polluted." "For two or three years", said Witherspoon, "we constantly saw and were informed of creditors running away from their debtors, and the debtors pursuing them in triumph, and paying them without mercy." Pelatiah Webster declares that the legal-tender currency "polluted the equity of our laws, turned them into engines of oppression and wrong, corrupted the justice of our public administration, destroyed the fortunes of thousands who had most confidence in it", and ruined "the morality of our people".

To a people struggling for political life much should be forgiven. But when the war was fought and won, when the states were free and independent, the evil practice was continued. During the hard times of 1785 and 1786 seven states put forth more paper money and strove to keep it at par by legal-tender acts. Again the sanctity of contracts was violated, and dishonest men made haste to pay their debts in worthless paper. The Superior Court of Rhode Island during one sitting heard twenty bills in equity filed by debtors who sought to satisfy mortgages. They came bringing the money in handkerchiefs, pillow-cases, and bags. In the newspapers, for several months in 1786, were columns of notices by the judges that sums in lawful money bills had been deposited with them by men who had in all respects complied with the legal-tender law. In South Carolina the grand-jury of Ninety-Six in a presentment in December, 1788, declared "that the many acts of the legislature screening the debtor from the just demand of his fair and bona fide creditor have had a very pernicious influence on the morals and manners of the people".

The framers of the Constitution undoubtedly wished and believed that they had put an end to such practices by that wise provision that no state shall issue bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver legal tender for debt. But the Constitution had not been long in force before the states began to charter banks and gave each one of them authority to issue bills of credit. That a principal cannot give an agent authority to do an act which the principal cannot lawfully do himself is primary law. Nevertheless the right to issue paper bills was granted, our country entered on a new era of paper money, and in the course of our second war with Great Britain every bank outside of New England suspended specie payment. Desper-

ately hard times followed; the legislatures were appealed to as usual for relief and again enacted laws interfering with the collection of debts and violating contracts. In some states temporary stay laws put an end for the time being to all suits for the collection of debts. In others, if the creditor would not take bank paper, the debtor had two years in which to replevy. In still others, all property seized in satisfaction of a judgment must be appraised by a jury of the neighborhood, and when offered for sale by the sheriff must bring three-fourths of the appraised value, or it could not be sold. Here was a most effective stay law, for it was indeed a hard-hearted jury that would not appraise a poor debtor's property at five times its actual value.

In many points of view the Americans of Washington's day and the American of our day have changed places. Customs, usages, and institutions which the fathers held to be against good public morals, we tolerate; and then, in our turn, proscribe by law a host of practices our forefathers looked upon as highly beneficial to the state. A signal instance of such a change in the moral standard is our present hostility toward the lottery. During the years immediately following the war for independence, when there were not in the whole country as many people as to-day dwell in Pennsylvania or New York, it was not possible to obtain by taxation the money needed for all sorts of public betterments. Very few communities were willing to have their taxes increased in order that a street might be paved, a wharf constructed, a fire-engine bought, a city hall enlarged, or a bridge built across some neighboring stream, when the funds could be secured by so simple a process as the sale of a few thousand tickets, and the distribution of a few hundred prizes. To solicit subscriptions for the discharge of a church debt, the purchase of a bell, the erection of a steeple or a parsonage, the purchase of books or physical apparatus for a college, when the money could be secured more quickly by a lottery, was a waste of time. Why should a canal company, a turnpike company, the projectors of a woolen-mill, iron-furnace, or glass-works seek a market for stock, when any legislature stood ready to grant authority to start a lottery with as many drawings as were necessary to raise the needed money?

After the Revolution, when our country began to develop at a rapid pace, and lotteries increased astonishingly in number, the economic effects became apparent, and many a state forbade the sale within its boundaries of the tickets in lotteries not authorized by itself. But not until the increase of the people in numbers and in wealth made it possible to raise money for public improvements



by taxation, or by the sale of stock, was the lottery looked on as against good public morals, and the thirties came before Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland put it under ban.

In the bill of rights of the first constitution of New Hampshire is the assurance that "every individual has a natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience and reason; and no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience. . . ." Yet, in defiance of this assertion, men were restrained of their liberty by the provisions "that no person shall be capable of being elected a Senator, who is not of the Protestant religion", and that every member of the House of Representatives "shall be of the Protestant religion", and that no person should be chosen president of the state or delegate to the Continental Congress who was not of the Protestant religion. In the declaration of rights of Massachusetts, in the constitution of New Jersey, in the declarations of rights of Pennsylvania, of Delaware, and of Maryland, were assertions of absolute religious liberty quite as emphatic. Yet in Massachusetts the governor and lieutenant-governor, councillors, senators, and representatives before taking office were each required to declare, "I believe the Christian religion and have a firm persuasion of its truth"; and in New Jersey none but Protestants were "capable of being elected into any office of either branch of the legislature". "Nor can any man"; said Pennsylvania, "who acknowledges the being of God be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen"; yet each member of the legislature before taking his seat was required to make a declaration in which were the words, "And I do acknowledge the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration". Delaware required her legislators to swear to a belief in the Trinity as well as in the divine inspiration of both Testaments; and Maryland exacted from every holder of offices of profit or trust "a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion". North Carolina decreed that "no person who shall deny the being of a God, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testament, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State." South Carolina enacted that "The Christian Protestant religion shall be deemed and is hereby constituted and declared to be the established religion of this State", and allowed none but Protestants

to hold office. Georgia excluded from her important offices all men who were not Protestants.

Under these standards of public morals all forms of religious belief were tolerated; yet only those men who exercised this toleration in such manner as to become Protestants or Christians could be eligible to offices of state. The preaching, as it should always be, was above the practice. The moral standard, as it should always be, was far in advance of the times. To the credit of the fathers, many of them soon overtook it. When the Federal Constitution was framed in 1787, Church and State were absolutely divorced. The word "God" was nowhere inserted, and religious belief was nowhere recognized as a qualification for anything. This, in the opinion of many, was a great step backward. A delegate to the Massachusetts state convention to consider the Constitution "shuddered at the idea that Romanists and pagans might be introduced into office, and that Popery and the Inquisition may be established in America". In the convention of North Carolina, and in many a newspaper criticism of the New Roof, the charge was made that, without some religious test, Jews, infidels, papists, were as eligible to the presidency and to seats in Congress as any Protestant or Christian. The absence of religious tests and qualifications was in reality a step forward, and was quickly followed in several states. Pennsylvania in 1790 abolished the test oath formerly required of her legislators; New Hampshire in 1792 cast away the religious test previously exacted from her governors and legislators; and Delaware ceased to ask her office-holders if they believed in the Trinity and the divine inspiration of the Testaments. After 1790 South Carolina no longer required members of the House of Representatives to be Protestants; and in 1798 Georgia removed her religious test for office-holding, and decreed that no person should "be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles". Of the three new states which entered the Union before the end of the century (Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee), Tennessee alone adhered to the old standard. Her bill of rights declared "That no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this State". But her constitution declared that "No person who denies the being of a God or future state of rewards and punishments shall hold any office in the civil department of this state."

In six of these early state constitutions are declarations that neither cruel nor unusual punishments shall be inflicted. The principle asserted erected no new standard of public morals, for the words were borrowed from that Great Bill of Rights enacted by Parliament

nearly ninety years before the first state constitution was adopted. But it is worth while to consider what the fathers regarded as mild punishment, what sort of penalties awaited the transgressor of their code of public morals. Publicity, in their opinion, was the great deterrent of crime. It was not enough, therefore, that the criminal should be punished; he should be punished in the presence of the people, that all might behold justice administered and the law vindicated, and learn from impressive examples to shun the path of the wicked. The man or woman on whom death was inflicted was accordingly hanged in the open before a crowd of men and women, who came bringing their children with them. The list of crimes so punishable in colonial days was a long one: in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island ten; in New York sixteen; in Virginia and afterward in Kentucky twenty-seven; in Pennsylvania twenty on first conviction, and on a second conviction all save larceny were capital crimes.

For the evil-doers whose offenses did not merit death there were flogging, branding, cropping, the pillory, and the ducking-stool. Each punishment was inflicted in public, and many an offender went forth from the place of expiation bearing on his forehead or his hand a mark which made his character known to all who met him. New Hampshire branded her burglars with a B on the right hand for the first offense, on the left for the second offense, on the forehead if the crime was committed on the Lord's Day.

Massachusetts punished ten crimes and felonies with death; branded an F on the forehead of the forger of a bank-bill, a B on both cheeks of the burglar guilty of a second offense, a T on both cheeks of the man twice convicted of larceny, and M on the forehead for manslaughter; and gave to her magistrates an elaborate assortment of penalties from which to choose for minor offenses. The perjurer might be fined and pilloried for two hours at diverse times and places as the judge thought proper, and be publicly whipped on the naked back on three occasions in three different places. The thief for a second offense, besides being branded, might be condemned to hard labor for life and be made to "wear a chain round his leg with a large clog fastened to the other end thereof"; the forger might be pilloried, cropped on one ear, whipped, fined, and imprisoned; the counterfeiter could be set in the pillory and have one ear cut off, and thence be driven with a rope about his neck to the gallows, where with one end of the rope thrown over the gallows he must stand for one hour. On the way from the pillory to the gallows he might be given forty lashes.

In Connecticut the man who married his sister-in-law could be

set on the gallows with the wife, each with a rope about the neck, for one hour. The pair must then be taken to the common jail, and while on the way be given forty lashes each on the bare back; and "forever after", says the law, "wear a capital I two inches long" of some bright-colored cloth sewed on the outside of the arm or on the back. The perjurer should be fined twenty pounds; if he could not pay, then he must stand for an hour in the pillory "and have both ears nailed". The horse-thief must return treble the value of the horse and pay a fine of ten pounds, receive fifteen lashes, pass three months in the workhouse, and on the first Monday of each month receive ten stripes and be seated astride the wooden horse for two hours before each whipping.

Delaware punished her criminals according to the laws in force in Great Britain. If the crime was capital in the mother-country, it was so in the colony. If under English law the offender might plead benefit of clergy, he could do so in Delaware, and without being required to read like a clerk, was branded on the left thumb in open court. M stood for manslaughter and T for any felony.

The North Carolina law on the subject of perjury gives a graphic description of this process of ear-cutting. The offender, whether man or woman, "shall stand", says the law, "in the pillory one hour, having his or her ears nailed during the whole time, and at the expiration of the said hour, both ears of the offender shall be cut off and severed from the head, leaving them nailed on the pillory until the setting of the sun."

In Pennsylvania the robber and the thief, whether man or woman, after receiving thirty-one lashes at the whipping-post was condemned to have sewed in plain view on the left sleeve of the outer garment between the shoulder and the elbow a Roman T of red, blue, or yellow cloth as the magistrate pleased, and wear it every day from sunrise to sunset for six months. In Maryland each county was required to have an assortment of branding-irons. S on either cheek meant seditious libeller; F meant forger; a T on the left hand indicated a thief; and R on the shoulder a vagabond or rogue. In Delaware the penalties for blasphemy were, flogging, the pillory, and the letter B branded on the forehead. In Pennsylvania every pauper who received alms of the public (and his wife and children, if he had any) must wear on the sleeve of the outer garment a large P of red or blue cloth, and after it the initial letter of the county, town, or city by which the alms were given.

The standard of public morals under which the use of the lash, the branding-iron, the pillory, and the ducking-stool was possible was no invention of the fathers. It was that of the mother-country transferred to the colonies, and was greatly modified after the Revo-

lution. Many of the states cut down the list of crimes punishable by death, forbade the use of the branding-iron, cropping, and flogging. But the development of a more humane standard was slow; and many of the old penal codes were in force and many of the old punishments were inflicted well down into the nineteenth century. In Boston in 1789 five thieves were flogged, two more stood under the gallows, and a counterfeiter on the pillory. In 1789 in the same city eleven offenders were sentenced to be flogged in front of the State House, and in 1803 two men were pilloried for one hour on two consecutive days. So late as 1822 a felon was flogged on the campus of Yale College, and in 1817 a sailor underwent a like punishment in Philadelphia. In 1821 the Supreme Court of Georgia sentenced a woman to be ducked in the Oconee; and in 1819 in Georgia, and in 1824 in Philadelphia, common scolds were ordered to the ducking-stool; but the sentence was not executed. Later yet Judge Cranch in Washington sentenced Mrs. Ann Royal to be ducked in the Potomac. But the day for such punishments had passed away, and she was fined instead.

There were, however, even then states on whose statute-books the old code still had a place. In Rhode Island the convicted forger of notes, bank-bills, or securities might be placed in the pillory, have a piece of each ear cut off, be branded while in the pillory with the letter C, imprisoned for six years, and fined. For perjury the penalty was cropping, branding, and three hours on the pillory; for duelling, a rope about the neck and a ride in a cart to the gallows, where the offender must stand for an hour. The man guilty of arson, the law required, should be pilloried, cropped on both ears, and branded with the letter B. Delaware flogged, pilloried, and sold her criminals to service, and required some to wear on the outer garment between the shoulders a scarlet letter four or six inches long to designate his crimes. A Roman F meant forger; T meant thief; R a receiver of stolen goods. Down to the Civil War, branding on the hand was occasionally inflicted on men guilty of slave-stealing.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of general reform. Customs, usages, and institutions which a few years before passed unchallenged were vigorously attacked as ruinous to good morals. Executions of criminals in the presence of great crowds of men and women were denounced as scandalous, and one by one the states forbade them. Imprisonment for debt was abolished as a practice wholly at variance with the public welfare and grossly unjust to the individual. Slavery was attacked as a sin, the lottery was proscribed—in short, new standards of public morals were erected.

JOHN BACH MCMASTER.

## RECENT TENDENCIES IN THE STUDY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

ONE hundred and sixteen years have elapsed since the French National Assembly issued a remarkable manifesto in which it discussed the nature, extent, and general beneficence of the Revolution. After only six or seven months of work the Assembly ventured to claim that under its auspices "an old and corrupt nation had been born again into liberty"; the rights of man, misconceived and insulted for centuries, had been re-established for all mankind; privileges without number which had formed the public law of France had been abolished for ever. "Is there a single citizen worthy of the name", it exclaims, "who dares to look back, who would once more rebuild the ruins which surround us in order to contemplate again the former structure?"

Yet not a few have dared to look back with regret, even with yearning, upon that Ancien Régime whose ruins the Assembly so plentifully sowed with the salt of its contempt. Indeed a writer of our own day, M. Charles d'Héricault, solemnized the hundredth anniversary of the meeting of the Estates General by rebuilding the ancient edifice with idyllic grace and peopling it with a happy and virtuous throng who had lived together in blessed concord until they suffered themselves to be alienated from God and their king by the satanic obsession of the Revolution. According to M. d'Héricault, the Ancien Régime had served to develop "in the highest degree in each social class those particular qualities required in order that all might work together toward the organization of a perfect society. There was, first of all, the priest, wise, venerable, devoted; then the former despot, now transformed into a courtly and respected king; and the soldier, now a polished nobleman, the soul of honor. The bourgeoisie were rich, dignified, and well educated; lastly the people, pious and gentle, consoled themselves for the lesser troubles of life by amassing wealth, by singing and dancing, while they met their graver misfortunes by the thought of heaven."

But all at once with stupefying suddenness and inhuman violence this happy, Christian, and monarchical France began cursing both priests and kings; she bowed down before a new goddess with all the devotion which she had formerly lavished upon her old guides

whom she would now exterminate—"Cette idole nouvelle, c'est ce qu'on nomma fort justement la Révolution."<sup>1</sup>

It might at first sight seem hardly necessary to reckon seriously with the opinions of a hopelessly reactionary royalist who received his earliest impressions under Charles X. But M. d'Héricault is only one of a group of really important and scholarly writers who in the interests of reaction have devoted themselves to picturing the horrors and anarchy of the Reign of Terror. Moreover, the existence of this class of historians can alone explain the attitude of the exalted Republicans, who by no means consent to pass over the utterances of their inveterate enemies in silent contempt.<sup>2</sup>

When the present municipal government of Paris subsidizes historical investigation, it is influenced by something more than scientific interest or even ordinary civic pride. The acts of the Commune during the Revolution are being collected and published with a view of establishing "the immortal glory of Paris" in forwarding "the emancipation of humanity". They show how the representatives of Paris founded a new order based on liberty and equality, "opposing virtue alone, patriotism, and self-abnegation to the treason, perfidy, and calumny which the selfishness of the aristocrats never ceased to foment against those noble citizens of whom

<sup>1</sup> *La France Révolutionnaire, 1789-1889* (Paris, 1889), p. i. M. d'Héricault's eulogy of the Ancien Régime first appeared in the opening issue of the *Revue de la Révolution* (1883), a valuable but highly reactionary periodical which he edited. Since it is impossible to reproduce in English the exalted impression made by M. d'Héricault's own mother-tongue, I add a short passage in the original:

"La France est une nation naturellement guerrière et sensible; formée par des évêques, élevée par des rois.

"Les évêques, en entretenant, par une infatigable prédication, la force morale dans son âme gracieuse, firent des Français un peuple enthousiaste. Les rois, en satisfaisant ses instincts guerriers par une activité tournée presque continuellement vers un grand but, qui était l'unité de la patrie, en firent un peuple docile.

"Quand, après douze siècles de cette éducation pieuse et de cette tutelle monarchique, la France, continuant une enfance pleine de foi et une jeunesse glorieuse, entra dans la maturité, elle présenta un modèle de civilisation qui parut achevé. L'Europe, avec une envie bientôt subjuguée, y vint admirer l'humanité dans sa grâce noble et artistique, dans tout le développement de la force intellectuelle, soit littéraire, soit philosophique.

"Pour l'observateur, cette civilisation de la France virile, de la France du dix-septième siècle, possédait surtout un don excellent: elle avait développé, dans chaque classe sociale, la plus haute des qualités qui sont requises en chacune de ses classes pour travailler à organiser une société parfaite."

<sup>2</sup> Even those who are not royalists or even reactionary may be charged with loving too well the old order of things. According to M. Aulard, M. Funck-Brentano "est accusé de se montrer partial pour l'ancien régime, partial avec attendrissement". This fearful suspicion has given rise to some bitterness between the two scholars. See *La Révolution Française*, XLIV. 376 (1903). The trouble arose in connection with the sentiments expressed by Funck-Brentano in his recent studies, *L'Affaire du Collier*—an episode to which he attributes great importance—and the sequel to the affair, *La Mort de la Reine*.

they might make martyrs but never renegades".<sup>1</sup> When one calmly considers the rôle of the Paris Commune in the establishing of the first French republic, such sentiments appear quite as absurdly apologetic as M. d'Héricault's picture of the felicity of the Ancien Régime.

In short, Frenchmen still love or hate the Revolution as did their forefathers in 1790. A writer has very recently declared that "the idea of treating the Revolution as an event analogous to other events, without either curses or apologies, has as yet never occurred to any one."<sup>2</sup> This is certainly unfair, but it is far nearer the truth than Aulard's claim that he and his band treat the history of the Revolution in the same spirit in which they might deal with that of Greece or Rome. It will be a long time before Frenchmen will speak of Danton, Anacharsis Cloots, Lafayette, and Desmoulins in the same disengaged spirit in which they might of Cleon, Brasidas, Nicias, and Aristophanes.

The first tendency, then, which may be noted in the study of the Revolution is that toward partizan enthusiasm<sup>3</sup> which is still perpetuated in many important works and must still be reckoned with as it had to be reckoned with a hundred years ago. In this respect the Revolution bears out the observation of Tocqueville that, although political in its nature, it proceeded in the manner of a religious revolution, for it stirred up animosities which in their inveterate bitterness rank with the hateful emotions that have accompanied religious changes. The explanation of this perpetual partizanship is to be sought partly in the French temperament, but chiefly in the fact that the Revolution did not succeed in settling some of the most important questions that it raised, notably the nature of the central government and the relations between Church and State. Then the successive constitutional revolutions, although by no means so fundamental as commonly supposed, have served to raise the spirits of each party in turn and so to perpetuate hopes in the breasts of the most radical as well as the most conservative. Consequently the first Revolution forms the background of every debate upon current issues, and the "principles of 1789" are ap-

<sup>1</sup> *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, edited for the city by Lacroix, I. p. i (1894).

<sup>2</sup> T. Cerfberr, *Essai sur le Mouvement Social et Intellectuel en France depuis 1789* (Paris, 1902), 113. Aulard sadly comments on Cerfberr's harsh judgment: "C'est étrangement méconnaître tout ce que mes amis et moi, depuis bientôt vingt ans, avons écrit et professé, sans éclat et sans talent, je le veux bien, mais en proclamant très haut et en poursuivant sans relâche le dessein d'étudier l'histoire de la Révolution 'sans anathème comme sans apologie'". *La Révolution Française*, XLII. 475.

<sup>3</sup> I recollect a discussion some fifteen years ago in the Paris newspapers of a question raised in the Chambre des Députés as to whether it was necessary to defend or abhor the Revolution *en bloc*.



pealed to with interpretations varying with the taste, purposes, and convictions of each particular orator who evokes them.

One may, however, permit his politics to be influenced by a more or less fantastic conception of the genius of the Revolution, and yet do much to promote sound historical learning.<sup>1</sup> Even the unfairest and most sentimental writer may be moved by the modern passion for "documentation", and supply his readers with neglected archival material. There is a general agreement among both the friends and the foes of the Revolution as to the rules of the game. They are at one in the conviction that the basis of historical research must be constantly broadened by the publication of documentary matter of all kinds; consequently the work of rendering new sources of knowledge available by printing, and by classifying and cataloguing the unprinted material, is now proceeding with bewildering rapidity. This is seen in the ever-increasing mass of documents, documented monographs, local histories, historical periodicals, proceedings, reports, and bulletins of historical associations which are pouring from the presses of Paris and the provinces in a stream of ever-increasing width and depth.

Efforts to make the sources readily available began with the meeting of the Estates General. The proceedings of the assembly, reports of its committees, and the debates and speeches were published contemporaneously in a more or less imperfect form.<sup>2</sup> The *Moniteur*, the newspaper of the period most nearly resembling a modern journal, was early reprinted with an excellent documentary introduction dealing with the circumstances of the assembling of the Estates General. There were, of course, innumerable pamphlets, newspapers, and memoirs. A collection of the latter began to appear in 1820 under the editorship of Berville and Barrière (1820-1827, in fifty-five volumes). Still very valuable for the isolated and impecunious student is the motley collection of Buchez and Roux, *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution*, published in forty handy volumes, 1834-1838, and readily procurable through the Paris bouquinistes. The *Archives Parlementaires*, undertaken under Napoleon III. and purporting to contain a complete collection of the debates in the successive French legislative bodies, has failed to reach a high standard of excellence. Of the first series (1789-1800) some sixty-six volumes have appeared, coming down to the middle of the year 1793. It is carelessly edited, and the whole work is

<sup>1</sup> Monin says in his notice of Chassin's career: "Il semble qu'il ne demandait à l'histoire idéalisée de la Révolution que de nouvelles forces pour la lutte quotidienne." *La Révolution Française*, XLI. 100 (1901).

<sup>2</sup> A particularly large collection of these is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

condemned, with perhaps undue harshness, by Aulard and others as "fantaisiste". It is probable that the immense task will have to be done all over again.<sup>1</sup>

As is well known, Guizot when minister of public education created a commission to take charge of the investigation and publication of unpublished material relating to the history of France. Since its original appointment in 1834 this commission, which has undergone a number of metamorphoses and is now called the Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, has been issuing the great *Collection de Documents Inédits*. Until 1886 it confined its activity to the period before the Revolution, but in that year a special subcommission was created to attend to material having to do with the Revolution, so that during the past twenty years the French national government has been promoting the printing of important sources for the period under consideration.<sup>2</sup> As examples of this material may be mentioned the acts of the Committee of Public Safety, edited by Aulard, of which sixteen volumes have appeared; Brette's material relating to the convocation of the Estates General (volumes I.-III.); the correspondence of Mercy-Argenteau, of Madame Roland, and of Carnot; Flammermont's remarkable collection of the protests of the *Parlement* of Paris during the eighteenth century; and the proceedings of the several committees on public instruction of the Constituante and the Convention.

In December, 1886, shortly before the anniversary of the first appearance of the Paris Commune upon the stage of history, the Municipal Council of Paris established a committee to effect "the orderly publication of scattered or unpublished original documents which would serve to make clear the rôle of the Commune of Paris in the great revolutionary movement which during the years 1789-1800 laid the foundations, so to speak, for the emancipation of humanity".<sup>3</sup> The municipality has accordingly been publishing since 1888 the *Collection de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*. About forty stout volumes have already appeared, and new projects are announced from time to time. The series embraces the acts of the Commune, part I., in seven volumes, edited by Lacroix (part II. in preparation, three volumes already issued, 1900-1905); the proceedings of the Jacobin Club, edited by the indefatigable M. Aulard, who is most prominent among the con-

<sup>1</sup> See articles in the *Revue Historique*, LXXXI. 433-436 (1903), and *La Révolution Française*, XVI. 5-29, 193-208 (1889).

<sup>2</sup> See Langlois, *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique*, part II. 357 et seqq. For a list of the volumes published by the commission see the *Bibliographie* which it issued in 1898 and the lists which now and then accompany current issues.

<sup>3</sup> Jules Cousin in the session of January 31, 1887, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, I. i.

tributors; Chassin's and Charavay's collections relating to the Paris elections in 1789, the Paris cahiers, and the later history of the electoral assembly; Monin's *L'État de Paris en 1789*; and Aulard's seven volumes on Paris during the reaction of Thermidor, the Directory, and the Consulate. Dr. Robinet has given us two volumes on the religious movement. Two vast classified bibliographies are in course of publication, that of Tourneux for the printed sources and of Tuetey for the manuscript material.

But these large sets published under government auspices in no way exhaust the output of unpublished material. The *fureur de l'inédit*, of which Brunetière has spoken, becomes more furious daily. The most audacious projects are formulated for almost hopelessly increasing the mass of data at our disposal. The *Révolution Française*, a periodical now in its fiftieth volume and edited by M. Aulard, devotes its whole attention to the progress of the study of the Revolutionary period and publishes many documents. It is now reinforced by the new *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, edited by Caron and Sagnac, which naturally enters the same field rather more frequently than a more general review like the *Revue Historique* or the *Revue des Questions Historiques*.<sup>1</sup> Writers of monographs weigh down their volumes with an ever-increasing number of *pièces justificatives*, which not infrequently form the chief value of the work.

Then there are the local historical associations with which, as Langlois says, France is "saturated."<sup>2</sup> Upward of three hundred are busy printing reports, proceedings, bulletins, or regular periodicals. No single library can flatter itself that it contains complete collections of these local publications, although much valuable material and useful discussion is buried in them, not a little of which has a bearing on the Revolution.

In spite, however, of the bewildering amount of authentic data already at hand, it is generally conceded that there is far too little to enable historians of the period to settle some of the most funda-

<sup>1</sup> The *Revue de la Révolution*, edited by d'Héricault and Bord, which began to appear in 1883, was discontinued after 1887. It was a continued and violent attack on the Revolution, as might be expected if we remember that M. d'Héricault declared all republicans "voués par leur essence même à l'iniquité et à la bêtise". Nevertheless the publication contained many valuable articles, documents, and illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> M. R. de Lasteyrie's *Bibliographie Générale des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques Publiés par les Sociétés Savantes de la France* (1888-1905, 4 vols.) is a minute, painstaking catalogue of their publications, giving the title and contents of each volume, prefaced by a historical note on the organization, etc., of each society. A supplement 1885-1900 is projected, and the first two instalments of an annual continuation, 1901-1902 and 1902-1903 (1904, 1905), have appeared.

mental questions. Two years ago Jaurès, the distinguished leader of the more broad-minded among the French socialists, urged in the Chamber of Deputies that a commission should be appointed to effect, under government auspices, a classification and publication of the documents in the national and local archives relating to the economic phases of the Revolution. He quite properly urged that this field was more important than the political, to which so much attention had been given. Following his recommendation, the minister of public instruction appointed such a commission December 21, 1903, to take a place beside that originally established by Guizot. Its members include many of the foremost French historians—Jaurès, chairman, Aulard, Brette, Bloch, Caron, Esmein, Gide, Glas-son, Lavissee, Levasseur, Sagnac, Sée, Seignobos, and others.

The ministerial instructions relating to the commission's activity, issued April 19, 1904,<sup>1</sup> restrict their field to the period 1789-1800, although such attention may be given to the Ancien Régime as is necessary to an understanding of the situation of France upon the meeting of the Estates General. The chief topics for which material is to be published are the following: the economic conditions in France in 1789, especially as revealed in the cahiers of the parishes and various corporations; the guilds and their abolition; the feudal dues, their persistence and gradual extinction; an inventory of the church possessions and those of the émigrés, their sale, and the history of the assignats; changes in agriculture, industries, domestic and foreign commerce, payment of taxes, the question of supplies and of the maximum, shifting of population, rates of wages, mortgages, effects of laws relating to inheritance, etc.—a comprehensive programme indeed.

The commission has decided to publish the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly's committee on industry and agriculture, to occupy perhaps three volumes, and has designated MM. Caron and Sagnac to edit a collection of documents relating to the abolition of the seigniorial system, 1789-1793.<sup>2</sup> But these are mere trifles in comparison with two far more ambitious and important undertakings which the commission now has under way.<sup>3</sup>

The first of these is the systematic publication of the cahiers of 1789, that is to say, the lists of grievances and suggestions for reform prepared by every parish and town in France upon the occa-

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in *La Révolution Française*, XLVI. 451-459.

<sup>2</sup> This is in press. Sagnac gives an account of the undertaking *ibid.*, December, 1905. (XLIX. 481-500).

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the commission's work see *ibid.*, January, April, and December issues, 1905 (XLVIII. 66-70, 353-363; XLIX. 537-547, 561-563). There the reader will find the method of co-operation between the various departmental committees described.

sion of the summoning of the Estates General. The importance of this unique historical material has been estimated variously.<sup>1</sup> It seems preposterous, however, making every allowance for the influence of model cahiers slavishly copied, to refuse to assign to this unique document in the history of nations a most exalted place in the hierarchy of sources. It is, as Tocqueville has well said, the last will and testament of the Ancien Régime; and no more worthy or far-reaching service could be rendered by the new commission than the preparation of a scholarly and complete edition of the local cahiers. The *Archives Parlementaires*, referred to above, devoted its first six or seven volumes to the cahiers of the electoral districts—the so-called *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*. The work was, however, badly done, and a number of private and quite unofficial cahiers were included. On the other hand, almost all the original local cahiers of the parishes and of the various urban corporations—which were later edited and condensed into the more general cahier of each electoral district—were omitted altogether by the editors of the *Archives*.<sup>2</sup> Had all these been included, they would, according to the estimate of M. Brette, have filled no less than one hundred volumes of the *Archives*, which are quarto and printed in double columns. This will serve to give an idea of the magnitude of the task undertaken by M. Jaurès's commission.

A considerable number of the local cahiers have been issued from time to time by individuals and by local historical societies, but the commission proposes to make their collection complete and include all those already published in the *Archives Parlementaires* or elsewhere. The work has been carefully divided among departmental committees, and several of these are nearly ready to issue the cahiers of their several districts. Years will probably elapse, however, before the whole series is completed.<sup>3</sup>

The second great undertaking of the commission is the collection and publication of the data relating to the very fundamental but vexed question of the extent and disposal of the *biens nationaux*, that is to say, the property of the clergy, monks, ecclesiastical organizations, and émigrés, as well as that included in the king's domain, all of which was taken over by the state early in the Revolution. It is clear that the economic and social effects of the confiscation and

<sup>1</sup> See article and references by Onou, "La Valeur des Cahiers de 1789", *La Révolution Française*, November, 1905 (XLIX. 385-417).

<sup>2</sup> Brette, "Les Cahiers de 1789 et les 'Archives Parlementaires'", *ibid.*, July, 1904 (XLVII. 5-27).

<sup>3</sup> An excellent brief study of the main contentions of the cahiers is that of Edme Champion, *La France d'après les Cahiers de 1789* (1897). Here, pp. 7-8, and in the *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII. 802 et seqq., one may find partial lists of the collections of local cahiers which have been issued.

hasty disposal of so considerable a part of the landed possessions of France must have been momentous. This agrarian revolution is still frequently referred to in the current debates, but the discussion is based upon very insufficient material, and there continues to be much uncertainty as to whether the peasant or the bourgeoisie gained more by the redistribution, and as to what effect this exercised upon the increase of small holdings.<sup>1</sup>

The inventories of the various confiscated holdings, which the commission proposes to publish, will furnish for the first time an adequate basis for estimating the extent and value of the ecclesiastical property at the end of the Ancien Régime, about which there has been so much speculation. The circumstances of the sale of the property by the government will serve to determine the exact destination of the lands.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that the classes of sources to which the commission will give preference are those of official authenticity. Indeed the tendency to relegate the formerly highly esteemed personal *mémoires* to a subordinate place among the sources is a marked scientific achievement of recent years. Official registers, *procès-verbaux*, reports of committees, letters, diaries, all must take precedence in the matter of accuracy to personal reminiscences, usually written long after the events to which they refer.<sup>3</sup>

The conception of history underlying the vast project of M. Jaurès and his colleagues naturally suggests a consideration of the tendencies which may be distinguished in the treatment of material already at hand. As Carlyle said long ago, the words "French Revolution" may "have as many meanings as there are speakers of them". To him it meant "the open, violent rebellion and victory of disimprisoned anarchy against corrupt, worn-out authority; how anarchy breaks prison, bursts up from the infinite deep, and rages uncontrollable, immeasurable, enveloping a world; in phasis after phasis of fever-frenzy".<sup>4</sup> By Taine the Revolution is likened to the disorders produced in a gentleman "rather weak in constitution but apparently sound and of peaceful habits who drinks eagerly of a new liquor, falls suddenly to the ground, foaming at the mouth,

<sup>1</sup> Ivan Loutchisky began the scientific study of this matter in his *La Petite Propriété en France avant la Révolution et la Vente des Biens Nationaux* (Paris, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> The directions issued by the commission to the local committees in regard to the method of collecting and arranging the material may be found in *La Révolution Française*, December, 1905 (XLIX. 537-547).

<sup>3</sup> Taine's reckless use of worthless sources has been illustrated recently by Belloc, "Ten Pages of Taine", *The International Quarterly*, XII. 255-272 (January, 1906).

<sup>4</sup> *French Revolution*, sections 456-457 (book VI., ch. 1).

delirious and convulsed".<sup>1</sup> Neither Carlyle nor Taine took his imagery so seriously as to miss some of the deeper significance of the Revolution; but weaker heads than theirs have been completely bewildered by the loud talk and disorder of the period, which they have mistaken for the Revolution itself. One of the most striking achievements of the last quarter of a century is the relegation of the Reign of Terror to its proper place. The English-reading public have Professor Morse Stephens in especial to thank for explaining and reducing to its proper proportions the disimprisoned anarchy, which indeed seems almost trivial when compared with the magnificent turmoil in Russia at the present moment.

The merely personal has always been conspicuous in the histories of the Revolution. Marie Antoinette, the Princess de Lamballe, Marat, Charlotte Corday, Desmoulins, Danton, Saint-Just, the poor little dauphin—these have been dear to the hearts of readers whose interest was much more readily enlisted in the storming of the Bastille than in the establishment of the present departments of France or the origin of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The picturesque, the gruesome, the anecdotal, are all falling into the background and giving place to the fundamental and permanent results of the general movement.

These fundamental changes belong, however, to the most varied classes. The political have naturally received early and constant attention. Much prominence has been given to the formation and dissolution of the successive parties in the successive governmental bodies and to the complexion of the political clubs and the rôle of the journalists. These have perhaps formed the core of the more serious general accounts of the Revolution, and M. Aulard has just given us a new and excellent review of the period from a political standpoint.<sup>2</sup> Yet much of the political agitation was very superficial; and, unless taken in connection with the deeper special issues, it is bound to attract less and less attention as the actors in the drama lose their personal interest for us.

Somewhat akin to the political aspects of the Revolution are the diplomatic, for which many historians, recently most conspicuously M. Sorel, have exhibited a marked penchant. There is no reason why the main outlines of negotiations during the long wars which began in April, 1792, should not be pretty clear by this time, since they have long been receiving careful attention from German and Austrian scholars as well as French. Sorel's extraordinary work upon Europe and the French Revolution,<sup>3</sup> which has just been

<sup>1</sup> *Ancien Régime*, liv. III., ch. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française, 1789-1804* (1901).

<sup>3</sup> *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, eight vols. (coming down to 1815), 1885-1904.

brought to completion, is characterized by scholarship and literary finish. It combines most happily the internal history of France with a discussion of the broader influences of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe, and should completely replace Sybel's ill-balanced and partizan work, which unfortunately enjoys a reputation which it ill deserves.

I will say nothing about the progress in military history. The whole matter of the Revolutionary wars is being once more reviewed by M. Chuquet,<sup>1</sup> who seems to be the Jomini of our day. Fighting has a perennial fascination for many minds, and no one questions its importance when properly treated, but military history easily degenerates into as episodal and personal a chronicle as the old-fashioned annals of the king's court.

Of the really living issues bequeathed by the Revolution to France of to-day, three are easily distinguishable by reason of the never-ending discussion to which they give rise: first, the question of the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical organizations; second, and closely allied with the first, the problem of education and of the monastic orders; and lastly, the economic troubles, which are not of course peculiar to France, but which are there always considered in relation with the vital changes introduced by the legislation of the Revolution.

Among these changes none was more momentous than the reform of that ancient ecclesiastical organization which had continued to perpetuate many medieval traits flagrantly out of accord with the spirit and conditions of the eighteenth century. The exact nature and effects of the reforms in the Church have however been obscured both by our ignorance of the exact condition of the clergy and the institutions and property which they controlled before 1790, and by the violent religious prejudices which have dominated many writers. The extreme clerical party, on the one hand, has always been prone to mistake an objection to an impropriated tithe for a rejection of Christianity; and, on the other hand, the anticlericals have allowed themselves to be completely blinded to the greatness and beneficence of the Church by their well-founded conviction that the clergy have frequently stood out for the most ancient and obvious abuses.

The material for judging of the nature and extent of the Church's influence in the eighteenth century is still very incomplete. The publication of the local cahiers and of the documents relating to the Church property will do much to remedy the de-

<sup>1</sup> *Les Guerres de la Révolution, 1886 et seqq.*; eleven volumes have appeared, coming down to the end of 1793.



ficiency, although there must be a great deal more material both of a local and of a general nature which should be made available. Such material as exists has been utilized rather recently by Abbé Sicard in his "Bishops before the Revolution",<sup>1</sup> written in a spirit of warm admiration. The rôle of the parish priests in the elections of 1789, and the nature of their criticisms on the existing system, are treated by Chassin in his useful little book, *Les Cahiers des Curés* (1882).

With an all too inadequate background of knowledge of the conditions which determined the reforms of the Constituent Assembly, a number of accounts of the changes themselves have appeared of recent years. Some of these are scarcely more than political pamphlets called forth by the active discussion which has been carried on in regard to the "congrégations" and the state support of the churches. Others are serious and scholarly historical contributions. Theiner long ago made a collection of documents relating to religious affairs in France from 1790 to 1800.<sup>2</sup> This has been supplemented by Dr. Robinet's *Le Mouvement Religieux à Paris pendant la Révolution* (2 vols., 1896-1898). This was interrupted by the editor's death, and comes down only to September, 1793.<sup>3</sup>

Of the recent treatments of the Church, the following written from quite different standpoints may be noted<sup>4</sup>: Debidour, well known for his diplomatic history of the nineteenth century, has written a companion volume, *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1870* (1898). Toward two hundred pages of this have to do with the period before the Concordat of 1801, and furnish bibliographies of the sources and older works. Professor Sloane in *The French Revolution and Religious Reform* (based on the Morse Lectures for 1900) gives the English-reading public the first scholarly account of the ecclesiastical legislation from 1789 to 1804 and its influence upon France. Aulard has followed up his earlier study on the worship of reason (1892) by *La Révolution Française et les Congrégations* (mainly documents, 1903); and by articles in the recent issues of his periodical, *La Révolution Française* (August to November, 1905), on the separation of Church

<sup>1</sup> *L'Ancien Clergé de France*, vol. I. (1893), *Les Évêques avant la Révolution*. Volumes II.-III., since published, relate to the Revolutionary period (1894, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Augustin Theiner, *Documents Inédits relatifs aux Affaires Religieuses en France* (2 vols., 1857-1858).

<sup>3</sup> Local documents and records are constantly being published, and it is from these that the most accurate idea of the conditions and course of events must be derived. Delarue, *Le Clergé et le Culte Catholique en Bretagne pendant la Révolution*, vol. I. (1903), is an instance in point.

<sup>4</sup> Among the older accounts those still most useful are, perhaps, Sciout, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé* (2d ed., 1887), and Gazier, *Études sur l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (1887).

and State. Belonging to the same school, which may rather invidiously be called that of the latter-day Jacobins, we have the elaborate and careful contributions of Mathiez, especially his monograph on theophilanthropy.<sup>1</sup> Special merits attach to the little book of M. Edme Champion, *La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État en 1794* (1903). The author modestly calls this "an introduction to the religious history of the Revolution", but it is a very remarkable summary of the whole movement, and the writer's spirit, knowledge, and graces of style immediately arouse the confidence and admiration of the reader.

In the matter of the history of education during the Revolution the most fundamental progress is being made in the publication by J. Guillaume of the *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique* of the National Assembly (1 vol.) and of the Convention (of which the fourth volume has recently appeared). The editor has supplied valuable introductions to his material. A recent general review of the theories of education during the Revolution by Maurice Wolff will be found in *L'Œuvre Sociale de la Révolution Française*.<sup>2</sup>

Of late the economic phases of the Ancien Régime and of the Revolution have begun to receive the attention they merit. Tocqueville's few suggestions and the utterly insufficient and superficial chapters in Taine's *Ancien Régime* long represented all that even a careful student looked for to explain the antecedents of the Revolutionary reforms of 1789 and the succeeding years. Now he has at his command a number of special works which make at least a hopeful beginning toward a scientific and adequate picture of the ancient and chaotic conditions with which the National Assembly did battle.

It is to the Russians, singularly enough, that we owe some of the best recent studies upon the economic and administrative concerns of the Ancien Régime. Karéiev published in 1879 in Russian his "Peasants and the Peasant Question in France during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century". This has been translated into French (1899) and, although unfortunately not brought up to date, is a work of very substantial value.<sup>3</sup> Afanassiev has dealt with

<sup>1</sup> *La Théophilanthropie et le Culte Décadaire, 1796-1801* (1904). The same writer has written on the origins of the Revolutionary worship and other phases of the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, n. d. [1901], a collection of five essays by careful writers, with an introduction by Émile Faguet.

<sup>3</sup> See an excellent review of the volume by Henri Sée in the *Revue Historique*, November-December, 1904 (LXXXVI. 382-386). M. Sée observes that "the history of the rural classes in the eighteenth century still remains to be written". His own work, *Les Classes Rurales et le Régime Domaniaux en France au Moyen Âge* (1901), is really an invaluable introduction to the study of the Ancien Régime. He believes that "vers le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la condition des paysans semble fixée, dans ses traits essentiels, telle qu'elle subsistera jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," p. ix.

the important matter of the grain trade in the eighteenth century<sup>1</sup>—markets, their administration and officers, grain dealers, domestic and foreign trade, tolls, dues, etc., and the attempted reforms of Turgot and Necker. Loutchisky, above referred to,<sup>2</sup> has written on the effects of the confiscations. Kovalevsky, who devoted the first volume of his “Origins of Modern Democracy” (Moscow, 1895–1899) to France, is now beginning the publication in French of a work on France upon the eve of the Revolution from an economic and social standpoint.<sup>3</sup> Ardachev has published in Russian a study of the provincial administration which he proposes to reissue in French. As a precursor to this he has already printed (1904) a volume of documents which will form the third volume of the proposed work.<sup>4</sup>

From the pens of French scholars we have the new and “entirely recast” edition of Levasseur’s well-known “History of the Working Classes before 1789”,<sup>5</sup> in which many pages are assigned to the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. On the guilds Martin-Saint-Léon has added a new monograph of which the latter part has to do with the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

An especially prominent place should be assigned in this review of the economic literature to the extraordinary work of Charles Gomel. His two volumes on “The Financial Causes of the French Revolution”<sup>7</sup> which relate to Turgot, Necker, and the later controllers-general will do more to dispel the old misapprehensions in regard to the antecedents of the revolutionary movement than any other single history. Gomel conceives his subject very generously, so that in spite of its title his work is perhaps the best general account in existence of the reign of Louis XVI., and should always be included in even the most modest collection of books on the Revo-

<sup>1</sup> Georges Afanassiev, *Le Commerce des Céréales en France au Dix-huitième Siècle* (1894).

<sup>2</sup> Page 537, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *La France Économique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution*, the first instalment of which appeared in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, August–September, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> See an interesting article by Karéiev, “La Révolution Française dans la Science Historique Russe”, in *La Révolution Française*, XLII. 321–345. The writer maintains that the interest of Russian scholars is purely scientific and is not the result of the problems which present themselves at home.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l’Industrie en France avant 1789* (2d ed., 1900–1901).

<sup>6</sup> *Histoire des Corporations de Métiers depuis leurs Origines jusqu’à leur Suppression en 1791* (1897).

<sup>7</sup> *Les Causes Financières de la Révolution*, I., *Les Ministères de Turgot et de Necker* (1892); II., *Les Derniers Contrôleurs Généraux* (1893); continued under the title *Histoire Financière de l’Assemblée Constituante* (2 vols., 1896–1897) and *Histoire Financière de la Législative et de la Convention* (2 vols., 1902–1905).

lution. The work is distinguished for its perfect clarity, perspective, and fair-mindedness.

Sagnac has pointed out the need for more descriptions of local conditions, for only on them can safe general results be based. The study of the institutions of the Ancien Régime is, he urges, "extrêmement complexe et délicate".<sup>1</sup> Without a minute examination, for instance, of the actual effects of an edict, it is impossible to tell what it meant, whether it was actually promulgated in any particular district, and, if so, whether it was ever executed. As examples of the rapidly increasing number of special studies of this class may be noted the essays of Bloch on the generality of Orleans, 1760-1789 (1900),<sup>2</sup> and the monograph of P. Tézenas de Montcel, which confines itself to the proceedings from October 8, 1787, to July 21, 1790, of one of the local assemblies (that at Saint-Étienne) established by the administrative reform of June 22, 1787<sup>3</sup>. This might easily prove of more value to one striving to acquaint himself with the real character of the old administrative system and the economic problems of the time than all the more general works that have been written.

For the Revolution itself far the most noteworthy general treatment from an economic standpoint is the "Socialist History" by M. Jaurès<sup>4</sup>, whose services in organizing the national commission for the collection of the sources for economic history has already been mentioned. Printed on bad paper, in a form to be cheaply circulated among the peasants and artisans of France, the work might from its title and glaring red covers be mistaken for a gigantic pamphlet. But, on the contrary, it is certainly the best general history of the period which has appeared for many years, perhaps the best that has ever been written. The writer takes advantage of a vast amount of special investigation which was not available for earlier writers, and treats his subject in a spirit of remarkable philosophic fairness. He is clear and orderly in the arrangement of his material, and naturally places the emphasis on many points which have been sadly neglected by those interested chiefly in the political history. It is to be hoped that the exigencies of propaganda will not prevent the

<sup>1</sup> "De la Méthode dans l'Étude des Institutions de l'Ancien Régime", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, VI. 14 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Camille Bloch, *Études sur l'Histoire Économique de la France* (1900).

<sup>3</sup> *L'Assemblée du Département de Saint-Étienne* (1903).

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire Socialiste, 1789-1900*, sous la direction de Jean Jaurès. Volumes I.-IV. (Paris, n. d. [1901 et seqq.]), covering the period to the Ninth Thermidor, are by Jaurès himself. Volume V., from the Ninth Thermidor to the Eighteenth Brumaire, is by Deville. Volume VI., the Consulate and Empire, is by P. Brousse and H. Turot. See a review of this work by Dr. Charles A. Beard in *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1906.

work from being reprinted in less awkward volumes and on paper which will bring out clearly the numerous and highly interesting illustrations. It would then easily take its place in our libraries among the very best general histories of the French Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

Much more concise than the volumes of Jaurès is M. Aulard's "Political History of the Revolution" (1901), written by one who has given years of attention to the sources of the period and who naturally treats the whole republican movement with the utmost sympathy.<sup>2</sup> This compact and admirable book should be speedily translated into English.

Among the more special accounts of the work of the Revolution may be noted the later volumes of Gomel's *Histoire Financière*, covering the period of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (4 vols.) and ultimately to include the Convention.<sup>3</sup> The sterling merits of this work have already been emphasized. It is by no means a narrowly technical treatise, but takes into consideration all the bearings of the financial policy of the assemblies. This may be supplemented in some respects by Sagnac, *La Législation Civile de la Révolution Française, 1789-1804* (1898). This is devoted largely to the land question and to the laws affecting the family relations, marriages, inheritance, etc. Lastly, the new edition of Levasseur's "History of the Working Classes and Industry from 1789 to 1870" (1903-1904) gives much attention to the assignats and other important topics.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the general and special treatments of the Revolution from the religious, educational, and economic or social standpoint, two other classes of contributions are becoming more and more numerous as the demand for accurate and intensive historical investigation develops. One is the monograph which confines itself

<sup>1</sup> I think that some years ago M. Sorel remarked that he considered Louis Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (Paris, 12 vols., 1847-1862) on the whole the best general account of the Revolution. That of Jaurès is far superior in all respects except in his omission of exact citations, which would have encumbered his text with foot-notes which few of those readers to whom he wished especially to appeal would have appreciated.

<sup>2</sup> See page 538, note 2. The attitude of the modern sympathizer with the Revolution is well expressed by M. Seligman as follows: "Les souffrances des victimes innocentes [of the Revolutionary tribunals] furent la rançon des progrès qui nous furent légués. Il nous appartient, à nous qui les voyons de loin, de réconcilier ces grands ancêtres dans une pieuse et filiale reconnaissance"—whatever that may mean. From an address at Liège, June, 1905, reported in *La Révolution Française*, October, 1905 (XLIX. 361).

<sup>3</sup> See page 542, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> There is a remarkable chronological table of the edicts, decrees, ordonnances, laws, etc., issued in regard to economic matters (I. lxxxix), which gives a vivid impression of the range and activity of the Revolutionary legislation compared with that of the earlier period.

to the events of a single noteworthy day or some one factor in the general situation, the other class is the local history which exhibits the origin and course of the revolutionary movement in a small district. We have books on the Fourteenth of July, the Tenth of August, the theatres, the press, the émigrés, the buildings occupied at different times by the parliamentary assemblies, the "grand' peur" in Dauphiné. Ferdinand-Dreyfus has written on public relief under the Legislative Assembly and the Convention; Seligman on the administration of justice, 1789-1792 (1901); Lenôtre on the guillotine<sup>1</sup> and arrests during the Revolution.

Of the local histories recently published, that of Bruneau, *Les Débuts de la Révolution dans les Départements du Cher et de l'Indre, 1789-1791* (1902), is a study of the old province of Berry. By means of investigations such as this one can form a very exact idea of the collapse of the old government, the advent of the new provisional substitute, the progress and effects of the sale of the public lands, the issuing of the assignats. The third part of Bussière's "Historical Studies on the Revolution in Périgord" has appeared (1903). There is now a long list of similar works, some of them in several volumes. A well-chosen group of them should be in every library that aims to keep pace with the literature of the Revolution; for it is in such works, as has already been said, that one may discover the true secret of the Revolution in its influence upon the life of the common lot.<sup>2</sup>

Before bringing to a close this rather arid but perhaps useful review of the vast range and compass of activity in the field of Revolutionary history, it is natural to ask whether in view of all that has been done and all that is planned in the way of special investigation it is possible even to conceive of an adequate general review of the Revolution such as used to be undertaken with a light heart. As early as 1797 a writer on the causes and results of the Revolution declared that it was "a complete change of manners, customs, conditions, and possessions".<sup>3</sup> Such a proposition could only be proved or disproved, as we now clearly see, after a detailed examination of the manners, customs, conditions, and property-holding not only of the Revolution but of the Ancien Régime. Material for such an

<sup>1</sup> In his interesting studies, *Paris Révolutionnaire: Vieilles Maisons, Vieux Papiers* (2 vols., 1904).

<sup>2</sup> The appearance of local histories and of other monographs can be conveniently followed in *La Révolution Française*, and in the admirable *Répertoire Méthodique de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, edited by Brière and Caron, which, beginning with an account of the output of the year 1898, has been appearing annually since 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Lezay-Marnézia, *Des Causes de la Révolution et de ses Résultats* (Paris, 1797), 6, quoted by Chassin, *Le Génie de la Révolution*, vii.

examination is only beginning to be collected, and it seems therefore impossible to determine for a long time to come what exactly were the effects of the Revolutionary changes.

But however incomplete and provisional our histories of the Revolution may be until the whole range of changes is examined and the results of the examination digested, they will hereafter be free from the influence of four fallacies which have wrought much evil in the past: first, the long-cherished belief that the Revolution began on May 5, 1789; second, that it culminated in the Reign of Terror; third, that it was confined mainly to the city of Paris; and lastly, that its history can be written from that older form of historical fiction, personal memoirs. All these convictions are being surrendered by careful scholars. The Reign of Terror no longer claims the attention of many investigators; and the provinces, as has been abundantly shown, are vying with Paris in bringing to light material relating to local history and in producing monographs and elaborate histories of all parts of the ancient kingdom. Memoirs are regarded now with rooted suspicion, and preference is always given to strictly contemporaneous reports and proceedings. The fatal date 1789 continues, however, to bar the way to a complete grasp of the unity of the revolutionary movement. Histories still close or commence with that year, although it was assuredly in 1786, when Calonne threw up his hands and summoned the Notables, that the Revolution as an unbroken political movement took its beginning.

It is high time that we had a general account of the Revolution regarded simply and solely in its most fundamental aspects as a reformation, social, political, and economic. This is what Chassin evidently had in mind when he began his never-completed "*Genius of the Revolution*". He dreamed of an "*histoire positive*", in which the personal, anecdotal, transient, and fantastic should give way to the permanent achievements of the time.<sup>1</sup> By the term "*Revolution*" Chassin understood not the upbubbling of disimprisoned anarchy, but quite prosaically the way in which the reformers transformed their ideas into acts: how they substituted for a polity based upon privilege, the régime of equality; for despotism, a free state; for divine right, the sovereignty of the people; for favor, justice. Assuredly, as Chassin ventured to think, "*cette histoire ne gagnerait-elle pas en certitude ce qu' au premier aspect elle semblerait perdre en intérêt?*" But no apologies are necessary.

This ideal, it seems to the present writer, is most nearly realized by M. Gomel.<sup>2</sup> Although he claims to deal only with the financial

<sup>1</sup> *Le Génie de la Révolution* (1864-1865), introduction. Only the first part, on the cahiers of 1789, in two volumes, ever appeared.

<sup>2</sup> See above, page 542, note 7, and page 544.

history, he really furnishes an admirable review of the whole reform movement beginning with the period of the Seven Years' War and coming down without a break through the administrations of Turgot, Necker, and the later *contrôleurs* to the National Assembly and the Convention. There is no break; the stream is perfectly continuous. Sagnac's "History of the Civil Legislation",<sup>1</sup> while dealing with only a few subjects of reform, is in the same line, as is Levasseur's "History of the Working Classes"<sup>2</sup> and the little volume of essays on the "Social Task of the Revolution", which has a very suggestive introductory essay by Émile Faguet.

In short, we need a pragmatic history of the Revolution. We long to know just what was actually accomplished. But in order to learn what was done and so appreciate properly the place of the Revolution among the great transformations of history, it will be necessary to bring the history of France from 1789 to 1800 into organic relation not only with the Ancien Régime but with the developments throughout Western Europe of the half-century immediately preceding the assembling of the Estates General. The older writers tended to give preference in their study of the Ancien Régime to the spectacular abuses and the eccentricities of speculation, which may indeed serve to explain the attitude of some of the more fantastic terrorists, but which will never account for the abrupt and permanent betterment. This must remain a mystery to those who have not traced the more or less abortive reforms and the irresistible demands for improvement which lie back of the cahiers of 1789. The Revolution will some day be recognized as fundamentally the most decisive and general readjustment to meet new and altered conditions of which we have any record. To tell the story of this rebirth, not only in France but in Western Europe, by first following out with scrupulous care the process of gestation, is the aspiration which, it is safe to prophesy, will dominate the historiography of the future.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

<sup>1</sup> See above, page 544.

<sup>2</sup> See above, page 542, note 5, and page 544.

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 541, note 2.



## DR. S. MILLINGTON MILLER AND THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION

[In the exposure of Dr. Miller's interesting fabrication there have been two marked stages. In the period from the time of its publication to December 30, 1905, the leading part in the attack was taken by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, who assailed it in the *Columbia State* of July 30, and in the pamphlet mentioned below. From December 30 on, in consequence of Dr. Miller's exhibition of his document on that day, the leading part naturally fell to Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. At the request of the managing editor, these two gentlemen have kindly furnished the REVIEW with accounts of the first and second acts of the comedy respectively. The ancient question of the Mecklenburg Declaration, it is perhaps needless to say, remains where it stood before, except that Dr. Miller's efforts have resulted in awakening renewed interest in it and in eliciting some new bits of evidence. Our thanks are due to the editor of *Collier's* for permission to reproduce the original photograph first printed in their pages (plate I., *post*)<sup>1</sup>; to Mr. Salley for plate II.; to the authorities of the Public Record Office, Messrs. B. F. Stevens and Brown of London, and Mr. Alexander Graham of Charlotte, North Carolina, for plates III. and IV.—ED.]

### I.

ON April 30, 1819, the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*,<sup>2</sup> of Raleigh, North Carolina, published a set of resolutions that were alleged to have been passed in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, by a convention, on May 20, 1775, and that had been rewritten from memory by John McKnitt Alexander, terming them a "Declaration of Independence". A controversy over their genuineness was immediately started and has never ended. The latest attempt to prove them genuine was made by "S. Millington Miller, M.D." in an article on the Mecklenburg "Declaration" which he contributed to the issue of *Collier's* for July 1, 1905. It was an elaborate but vain attempt to deceive the public by a fac-

<sup>1</sup> We regret to find that the reduction in size has entailed some loss of clearness.

<sup>2</sup> On file in the Library of Congress.

simile of an alleged contemporary newspaper containing the alleged "Declaration of Independence".

There is in the British Public Record Office in London a letter written by Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina on June 30, 1775, to the Earl of Dartmouth, British Secretary of State for the American Department, in which Governor Martin referred to the "Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg" which his lordship would find in a newspaper which the governor enclosed in the letter.<sup>1</sup> This newspaper is missing from the letter, and written across the back of the letter is this pencilled note: "A printed paper taken out by Mr. Turner for Mr. Stevenson, August 15, 1837". Mr. Stevenson was then United States minister to England. Miller has produced a paper which he claims to have found among some papers left by Mr. Stevenson, and succeeded in imposing a photograph of it upon the editors of *Collier's* as a photograph of a genuine issue of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* of "Friday, June 3RD, 1775". His date was derived from a tradition held in North Carolina that the paper borrowed by Stevenson was the *Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 3, 1775.

As soon as the writer saw Miller's article in *Collier's*, he became convinced that there was something wrong with the alleged contemporary newspaper. It was not like any of the many contemporary newspapers he had seen, and he began to investigate. The history of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* being easily obtained, he soon produced absolute proof of the spuriousness of Miller's facsimile, which proof he has recently printed in pamphlet form.<sup>2</sup> The part of that pamphlet essential to an understanding of the forgery is reprinted in the following paragraphs, with a few amendments and additions.

Isaiah Thomas's *History of Printing* fixes Friday, October 13, 1769, as the date of the first issue of the *Cape-Fear Mercury*; and a copy of number 7 thereof for Friday, November 24, 1769, in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, substantiates Thomas. Counting from Friday to Friday and making no allowance for 1772 as a leap-year, it will be seen that there are 295 Fridays to and including the first Friday in June, 1775, and that that Friday falls on June 3; but allow for twenty-nine days in February, 1772, and it will be seen that the first Friday in June, 1775, fell on the second of the month and not on the third as this spurious paper has it. The manufacturer of that paper miscalculated. Nor did the miscalculation stop on that one item. The

<sup>1</sup> See *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *The True Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence"* (Columbia, S. C., 1905).

manufacturer counted the number of weeks, not the number of Fridays (inclusive), and numbered his paper wrong. He numbered it 294. It should have been 295 to have the correct number of Fridays. But the history of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* shows that it was not issued continuously every Friday from October 13, 1769, to June 2, 1775. The following extract from the journal of the Wilmington Committee of Safety for January 30, 1775, shows that the paper had suspended publication at some time prior to the latter date:

Mr. Adam Boyd, having applied for encouragement to his newspaper (some time ago laid aside), it was resolved that the committee . . . would support him on the following terms: That he, Mr. Boyd, should weekly continue a newspaper, denominated the Cape Fear Mercury, of 21 inches wide, 17 inches long, 3 columns on a page, and of the small pica or long primer letter, and in return receive his payment at the following periods, viz: ten shillings at the delivery of the first number, ten shillings at the end of every succeeding six months thereafter.<sup>1</sup>

It now appears, though the fact was doubtless unknown to Miller as to most others, that there are five copies of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* in London. Of these, that of nearest date to Friday, June 2, 1775, is dated Friday, July 28, 1775, exactly eight weeks later, and yet it is number 266 (plate IV.). The three papers of later date in 1775 accord with this in dating and numbering. All five are of two columns to the page, not three.

But the wrong date and the wrong number are not the only evidences of spuriousness on the face of the facsimile of this paper. There are three distinct shades to the paper, marked by clearly defined lines, showing that the cut was made from a photograph of at least three distinct and separate pieces of paper put together. The heading undoubtedly came from a genuine *Cape-Fear Mercury*, but not one of "June 3RD, 1775". A comparison of the cut of the genuine paper in the American Antiquarian Society's library (plate II.) with that in *Collier's* of the spurious paper (plate I.) will show that the latter bears exactly the same stains, specks, typographical defects, etc., as the former, and that the heading of this spurious paper is in fact an altered copy of the genuine one. For instances: the right upper horn of the little ornament over the parenthesis before "Friday" is broken off in both; just to the right of the same parenthesis is a speck that appears on both cuts; just under the "F" is another; inside of the "U" in "Mercury" is another;

<sup>1</sup> S. B. Weeks, *The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century* (Brooklyn, Hist. Printing Club, 1891), 33.

THE

# CAPE-FEAR MERCURY;

ESTABLISHED 1835. PUBLISHED WEEKLY. VOL. 1. NO. 294.

FRIDAY, June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1875.

It is the duty of every citizen to be informed of the proceedings of the Legislature, and to be able to express his opinion on the measures proposed. The Mercury is a weekly publication, and is the only paper of the kind in this section. It is published by the Cape-Fear Mercury Co., and is sold at the rate of one cent per copy. The subscription price is \$1.00 per annum in advance. The Mercury is published by the Cape-Fear Mercury Co., and is sold at the rate of one cent per copy. The subscription price is \$1.00 per annum in advance.

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et regis, et curia in hoc sum.

Nº. 7.

*S I R,*

A cash-book, debitor, and creditor, where the treasurer keeps an account of all the money he receives, and makes himself debtor, for the public money paid in to him, whether for the use of the treasury, or for the use of the public; and the money paid out by him, with such receipts and paybooks. This book is also generally called a diary, or diary-book.

and so on all over the heading. Some apparent effort has been made to remove the larger stains from the altered copy, with the result that the altered copy is blurred or scratched at every single point where these stains show up clearly in the unchanged copy. It is well known to several people in Worcester that S. Millington Miller was in Worcester a short time before this article appeared in *Collier's* and that he visited the library of the American Antiquarian Society, and it is also known that the Society's copy of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* was photographed for him prior to the appearance of his article in *Collier's*. The following letter will throw some light on the matter:

PHOTOGRAPHERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
Office of the First Vice-President

Mr. A. S. Salley, Worcester, Mass., Nov. 13, 1905.  
Columbia, S. C.

My Dear Sir:—

Your inquiry of the 11th inst. to hand. I did make a copy of the Cape Fear Mercury for S. Millington Miller, but for some reason he wanted a reverse negative made—and in doing this there might have been a slight deviation from the exact size<sup>1</sup>, but in your copy I feel quite sure that the dimensions are exactly the size of the original, as I was very particular about the size.<sup>2</sup> I thank you for giving me cr. for the copy in your reproduction.

Very truly yours,

J. CHESTER BUSHONG  
No. 6 Elm St.

The metal in the electroplate loaned the writer for his pamphlet by *Collier's* shows up brighter where the erasures were made on Mr. Bushong's photograph or negative. The next photograph and the equally faithful half-tone made therefrom and the electroplate made from that all preserve the truth quite plainly.

That the date of the genuine paper was altered for the reproduction is quite evident. "June 3RD" is not in the usual type used for printing the months in the *Mercury's* date-line; it is not in the same type as "November 24" in the genuine paper. The "J" and "une" are not in the same relative proportion as the "N." and "ovember". The "RD" is in small capitals, which were seldom or never used in date abbreviations in the body of a newspaper then and are not used now—always lower-case letters—and it was not the style of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* to use figures followed by "rd" or "th" in the date-line; a comma was all that was used, but the

<sup>1</sup> The dimensions given by Miller in *Collier's* are  $8\frac{3}{4}$  by  $13\frac{3}{4}$ .

<sup>2</sup> Mr. E. M. Barton, the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, confirms Mr. Bushong. The writer has a letter from him stating that the photograph made by Mr. Bushong for the writer was made the exact size of the paper, namely,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  by  $13\frac{3}{4}$ .

"RD" in small capitals appears to have been used in this case to fill up an awkward space. The "Friday" and the "1775" occupy exactly the same positions on this paper that they do on the Antiquarian Society's paper. "June 3," is not so long as "November 24," and would leave an awkward space which the "RD" in small capitals, followed by the comma, helps to fill up for the sake of appearance. Besides, the appearance of the electroplate indicates that a change was made on the original photograph or the negative thereof before being reproduced. This does not show in the print as it does on the electroplate made from previous reproductions. The "75" in "1775" is also in a different type from the "17"; the "5" is awry; and the "2" in "294" is in a different type from the "9" and the "4".

Another significant fact is that the copies of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* that are in London, issued in 1775 (*e. g.*, plate iv.), are without the royal arms of Great Britain and the Latin motto that appear on the heading of the paper issued in 1769 that is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. The same types were used for the title, however.

Again, the types in the first two columns appended to this heading are different. The type of the Mecklenburg "Declaration" in the first column are apparently modern type, and are smaller and trimmer than the type of the second column, which are the clumsy-looking type of the Revolutionary period. The second column was apparently taken from a paper published just after the Lexington and Concord fights, in April, 1775, giving the casualties of those fights. The small piece of this column preserved in the cut in *Collier's* is exactly—punctuation and all—like the account of those fights published in Almon's *Remembrancer*. But the names are in italics in the *Remembrancer*, and its account was doubtless copied from an earlier paper; and it was probably from that earlier paper that Miller cut the account and used the first of it to fill up his first column below his Mecklenburg "Declaration" and continued it on his second column. We are uninformed as to what constituted his third column, for the editors of *Collier's* cut off from their photograph all but the heading, the "Declaration" and four lines of its alleged list of signers, and the small piece of the second column shown in the cut. Another striking coincidence is that when Miller was in Charlotte in the spring of 1905 he was shown a copy of Almon's *Remembrancer* containing this account of the Concord and Lexington fights, and tried to buy it.

The first column, which contains only the first three of the five resolves of the alleged Mecklenburg "Declaration" of May 20, with

the names appended of the chairman, secretary, and others of the alleged members of the convention, was evidently set up for the especial purpose of making this very column, and was then printed off on a well "doctored" piece of paper. It was set in modern type, and as the font evidently contained no old-fashioned long "s" (which resembles an "f"), a modern "f" was used in lieu thereof. The difference is apparent. The bar at right angles to the perpendicular extends from the left across to the right of the perpendicular in the "f"; it stops at the perpendicular of the old-style "s." This alleged contemporary print of the Mecklenburg "Declaration" faithfully follows in capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and the arrangement of the names of the alleged signers of the "Declaration" (save that the lines of the Chairman and the Secretary are reversed, while they retain their proper positions on those lines) a broadside printed in Joseph Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution* in 1851, which did not pretend to be a copy from the original "Declaration", but is now known to be a copy of another broadside of the "Declaration", manufactured about 1825, and presenting a list of the alleged signers. Mr. Alexander's memory could not possibly have been so accurate as to have enabled him to remember the very spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and arrangement of a paper he had not seen in many years; and it is also a significant fact that when Miller was in Charlotte in the spring of 1905 he was presented with one of these broadsides.

These several pieces of paper were placed in juxtaposition and photographed, and the first and second columns were not so placed as to make their perpendicular lines of type exactly parallel.

If the controversy over the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence" is ever settled, it will have to be done by genuine contemporary documents and not by spurious ones like this.

A. S. SALLEY, JR.

## II.

BEING asked by a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission to give my opinion of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 3, 1775, which Dr. S. Millington Miller was holding for sale, I went to Baltimore on the morning of December 30 under an arrangement with the three gentlemen representing North Carolina, namely, Dr. George W. Graham, Mr. Alexander Graham, and Mr. R. O. Alexander. Under a plea of an important engagement Miller left the city before I arrived, but agreed to "endeavor to secure" my opinion "by a direct written request upon him [me] within five days of this date." The committee reported that Miller showed to them a two-



columned paper (that reproduced in *Collier's* being one of three columns, *see* plate I.), and specified that the word "Medford" was printed in the third line from the top of the second column in Miller's sheet, whereas the Collier facsimile gave the second syllable of the word, "ford", as the first word of the second column. Further, to Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who accompanied me to Baltimore, and who has shown a keen and intelligent interest in the subject, the committee gave definite points upon the water-mark of the paper, the repairs upon it, and the general appearance of the sheet, which formed the basis of questions to Dr. Miller in my talks with him.

On December 30, Dr. Miller wrote that he would see me on one of three days he named, and I at once named Friday, January 5. I was with him for an hour and a half on Friday and nearly two hours and a half on Saturday, with his *Cape-Fear Mercury* before me. My questions were all framed with an idea to show how and when he obtained this paper. I was obliged to conclude that his statements are entirely unreliable, and that he was offering a paper which he knew to be a forgery, and of which he was presumably the forger. The most puzzling feature in the matter, however, lay in the definite statement of the three gentlemen from North Carolina that he showed to them in Baltimore a two-columned paper. It was a three-columned paper that I saw, and the water-mark, the repairs, and the location of the word "Medford" all corresponded to what the committee saw. Even if they had told Miller what points they thus especially noted, and they assure me that they did not, it was a physical impossibility for him to have manufactured a new sheet in the interval of five days, with like points. Inasmuch as Miller in all probability had taken the copy of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* at Worcester (plate II.) as his model (a three-columned paper), there was no reason for his submitting a two-columned sheet. The committee did have in their possession photographs of two-columned *Mercurys* for 1773 and 1775, obtained from London (plates III. and IV.), and may have confused their impressions of what they did see. In justice to them it may be said that all three reiterated their statement of a two-columned paper in Miller's hands when by telegraph I called attention to the discrepancy.

I repeat the description of the paper itself which I made to the North Carolina Commission:

The paper itself is a three-columned paper, printed on one side of a sheet of paper. The width of the three columns of type is about eight inches, the length of the type-column (exclusive of heading) is about ten inches. I preferred taking these measurements, as the column-

length would not vary from week to week so much as would the sheet of paper. The sheet was an entire sheet without wire-marks, but did have a water-mark toward the top and lying about half-way between the two side edges of the sheet. This water-mark is of a lozenge shape with crown, fleur-de-lis, and spear or arrow shaft, without letters or figures. The paper was thinner than was usually employed in newspaper work of that day, and had been folded twice, once lengthwise and once across. These folds had weakened the paper so as to call for mending. This repair work consists of two strips of tissue-paper pasted along the folds, and a third one on the right-hand or outer edge of the paper where signs of wear were obvious. The left or inner edge had the appearance of having been taken from a bound volume, and was ragged, with a tendency to be uniformly torn on the upper and lower halves. The type-line was not broken or injured, showing little beyond the effect of a fold. The repair work had been done by Dr. Miller himself. The ink was fair in appearance, the impression not rough enough for an example of medium press (hand) work of that time, not black enough for a good example. The columns were not crowded but were spaced and made-up fair. Altogether it is a paper which is a really fine specimen of the forger's art, and well calculated to pass for a genuine issue of the printing-press of that day. I lay no stress<sup>1</sup> on the spots or discoloration which appear on the sheet, as they belong to the most vulgar processes of the imitator's art; but would add that Dr. Miller is well-informed of the effects produced in ink and paper by certain chemical treatment.

Some of the information obtained by me was as follows:

1. In *Collier's* Miller states that the *Mercury* was "discovered among some papers of Andrew Stevenson, U. S. Minister to the Court of St. James's". He told me that, more than a year before, he had bought about two or three thousand of the papers of Andrew Stevenson, among which were only two or three letters of Stevenson himself. In one of these he found the *Mercury* folded. This particular letter was written by Stevenson in February, 1837, to "B. B. Thatcher, now at Brighton". It had been opened by another Thatcher and returned to Stevenson at London. No mention of a newspaper was given in the letter, and the word which Miller read as "newspaper" was "permission". Inasmuch as it was not until August, 1837, that Stevenson saw the papers in the Public Record Office, this letter could have no connection, direct or indirect, with the alleged *Mercury* of June 3. Miller afterward denied that he had purchased the papers of Andrew Stevenson, but said that he had obtained a collection of two or three thousand autographs, some four or five Stevenson letters being among them. In one of these the *Mercury* was found. As he had indicated the stains on the *Mercury* which had come from the seal of this particular Stevenson letter, he still maintained that the paper had been found with it. But other

<sup>1</sup>I. e., in characterizing the forgery as well executed.

evidence proved beyond any question that there could have been no possible connection between the two.

2. Miller denied having seen the *Cape-Fear Mercury* of 1769 in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. He did try, he said, to obtain a negative, but it came to him broken, and he returned it at once, without taking an impression. By the courtesy of Mr. J. Chester Bushong, of Worcester, who made this negative, I learn that "it was returned to me broken in many pieces, but I had no information from Mr. Miller as to its being received by him in that condition. On the contrary his letter stating and complaining that the plate was not exact size and that he was compelled to have it rephotographed, for which expense he took the liberty to deduct from my bill, would I think very much contradict his statement to you."

Before passing from these two points I may add that to *Collier's* on June 13, 1905, Miller wrote: "I do not yet own the Adams letter and the Cape Fear Mercury, so I could not let you have them if I would. They are many hundred miles away at present, altho I hope to own both soon." In a postscript to this same letter he wrote: "I have just recd. (June 14th, a.m.) the print of 'Cape Fear Mercury'. They had no facilities at all for making an  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$  neg. (the orig. size) but were forced to make several smaller negatives and piece them together." Why did Miller, who had found the *Mercury* in Stevenson's papers more than "a year ago" and therefore six months before his letter to *Collier's*, state that he did not own it? and why, if he had it in his possession, did he find it necessary to have it photographed in Worcester, Massachusetts? Mr. Bushong says that Miller ordered the negative about May 15, it was sent to him about June 8, and was returned in pieces about June 21. The original letters of Miller to the photographer have been destroyed, but these dates, given independently of any suggestion from me, correspond with sufficient closeness to that of the letter to *Collier's* to carry conviction.

In this same letter to *Collier's* he began by saying: "I hand you herewith the Proclamation of Gov. Montfort Stokes (original) and a reduced print of the first page of the Cape Fear Mercury for June 3rd, 1775." So that on that date he did have a "reduced" photograph of a *Mercury* (presumably made by the use of the Worcester photograph), and he speaks of a "first page" as though there were other pages to this issue. As stated, the paper shown to me was a single sheet printed only on one side.

3. Miller showed a good knowledge of the chemistry of producing blots, old ink-stains, and paper discolorations—too good a knowl-

edge to be entirely safe, as it must be admitted that his *Mercury* as such is an excellent bit of manufacture.

4. He had obtained from Dr. Graham a copy of the broadside which was printed in facsimile in Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences*, the wording of which and its list of signers are those of his *Mercury*. At Baltimore he stated voluntarily that he had "lost" this paper. To *Collier's* in June he described it as in his possession, and to me he showed it framed.

5. He described a package of papers bearing upon the Mecklenburg Declaration which, though boxed, had been stolen from a storage warehouse. Among these papers was the letter from John Adams to Jefferson reproduced in *Collier's*, and there stated to have once been in the possession of Hon. Jefferson M. Levy, who sold it. The letter is, of course, not an Adams autograph (for the original is in the Library of Congress), but a contemporary copy or a later manufacture; and Mr. Levy writes: "I have not seen the Jefferson letter [*i. e.*, Adams to Jefferson] therein referred to and regret very much to say am not the owner of it. Had I been, no one in the world could have bought it."

6. The internal evidence is also against its authenticity. The paper contains the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; the list of the killed and wounded at Lexington, Mass., the news being dated Salem, May 25, [1775] (the word "Medford" appears in the third line from the top of the second column); some news items from Philadelphia, dated May 5; an item on the New Jersey Assembly; and a resolution of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, May 15, on the attitude to be taken by the good people of New York toward the British troops. This resolution is headed New York. It is dangerous to undertake to explain the vagaries of a colonial newspaper, but the contents become important, as Dr. Miller seeks to explain any difference that may exist between this *Cape-Fear Mercury* and any other issue of the same paper by claiming this issue of June 3, 1775, to be a "supplement" to the regular issue of the paper. The explanation thus put forward must be rejected. There is nothing except the Mecklenburg Declaration and the list of killed and wounded at Lexington to demand a supplement, and the columns would have been spaced out by advertisements, and not with regular news items. A paragraph from Philadelphia announces the arrival of the "worthy Dr. Benjamin Franklin" and his election to represent Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress. Another states that no official list of the British loss at Lexington had been published. These two items are assigned to Philadelphia, May 5. Franklin did land on the fifth, and he was

chosen to the Continental Congress on the morning of the sixth. The Philadelphia paper (*Pennsylvania Journal*) of May 10 announced the arrival of Franklin, but made no mention then or thereafter, so far as I have discovered, of his election to Congress. The *Virginia Gazette* of May 20 announced his arrival under Philadelphia news, of May 5, but made no mention of his election. The same issue gave the list of provincial loss at Lexington. But the resolve of the Continental Congress of May 15 was not printed in the *Virginia Gazette* until June 3—the very day on which it appeared in the *Cape-Fear Mercury*. It is difficult to explain why this resolve should have travelled so much more rapidly than the more important list of loss at Lexington. The two items may be compared in their travels through the press.

“Loss at Lexington”: started at Worcester May 3; appeared in *Pennsylvania Journal* May 24; in *Cape-Fear Mercury* June 3.

“Congress Resolve”: started from New York May 18; appeared in *New York Gazette* May 22; in *Pennsylvania Journal* May 24; in *Virginia Gazette* June 3; in *Cape-Fear Mercury* June 3.

The official list of British killed, wounded, and missing was printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of May 10, yet the *Cape-Fear Mercury* says no such list had been published. It required apparently two full weeks to get the Franklin and Lexington items from Williamsburg, Virginia, to the *Mercury*, and the Congress resolve appeared at Williamsburg and in the *Mercury* on the same day. The *Mercury* cannot be a supplement, and on its face it is not a regular issue.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

## THE SOUTH, 1820-1830

IN the years between 1820 and 1830 no section underwent more far-reaching changes than did the South Atlantic group of states, made up of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Then it was that the South learned the full significance of the westward spread of the cotton-plant.<sup>1</sup>

The invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney<sup>2</sup> in 1793 made possible the profitable cultivation of the short-staple variety of cotton. Before this the labor of taking the seeds by hand from this variety, the only one suited to production in the uplands, had prevented its use; thereafter it was only a question of time when the cotton area, no longer limited to the tide-water region, would extend to the interior, carrying slavery with it. This invention came at an opportune time. Already the inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Cartwright had worked a revolution in the textile industries of England, by means of the spinning-jenny, the power-loom, and the factory system, furnishing machinery for the manufacture of cotton beyond the world's supply.<sup>3</sup>

Under the stimulus of this demand for cotton, year by year the area of slavery extended toward the west. In the twenties many of the southern counties of Virginia were attempting its cultivation<sup>4</sup>; interior counties of North Carolina were combining cotton culture with their old industries; in South Carolina the area of cotton and slavery had extended up the rivers well beyond the middle of the state<sup>5</sup>; while in Georgia the cotton-planters, so long restrained by the Indian line, broke through the barriers and spread over the newly-ceded lands.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article is based upon a chapter from the author's forthcoming *Rise of the New West*, American Nation Series.

<sup>2</sup> AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 99.

<sup>3</sup> M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*, part I. (American Economic Association, 1897), chaps. I. and II.; Harry Hammond, "Culture of Cotton," in *The Cotton Plant* (United States Department of Agriculture, 1896); Ernst von Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, part I., in Schmoller's *Staats- und Socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, Band XV., part I. (1897).

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829-1830* (Richmond, 1830), pp. 333, 336; Joseph Martin, *Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville, 1835), 99.

<sup>5</sup> William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina" (*Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900, I.), 387-393.

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights" (*Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1901, II.), 140 (map).

The table exhibiting the progress of the cotton crop printed in the January number of the REVIEW<sup>1</sup> shows the rapidity with which this plant increased.

Tide-water South Carolina and Georgia produced practically all of the cotton crop in 1791, and the total was but two million pounds. By 1821 the South Atlantic states produced one hundred and seventeen million pounds; and five years later, one hundred and eighty millions. But how rapidly in these five years the Southwest gained on the older section is shown by its total of over one hundred and fifty millions. What had occurred was a repeated westward movement: the cotton-plant first spread from the sea-coast to the uplands, and then, by the beginning of our period, advanced to the Gulf Plains, until that region achieved supremacy in its production.

How deeply the section was interested in this crop, and how influential it was in the commerce of the United States, appears from the fact that in 1820 the domestic exports of South Carolina and Georgia had amounted to \$15,215,000, while the value of the domestic exports for all the rest of the United States was \$36,468,000.<sup>2</sup> This, however, inadequately represents the value of the exports from these two cotton states, because a large fraction of the cotton was carried by the coastwise trade to northern ports, and appeared in their shipments. Senator William Smith of South Carolina estimated that in 1818 the real exports of South Carolina and Georgia amounted to "more than half as much as that of the other states of the Union, including the vast and fertile valley of the Mississippi".<sup>3</sup>

Never in history, perhaps, was an economic force more influential upon the life of a people. As the production of cotton increased, the price fell, and the Seaboard South, feeling the competition of the virgin soils of the Southwest, saw in the protective tariff for the development of Northern manufactures the real source of her distress. The price of cotton was in these years a barometer of Southern prosperity and of Southern discontent.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI. 318; the totals given in this paper are based on the figures of McGregor, instead of on those of the table taken from *De Bow's Review*.

<sup>2</sup> Pitkin, *Statistical View* (edition of 1835), 57.

<sup>3</sup> Speech in the United States Senate, April 11, 1828.

<sup>4</sup> M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*, part I., appendix 1, gives the average New York prices of middling upland cotton. See also E. J. Donnell, *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton* (1872), and James L. Watkins, *Production and Price of Cotton for One Hundred Years* (United States Department of Agriculture, 1895).

Even more important than the effect of cotton production upon the prosperity of the South was its effect upon her social system. This economic transformation resuscitated slavery from a moribund condition to a vigorous and aggressive life. Slowly Virginia and North Carolina came to realize that the burden and expense of slavery, as the labor system for their outworn tobacco-fields and corn-fields, was partly counteracted by the demand for their surplus negroes in the cotton-fields of their more southern neighbors. When the Lower South accepted the system as the basis of its prosperity and its society, the tendency in the states of the Upper South to look upon the institution as a heritage to be reluctantly and apologetically accepted grew fainter.<sup>1</sup> The efforts to find some mode of removing the negro from their midst came slowly to an end, and they adjusted themselves to slavery as a permanent system. Meanwhile South Carolina and Georgia found in the institution the source of their economic well-being, and hotly challenged the right of other sections to speak ill of it or meddle with it in any way lest their domestic security be endangered.

When the South became fully conscious that slavery set the section apart from the rest of the nation, when it saw in protection to manufactures and the construction of a system of internal improvements the efforts of other sections to deprive the cotton states of their profits for the promotion of an industrial development in which they did not share, deep discontent prevailed. With but one intermission from the days of Washington to those of Monroe, Virginia planters had ruled the nation. But now, at the same time that power within the section passed from the hands of Virginia to those of South Carolina, the aggressive leader of the Cotton Kingdom, the South found itself a threatened and minority section. When it realized this, it denied the right of the majority to rule, and proceeded to elaborate a system of minority rights as a protection against the forces of national development, believing that these forces threatened the foundations of the prosperity and even the social safety of the South.<sup>2</sup>

From the middle of the eighteenth century the seaboard planters had been learning the lesson of control by a fraction of the population. The South was by no means a unified region in its physiography. The Blue Ridge cut off the low country of Virginia from the Shenandoah Valley, and beyond this valley the Alleghenies sepa-

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford's edition), X. 173, 178; *Niles' Register*, XVII. 363; J. S. Bassett, *Anti-slavery Leaders of North Carolina*, in Johns Hopkins University Studies, XVI.

<sup>2</sup> The most effective statements of this attitude are: John Taylor, *New Views of the Constitution* (Washington, 1823), 261; and Brutus [R. J. Turnbull], *The Crisis* (Charleston, 1827).



rated the rest of the state from those counties which we now know as West Virginia. By the time of the Revolution, in the Carolinas and Georgia a belt of pine barrens, skirting the "fall line" from fifty to one hundred miles from the coast, divided the region of tide-water planters from the small farmers of the up-country. This interior population entered the region in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century. Scotch-Irishmen and Germans passed down the Great Valley from Pennsylvania into Virginia, and through the gaps in the Blue Ridge out to the Piedmont region of the Carolinas, while contemporaneously other streams from Charleston had advanced to meet them. Thus at the close of the eighteenth century the South was divided into two contrasted types of civilization. On the one side were the planters, raising their staple crops of tobacco, rice, and indigo, together with some cultivation of the cereals. To this region belonged the slaves. On the other side was the area of small farmers, raising livestock, wheat, and corn under the same conditions of pioneer farming as characterized the interior of Pennsylvania.

This interior area, made up of the Great Valley and the Piedmont of the South, is a neglected region. It may be named the Old West, for here first developed the conditions characteristic of the West, and the social, economic, and political antagonisms between the coast and the interior. The historians of the separate Southern states appreciate this differentiation in the states of which they write; but the real significance of the region lies in the fact that it was an interstate area, with a striking homogeneity and community of interest, in opposition to the East.

From the period of the so-called War of the Regulation in 1771 down to the third decade of the nineteenth century there was a persistent struggle between the planters of the coast (who controlled the wealth of the region) and the free farmers of the interior. The tide-water counties retained the political power which they already possessed before this tide of settlement flowed into the back-country. Refusing to reapportion the legislature on the basis of numbers, they protected their slaves and their wealth against the dangers of a democracy that was interested in internal improvements and capable of imposing a tax upon slave property in order to promote its own ends.<sup>1</sup> In Virginia in 1825, for example, the

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention, 1829-1830*; *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, XIV. 277, 280, 289; XVI. 267-269; XVII. 324-325; *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1894*, pp. 144 *et seqq.*; *ibid.*, 1900, I. 277, 435; *ibid.*, 1901, II. 87-89, 104-106; *Elliot's Debates*, IV. 288; 296-299, 305, 309, 312; *Jefferson, Writings* (Ford's edition), III. 222; *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, II. 100.

western men complained that twenty counties in the upper country, with over two hundred and twenty thousand white inhabitants, had no more weight in the government than twenty counties on tide-water, containing only about fifty thousand; that the six smallest counties in the state, compared with the six largest, enjoyed nearly ten times as much political power.<sup>1</sup> To the gentlemen planters of the seaboard the idea of falling under the control of the interior farmers of the South seemed intolerable. It was only as slavery spread into the interior, with the cultivation of cotton, that the lowlands began to yield, and to permit an increased power in the legislatures to the sections most nearly assimilated to the seaboard type. South Carolina achieved this end in 1808 by the plan of giving to the seaboard the control of one house, while the interior held the other; but it is to be noted that this concession was not made until slavery had pushed so far up the river-courses that the reapportionment preserved the control in the hands of slaveholding counties.<sup>2</sup> A similar course was followed by Virginia in the convention of 1829-1830, when after a long struggle a compromise was adopted by which the balance of power in the state legislature was transferred to the counties of the Piedmont and the Valley.<sup>3</sup> Here slaveholding had progressed so far that the interest of those counties was affiliated rather with the coast than with the trans-Allegheny country. West Virginia remained a discontented area until her independent statehood in the days of the Civil War. These transmontane counties of Virginia were in their political activity during our period rather to be reckoned with the West than with the South.

Thus the southern seaboard had experienced the need of protecting the interests of its slaveholding planters against the free democracy of the interior, and had learned how to safeguard the minority within the section itself. This experience was now to serve the South when, having advanced toward unity by the spread of slavery into the interior, it found itself as a section in the same relation to the Union as a whole which the slaveholding tide-water area had held toward the more populous up-country of the South itself.

The unification of the section is one of the most important features of the period. Not only had the South been divided into opposing areas, as we have seen, but even its population was far from homogeneous. By the time of this decade, however, English,

<sup>1</sup> *Alexandria Herald*, June 10 and 13, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> Calhoun, *Works*, I. 401-406; Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," 434-437.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention, 1829-1830*; J. A. C. Chandler, *Representation in Virginia*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XIV. 286-298.

French Huguenots, Scotch-Irish, and Germans had become assimilated into one people; and the negroes, who by the close of the decade numbered over a million and a half in a white population of less than two millions, were diffusing themselves throughout the section. Contemporaneously the pioneer farming type of the interior was undergoing replacement by the planter type. This was largely a change in economic and social life, rather than a replacement of people.

As cotton-planting and slaveholding advanced into the interior counties of the old southern states, the free farmers were obliged either to change to the plantation economy and purchase slaves, or to sell their lands and migrate. Large numbers of them, particularly in the Carolinas, were Quakers or Baptists, whose religious scruples combined with their agricultural habits to make this change obnoxious. This upland country, too distant from the seashore to permit a satisfactory market, had been a hive from which pioneers had passed into Kentucky and Tennessee, until those states became populous commonwealths. Now the exodus was increased by this later colonization.<sup>1</sup> The Ohio was crossed, the Missouri ascended, and the streams that flowed to the Gulf were followed by movers away from the regions that were undergoing this social and economic reconstruction. This industrial revolution was effective in different degrees in the different states. Comparatively few of Virginia's slaves, which by 1830 numbered nearly half a million (or about forty per cent. of the population), were found in her trans-Allegheny counties, but the Shenandoah Valley was receiving slaves and changing to the plantation type. In North Carolina the slave population of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand (over thirty-five per cent. of the population) at the same date had spread well into the interior, but cotton did not achieve the position there which it held farther south. The interior farmers worked small farms of wheat and corn, laboring side by side with their negro slaves in the fields.<sup>2</sup> South Carolina had over three hundred thousand slaves, more than a majority of her population; and the black belt had extended to the interior. Georgia's slaves, amounting to over two hundred thousand, some-

<sup>1</sup> Turner, "The Colonization of the West", in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XI. 307-309, 316-317; J. S. Bassett, *Anti-slavery Leaders of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XVI. 267-271; D. A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina* (Charlotte, N. C., 1903), I. 99, 117; S. A. [O']Ferrall, *Ramble through the United States* (London, 1832), 167; *History of McLean County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 329; *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer* (Cincinnati, 1901), 9; Schaper, *loc. cit.*, 393.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XVII. 324, 399.

what less than half her population, had steadily advanced from the coast and the Savannah River toward the cotton lands of the interior, pushing before them the less prosperous farmers, who found new homes to the north or south of the cotton belt or migrated to the southwestern frontier.<sup>1</sup> Here, as in North Carolina, the planters in the interior of the state frequently followed the plow or encouraged their slaves by wielding the hoe.<sup>2</sup>

Thus this process of economic transformation passed from the coast toward the mountain barrier, gradually eliminating the inharmonious elements and steadily tending to produce a solidarity of interests. The South as a whole was becoming, for the first time since colonial days, a staple-producing region; and, as diversified farming declined, the region tended to become dependent for its supplies of meat products, horses, and mules, and even of hay and cereals, upon the North and West.

The westward migration of its people checked the growth of the South. It was colonizing the new West at the same time that the Middle Region was rapidly growing in population; and the result was that the proud states of the southern seaboard were reduced to numerical inferiority. Like New England, the South was an almost stationary section. From 1820 to 1830 the states of this group gained little more than half a million souls, hardly more than the increase of the single state of New York. Virginia, with a population of over a million, increased but 13.7 per cent., and the Carolinas only 15.5 per cent. In the next decade (1830-1840) these tendencies were even more clearly shown, for Virginia and the Carolinas then gained but little more than two per cent. Georgia alone showed rapid increase. At the beginning of the decade (1820-1830) the Indians still held all of the territory west of Macon, at the centre of the state, with the exception of two tiers of counties along the southern border; and when these lands were opened to settlement toward the close of the decade, they were occupied by a rush of settlement similar to the occupation of Oklahoma and Indian Territory in our own day. What Maine was to New England, that Georgia was to the southern seaboard, with the difference that it was deeply touched by influences more characteristically western. Because of the traits of her leaders and the rude aggressive policy of her people, Georgia belonged at least as much to the West as to the South. From colonial times the settlers in Georgia had been engaged in an almost

<sup>1</sup> Phillips, *loc. cit.*, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

incessant struggle against the savages on her border, and they had the instincts of a frontier society.<sup>1</sup>

From 1800 to 1830 there were clear evidences of decline throughout the tide-water region. As the movement of capital and population toward the interior continued, wealth was drained from the coast; and as time went on, the competition of the fertile and low-priced lands of the Gulf Basin proved too strong for the outworn lands even of the interior of the South. Under the wasteful system of tobacco and cotton culture, without replenishment of the soil, the staple areas would in any case have declined in value. Even the corn- and wheatlands were exhausted by unscientific farming.<sup>2</sup> Writing in 1814 to Josiah Quincy,<sup>3</sup> John Randolph of Roanoke lamented the decline of the seaboard planters. He declared that the region was now sunk in obscurity; what enterprise or capital there was in the country had retired westward; deer and wild turkeys were not so plentiful anywhere in Kentucky as near the site of the ancient Virginia capital, Williamsburg. In the Virginia convention of 1829 Mr. Mercer estimated that in 1817 land values in Virginia aggregated two hundred and six million dollars, and negroes averaged three hundred dollars; while in 1829 the land values did not surpass ninety millions, and slaves had fallen in value to one hundred and fifty dollars. In a speech in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832 Thomas Marshall<sup>4</sup> asserted that the whole agricultural product of Virginia did not exceed in value the exports of eighty or ninety years before, when it contained not one-sixth of the population. In his judgment, the greater proportion of the larger plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves, brought the proprietors into debt; and rarely did a plantation yield one and a half per cent. profit on the capital. So great had become the depression that Randolph prophesied that the time was coming when the masters would run away from the slaves and be advertised by them in the public papers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phillips, *loc. cit.*, 88; A. B. Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes* (New York, 1840); G. R. Gilmer, *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia* (New York, 1855); *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VIII. 443 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Gooch, "Prize Essay on Agriculture in Virginia", in *Lynchburg Virginian*, July 4, 1833; Martin, *Gazetteer of Virginia*, 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> Edmund Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 353.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings of Virginia Convention, 1829-1830*, 178; Winfield H. Collins, *The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States* (New York, 1904), 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, cited from *Richmond Enquirer*, February 2, 1832; B. W. Arnold, *History of the Tobacco Industry in Virginia from 1860 to 1894*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XV.

<sup>6</sup> Collins, *loc. cit.*, 26.

It was in this period that Thomas Jefferson fell into such financial embarrassments that he was obliged to request of the legislature of Virginia permission to dispose of property by lottery to pay his debts, and that a subscription was taken up to relieve his distress.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Madison, having vainly tried to get a loan from the United States Bank, was forced to dispose of some of his lands and stocks; and Monroe at the close of his term of office found himself financially ruined. He gave up Oak Hill, and spent his declining years with his son-in-law in New York City.<sup>2</sup> The old-time tide-water mansions, where in an earlier day everybody kept open house, gradually fell into decay.

Sad indeed was the spectacle of Virginia's ancient aristocracy. It had never been a luxurious society. The very wealthy planters, with vast cultivated estates and pretentious homes, were very few. For the most part, the houses were moderate structures, set at intervals of a mile or so apart, often in park-like grounds, with long avenues of trees. The plantation was a little world in itself. Here was made much of the clothing for the slaves, and the mistress of the plantation supervised the spinning and weaving. Leather was tanned on the place; and blacksmithing, wood-working, and other industries were carried on, often under the direction of white mechanics. The planter and his wife commonly had the care of the black families which they owned, looked after them when they were sick, saw to their daily rations, arranged marriages, and determined the daily tasks of the plantation. The abundant hospitality between neighbors gave opportunity for social cultivation, and politics was a favorite subject of conversation.

The leading planters served as justices of the peace, but they were not dependent for their selection upon the popular vote. Appointed by the governor on nomination of the court itself, they constituted a kind of close corporation, exercising local judicial, legislative, and executive functions. The sheriff was appointed by the governor from three justices of the peace recommended by the court, and the court itself appointed the county clerk. Thus the county government of Virginia was distinctly aristocratic. County-court day served as an opportunity for bringing together the freeholders, who included, not only the larger planters, but the small farmers and the poor whites—hangers-on of the greater plantations. Almost no large cities were found in Virginia. The court-house was hardly more than a meeting-place for the rural population. Here farmers

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Randall, *Life of Jefferson*, III. 527, 561.

<sup>2</sup> Gaillard Hunt, *Life of Madison*, 380.

exchanged their goods, traded horses, often fought, and listened to the stump speeches of the orators.<sup>1</sup>

Such were, in the main, the characteristics of that homespun plantation aristocracy which, through the Virginia dynasty, had ruled the nation in the days of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. As their lands declined in value, they naturally sought for an explanation and a remedy.<sup>2</sup> The explanation was found most commonly in the charge that the protective tariff was destroying the prosperity of the South; and in reaction they turned to demand the old days of Jeffersonian rural simplicity under the guardianship of state rights and a strict construction of the Constitution. Madison in vain laid the fall in land values in Virginia to the uncertainty and low prices of the crops and to the attractions of the cheaper and better lands beyond the mountains.<sup>3</sup>

Others emphasized the fact that the semiannual migration toward the west and southwest swept off enterprising portions of the people and much of the capital and movable property of the state, and kept down the price of land by the great quantities which the movers threw into the market. Instead of applying a system of scientific farming and replenishment of the soil, there was a tendency for the planters who remained to get into debt in order to add to their possessions the farms offered for sale by the movers. Thus there was a flow of money toward the west to pay for these new purchases. The overgrown plantations soon began to look tattered and almost desolate. "Galled and gullied hillsides and sedgely, briery fields"<sup>4</sup> showed themselves in every direction. Finally the planter found himself obliged to part with some of his slaves in response to the demand from the new cotton-fields, or to migrate himself, with his caravan of negroes, to open a new home in the Gulf Region. During the period of this survey, the price for prime field-hands in Georgia averaged a little over seven hundred dollars.<sup>5</sup> If the estimate of one hundred and fifty dollars for negroes sold in family lots in Virginia is correct, it is clear that economic law would bring about a condition where Virginia's resources would in part depend upon her supply of slaves to the cotton belt.<sup>6</sup> It is clear also that the Old Dominion had passed the apogee of her political power.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cary Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Richmond, 1903), 14-24; Susan D. Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter* (Baltimore, 1887), 34-37.

<sup>2</sup> Randall, *Jefferson*, III. 532.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Other Writings of Madison*, III. 614.

<sup>4</sup> *Lynchburg Virginian*, July 4, 1833.

<sup>5</sup> Phillips, in *Political Science Quarterly*, XX. 267.

<sup>6</sup> Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 42-46.

It was not only the planters of Virginia that suffered in this period of change. As the more extensive and fertile cotton-fields of the new states of the Southwest opened, North Carolina, and even South Carolina, found themselves embarrassed. With the fall in cotton prices, already mentioned, it became increasingly necessary to possess the advantages of large estates and unexhausted soils, in order to extract a profit from this cultivation. From South Carolina there came a protest more vehement and aggressive than that of the discontented classes of Virginia. Already the indigo plantation had ceased to be profitable, and the rice-planters no longer held their old prosperity.

Charleston was peculiarly suited to lead in a movement of revolt. It was the one important centre of real city life of the seaboard south of Baltimore. Here every February the planters gathered from their plantations, thirty to one hundred and fifty miles away, for a month in their town houses. At this season races, social gaieties, and political conferences vied with each other in engaging their attention. Returning to their plantations in the early spring, they remained until June, when considerations of health compelled them either again to return to the city, to visit the mountains, or to go to such watering-places as Saratoga, in New York. Here again they talked politics and mingled with political leaders of the North. It was not until fall that they were able to return again to their estates.<sup>1</sup> Thus South Carolina, affording a combination of plantation life with the social intercourse of the city, gave peculiar opportunities for exchanging ideas and consolidating the settlement of her leaders.

The condition of South Carolina was doubtless exaggerated by Hayne of South Carolina in his speech in the Senate in 1832, when he characterized it as "not merely one of unexampled depression, but of great and all-pervading distress", with "the mournful evidence of premature decay", "merchants bankrupt or driven away—their capital sunk or transferred to other pursuits—our shipyards broken up—our ships all sold!" "If", said he, "we fly from the city to the country, what do we there behold? Fields abandoned; the hospitable mansions of our fathers deserted; agriculture drooping; our slaves, like their masters, working harder, and faring worse; the planter striving with unavailing efforts to avert the ruin which is before him." He drew a sad picture of the "once thriving planter reduced to despair, . . . gathering up the small remnants of his broken fortune, and, with his wife and his little ones, tearing himself from the scenes of his childhood, and the bones of his ancestors,

<sup>1</sup> A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), I. 50.



to seek, in the wilderness, that reward for his industry, of which" the policy of Congress had deprived him.<sup>1</sup>

The genius of the South expressed itself most clearly in the field of politics. If the democratic Middle Region could show a multitude of clever politicians, the aristocratic South possessed an abundance of leaders bold in political initiative and masterful in their ability to use the talents of their Northern allies. When the Missouri question was debated, John Quincy Adams remarked "that if institutions are to be judged by their results in the composition of the councils of this Union, the slave-holders are much more ably represented than the simple freemen".<sup>2</sup>

The Southern statesmen fall into two classes. On the one side was the Virginia group, now for the most part old men, rich in the honors of the nation, still influential through their advice, but no longer directing party policy. Jefferson and Madison were in retirement in their old age; Marshall as chief justice was continuing his career as the expounder of the Constitution in accordance with Federalist ideals. John Randolph, his old eccentricities increased by disease and intemperance, remained to proclaim the extreme doctrines of Southern dissent and to impale his adversaries with javelins of flashing wit. A maker of phrases which stung and festered, he was capable of influencing public opinion somewhat in the same way as are the cartoonists of modern times. But "his course through life had been like that of the arrow which Alcestes shot to heaven, which effected nothing useful, though it left a long stream of light behind it."<sup>3</sup> In North Carolina, the venerable Macon remained to protest like a later Cato against the tendencies of the times, and to raise a warning voice to his fellow-slaveholders against national consolidation.

But in the course of this decade the effective leadership of the South fell to Calhoun of South Carolina and Crawford of Georgia. Calhoun came from that Scotch-Irish Presbyterian stock that occupied the uplands of the South in the middle of the eighteenth century. The family lived on the Indian-fighting frontier of the Carolinas, whence Boone, Robertson, and Andrew Jackson crossed the mountains to Kentucky and Tennessee. Remaining behind, the Calhouns underwent the transformation of their section. At the close of the War of 1812 John C. Calhoun was the rival of Henry Clay in the championship of nationalistic legislation; the antagonist of a "low,

<sup>1</sup> *Register of Debates*, VIII., part 1. 80-81; cf. David F. Houston, *A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina* (Harvard Historical Studies, vol. 3, 1896), 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*, IV. 506.

<sup>3</sup> *Lynchburg Virginian*, May 9, 1833.

sordid, selfish, and sectional spirit"; the painter of the vision of a great organic nation, every part responsive to the other, sacrificing local interests for the good of the whole.<sup>1</sup> In those days of his fascinating and ardent young manhood<sup>2</sup> he impressed his hearers as an extremist, a man with a tendency to rash speculation and novelty. This philosophical trait of his mind was inherent, not a development of his later sectional attitude. To whatever cause he supported he brought the tendency to draw the last logical deduction; to set boldly forth the complete conclusions. Senator Mills of Massachusetts characterized him about 1823 in these words:<sup>3</sup>

He is ardent, persevering, industrious, and temperate, of great activity and quickness of perception, and rapidity of utterance; as a politician, too theorizing, speculative, and metaphysical,—magnificent in his views of the powers and capacities of the government, and of the virtue, intelligence, and wisdom of the *people*. He is in favor of elevating, cherishing, and increasing all the institutions of the government, and of a vigorous and energetic administration of it. From his rapidity of thought, he is often wrong in his conclusions, and his theories are sometimes wild, extravagant, and impractical. He has always claimed to be, and is, of the Democratic party, but of a very different class from that of Crawford; more like Adams, and his schemes are sometimes denounced by his party as ultra-fanatical.

Another, writing of the same early period of Calhoun's career, declared:

He wants, I think, consistency and perseverance of mind, and seems incapable of long continued and patient investigation. What he does not see at the first examination, he seldom takes pains to search for; but still the lightning glance of his mind, and the rapidity with which he analyzes, never fail to furnish him with all that may be necessary for his immediate purposes. In his legislative career, which, though short, was uncommonly luminous, his love of novelty, and his apparent solicitude to astonish were so great, that he has occasionally been known to go beyond even the dreams of political visionaries, and to propose schemes which were in their nature impracticable or injurious, and which he seemed to offer merely for the purpose of displaying the affluence of his mind, and the fertility of his ingenuity.<sup>4</sup>

William Wirt said in 1824:<sup>5</sup>

Calhoun advised me the other day to study less and trust more to genius; and I believe the advice is sound. He has certainly practised on

<sup>1</sup> Speech on the Bonus Bill, *Annals of Congress*, 14 Cong., 2 Sess., 853-855.

<sup>2</sup> A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I. 80; *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI. 337-338.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (1881-1882), XIX. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I. 81. These letters were published as early as 1824.

<sup>5</sup> John P. Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt* (Philadelphia, 1849), II. 164; cf. Adams, *Memoirs*, V. 361.

his own precepts and has become, justly, a distinguished man. It may do very well in politics, where a proposition has only to be compared with general principles with which the politician is familiar.

Played upon by the forces of economic change within his section, Calhoun toward the end of the decade reluctantly yielded to the sectional interests of South Carolina, and in 1828 he framed, in the South Carolina Exposition, the first classical statement of the defense of the section against the nation, fashioning the fragments of state-sovereignty doctrine into the nullification argument, and finding in the domestic experience of South Carolina herself the historical basis for his theory of the defense of a minority area against the majority.<sup>1</sup> But even in 1828 he refrained from making public either his authorship of the Exposition or his adherence to nullification.

Crawford also reflected, though in a different way, the processes of sectional change which passed over the South. A Georgian, of Virginia birth, he was an astute, moderate, skilful politician. Unpolished and even coarse in his manners, he had a strong, vigorous mind, and power over men, and a capacity for making combinations and organizing a following. In his earlier career he had incurred the charge of Federalism, upheld the doctrine of implied powers, and denied the right of the state to resist the laws of Congress, except by changing its representation, or by appealing to the sword under the right of revolution. He almost won the nomination for the presidency against Monroe in 1816, and while a member of Monroe's cabinet he incurred the charge of intrigue against the administration, and of building up a personal following by the use of patronage. How much of this charge was due to the envy and jealousy of his rivals (from whom the estimates of his character must principally be drawn) need not here be decided. The important fact is that around the Georgian gathered friends of state sovereignty and the slaveholding interest. Little by little he found himself, with all his love of moderation and his expediency, forced by the tendency of his state to take a sectional position, and in consequence to lose an important part of his following as a national statesman. The Georgians, less speculative than the South-Carolinians, were fully as firm in their determination to secure the legislation essential for the interests of their state and for the cotton area. These forces drove him from his policy of temporizing on the tariff and internal improvements.

The lesser leaders of his state (like Cobb, Forsyth, and Troup) deprived him—as the lesser leaders of South Carolina (Hayne,

<sup>1</sup> Calhoun, *Works* (ed. R. K. Crallé, 1851), I. 402-405.

Hamilton, McDuffie, William Smith, Turnbull, and the rest) deprived Calhoun—of the opportunity to hold a national following, and pushed the two greater statesmen on in a sectional road which their own caution and personal ambitions made them reluctant to tread.

Nor must it be forgotten that early in the decade the South lost two of her ablest political leaders, the wise and moderate Lowndes of South Carolina, and William Pinkney, the brilliant Maryland orator.

Thus in these ten years the influence of economic change within this section transformed the South-Carolinians from warm supporters of a liberal national policy into the straitest of the sect of state-sovereignty advocates, intent upon raising barriers against the flood of nationalism that threatened to overwhelm the South. Virginia, divided by internal dissensions between the interior and the older counties and suffering from the decline of her economic power, saw the sceptre pass to the cotton-raising states, which gave to her doctrines of state sovereignty a new and drastic utterance, and made of them no academic theory, but a plan of action.

No better illustration of the influence of economic interests upon political ideas can be found than in the history of cotton culture and slavery in these important years. The price of cotton fell as production increased. In 1816 the average price of middling uplands in New York was thirty cents, and South Carolina's leaders favored the tariff; in 1820 it was seventeen cents, and the South saw in the protective system a grievance; in 1824 it was fourteen and three-quarters cents, and the South-Carolinians denounced the tariff as unconstitutional; when the woollens bill was agitated in 1827, cotton had fallen to but little more than nine cents, and the radicals of the section threatened civil war. Then it was that Calhoun gave his casting vote against the tariff of 1827, and strove to tide over the storm by the device of nullification. Sectional economic interests had dominated the political philosophy of the greatest Southern statesman since Jefferson, and the South had entered on the long struggle that culminated in the Civil War.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

## MORE LIGHT ON ANDREW JOHNSON<sup>1</sup>

### I.

It was not the fate of Andrew Johnson, during his service as President of the United States, to enjoy an overflowing measure of popularity and good repute. The unfortunate exhibition which he made of himself at his inauguration as Vice-president put him under a sinister cloud whose shadow remained over him for some time after his accession to the Presidency in the spring of 1865; and after February, 1866, the incidents of his conflict with Congress made him the object of more wide-spread hatred and more virulent vituperation than has been the lot, perhaps, of any other man in exalted public station. Between the earlier and the later seasons of obloquy, however, there was a period during which President Johnson occupied a singularly high position in general public esteem. During the summer and the autumn months of 1865 the organs of popular opinion were practically unanimous in praise of the dignity, patriotism, and high purpose which were displayed in the conduct of the administration. Though doubt as to the wisdom of the President's policy in the South was deep and wide-spread, there was no disposition to attribute to him other than statesmanlike motives; and outside of a very small number of vehement radicals, a willingness to let his plan of reconstruction have a fair trial was everywhere manifested.

The good judgment displayed by Mr. Johnson and his advisers was an important factor in the pleasant situation in which the administration found itself. Of equal importance, however, were the peculiar conditions prevailing at the time in the field of party politics. The Republican party had practically lost its identity early in the war, and in 1864 its very name had been formally and officially abandoned. The convention that nominated Lincoln and Johnson had deliberately and ostentatiously assumed the character of a constituent assembly for the organization of a new party, and the name adopted was the Union Party. With the successful termination of the war, however, the single purpose which had given coherence to this new party had been achieved, and the whole situation became chaotic. A revival of ante-bellum Republicanism was

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this article consists of a paper which was read before the Massachusetts Historical Society in November, 1905.

out of the question; for by the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment during the summer and autumn of 1865 the issue which alone had given existence and character to the Republican party was removed from controversy. What, then, was to hold together the voters who had elected Lincoln and Johnson? Nothing, apparently, save the offices and a traditional hostility to the Democratic organization. But hostility to the Democracy was becoming impossible to those who followed the administration. The course of the President during the summer in reference to the South had brought the Democratic leaders, hesitatingly and cautiously but nevertheless certainly, to his support. A concerted movement had begun to rally the ante-bellum Jacksonian Democracy to the standard of the administration. The letter-files of the President offer abundant evidence of the strength and importance of this movement. There may be read words of confidence and eulogy from such sturdy, if now retired, old war-horses as Amos Kendall, Duff Green, and Francis P. Blair, sr. There may be traced the process through which many of the War Democrats resumed their long-vacant places in the councils of the old party and gradually molded it to the support of Andrew Johnson.

The net result of the party situation just sketched was that overt opposition to the administration could not be said to exist. Though the radical faction of the Union party were busily working to organize in Congress resistance to the President's policy, their activity did not manifest itself openly, and the normal adherence to tradition and to the offices kept the state organizations of the party loyal to Mr. Johnson. At the same time the Democratic organizations also refrained from antagonizing him. Accordingly the President had the agreeable experience—probably unprecedented since nominating conventions developed—of receiving in a number of states the hearty indorsement of both parties in connection with the autumn state elections.

It was while the influence of this unique situation was at its maximum that Mr. Johnson was called upon to prepare his first annual message. The reception which this state paper met with was the climax of the brief popularity which it was his fortune to experience. The verdict of contemporaries was, almost without a dissenting voice, that the message was a model of what such a paper should be. The judgments of the leading New York journals are typical. The *Tribune* and *Times*, which under Greeley and Raymond were *a priori* incapable of agreement on any topic, defied logic and agreed on this. The *Times* declared the views of the message to be "full of wisdom", and to be expressed "with great

force and dignity". The *Tribune* doubted "whether any former message has . . . contained so much that will be generally and justly approved, and so little that will or should provoke dissent". The *Evening Post* found it "frank, dignified, direct, and manly", with not a "single ambiguous sentence". To the *Herald* also it appeared "smoothly written", "clear", and "frank". The *Nation*—and here was praise from the very throne itself—declared that any American might read it with pride, and found solid hope for democracy in the fact that such a document should have been produced by "this Tennessean tailor, who was toiling for his daily bread in the humblest of employments when the chiefs of all other countries were reaping every advantage which school, college, or social position could furnish".

This same tone of admiration was common to observers outside of journalism. Secretary McCulloch considered it "one of the most judicious executive papers which was ever sent to Congress". Charles Francis Adams, minister to Great Britain, thought nothing better had been produced "even when Washington was chief and Hamilton his financier". The Johnson Papers contain great numbers of congratulatory letters, in which the same tone is manifest, though these, designed for Johnson's own eye, need not be quoted as conclusive of their writers' opinions. Only two of these may be referred to as indicating what was expected to be the effect of the message: George Bancroft wrote that everybody approved the message, and that "in less than twenty days the extreme radical opposition will be over"; and Oliver P. Morton assured the President that his policy would be indorsed by the great body of the people, and urged Johnson to use his patronage unsparingly to crush the congressional opposition.

In running through the mass of comment on the message it is clear that the form and style attracted quite as much attention as the substance; and there is everywhere manifest, in qualified critics, a subdued amazement that Andrew Johnson should have produced just the sort of literature that the paper embodied. In the speeches and miscellaneous papers through which his style was known to the public, the smoothness, dignity, and elegance in expression that ran through the message were conspicuously absent, and there was no like dependence for effect on the orderly marshalling of clear but moderately formulated thoughts. Mr. Johnson had not yet, indeed, gained his unpleasant notoriety as a brawler on the platform; but he had a well-established reputation as a hard hitter in debate, who depended for effect on vehemence and iteration rather than on subtlety and penetration.

The striking incongruity between the message and Mr. Johnson's other papers has never caused, so far as I know, any well-grounded denial of authorship to the President. In the Washington correspondence of the New York *Nation* of December 14, 1865, it is said:

Some there are who have an intimate persuasion that the entire message is the composition of Secretary Seward. But those who are nearest to the matter aver that the Secretary of State is only responsible for the portion relating to foreign affairs, with an occasional retouching elsewhere of the expression, while President Johnson can claim full credit for the rest.

Mr. Blaine, when reviewing the period, was evidently impressed by the un-Johnsonese character of the message, and was thus easily led to support the view mentioned by the *Nation's* correspondent. "The moderation in language [I quote Blaine's words] and the general conservatism which distinguished the message were perhaps justly attributed to Mr. Seward." Mr. Rhodes, in his fifth volume, indicates that his trained critical faculty gave him very serious doubts in respect to this matter, but that the doubts were almost overcome. "If Andrew Johnson wrote it [he says]—and the weight of authority seems to imply that he did—it shows that he ought always to have addressed his countrymen in carefully prepared letters and messages."

In April, 1905, I spent a few days in looking over the Johnson Papers, now in the Library of Congress. I had no particular object in view, but was on a general foraging expedition through the material, ready for anything that might turn up. Least of all had I in mind the matter of the authorship of Johnson's first message. While going through the files of letters received, my curiosity was momentarily aroused by a note marked "private and confidential" (one always is unduly attracted by that label), and signed by a man of wide reputation, whose name had never, however, been prominently associated, so far as I knew, with the career of President Johnson. The note was so worded as to conceal entirely the matter concerning which it was written, but indicated a relation of a very intimate nature between the writer and the President. I made a memorandum of the letter, with a query as to what it was about, and dismissed it from my mind.

Several days later I was looking through the series of large envelopes containing the preparatory notes and various drafts of each of Johnson's messages. In most cases the envelope devoted to a particular message contains a considerable number of more or less full drafts, in various handwritings, of the treatment to be



given to special topics, while the final draft of the message is in the clear, formal hand of a copying-clerk. The annual message of 1865, however, differs from all the rest. The envelope devoted to it contains nothing of consequence save a complete draft of the message in a uniform hand which is not that of either Johnson or any other person in the executive service at that time. As I was turning over the pages of this manuscript and wondering with mild curiosity why the first message should have come down in a shape so different from the rest, I was joined by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts. It is well known to students of American history that Mr. Ford is endowed with a sort of sixth sense by which he can identify at sight the chirography of any man who has figured in that history since 1492. Ford, glancing over the pages before me, observed in his quiet, casual way: "That looks like the handwriting of " so and so. I at once was impressed with the force of the suggestion, since I had seen something of the writing of the person named. But what in a moment struck me as of particular significance was the fact that the name mentioned by Ford was the same name that was signed to the "private and confidential" letter mentioned above. Why this coincidence especially roused my interest will be apparent when the precise tenor of the letter is stated. It runs thus:

My task will be done to-morrow, but as no one knows what I am about and as I am my own secretary, I must ask a day or two more for a careful revision and for making a clean copy, which must be done with my own hand.

Recalling this passage in the letter and my curiosity as to what this task might have been, I hastily looked up my notes to see what the date of the letter was. It proved to be November 9, 1865. This was, of course, the precise time at which the message must have been nearing completion, for it had to be sent to Congress on December 5. The handwriting of the letter was, when compared, beyond all question the same as that of the manuscript draft. There is thus no room to doubt that the task referred to in the letter was the writing of Andrew Johnson's first annual message, and that the manuscript in the Library of Congress is the "clean copy" which the author made about the middle of November with his "own hand". A collation of the manuscript with the text of the message as sent in was made by Mr. Ford last September, revealing that practically the only differences, apart from the insertion of the routine paragraphs summarizing the work of the various executive departments, were such modifications of phraseology as would be likely to be made by the writer himself in proof.

That Mr. Johnson himself did not write the final draft of his message is thus conclusively established. To what degree the actual writer was dependent upon the directions of the President—whether he was a draftsman with full discretion or merely a literary reviser of Johnson's own draft—does not appear from the evidence at hand. The age, learning, political experience, and literary reputation of the actual writer render it *a priori* improbable that he would have needed or submitted to very rigorous restriction by a man of Johnson's antecedents. The East Tennessee mountaineer, whose boast that he feared no one was doubtless the truth, must nevertheless, under the responsibility with which his crude but honest nature was now burdened, have looked up with sincere respect and deference to a man eight years his senior, whose early life had been passed amid the best cultural influences of his native Massachusetts, whose middle life had found him in the high places of power and dignity of the same party which Johnson was serving in lower places, and whose declining years were being devoted to the glorification, by the ways of literature, research, and learning, of that people and that Constitution which were the theme of all the President's declamation and the object of all his fealty. It is *a priori* improbable, I say, that Andrew Johnson exercised very close supervision over the construction of this message; for the man who actually wrote it was no less well qualified a person than George Bancroft.

That Johnson's most praised state paper was the product, not of his own, but of a more competent writer's pen, is from the standpoint of serious history an interesting rather than an important fact. Neither Constitution, law, nor custom has ever required that a President of the United States should personally frame his messages to Congress or other official documents; and it would be a safe conjecture that a relatively small proportion of such papers in our history have embodied the unaided labor of the men by whom they are signed. It is unusual, however, for a President to intrust the preparation of important papers to persons wholly outside the circle of his official advisers. Mr. Johnson's cabinet included at least two members, Stanton and Seward, whose qualifications for preparing the message were beyond question. If Stanton be considered as not available because of the indications he had already given of lack of sympathy with the President's policy, still Seward remains—a man whose opinions, whose experience, and whose ability made him apparently the one person to whom resort should be made for the task in hand. It is not surprising that the wide-spread contemporary sentiment which Blaine reflected should have attributed

a dominant influence in the message to Seward. Now that we know otherwise, now that we have found that a mind of totally different antecedents and training gave the final impress to the paper, we may possibly get some useful side-lights on the history of the time by speculating on the motives which actuated the President in having recourse to an outsider. Thus the discovery of the authorship may become important as well as interesting.

It should be understood, in the first place, that the intimate relations of Bancroft and Johnson are demonstrated by other evidence than that already adduced, and that the authorship of the message throws an entertaining light on some of their later correspondence. The letter already referred to, for example, in which Bancroft tells Johnson that everybody approves the message, rings with a different tone when we know with what personal interest and satisfaction Bancroft recorded this fact. Another letter, written just before Congress met, reveals Bancroft as a diligent laborer in the cause of the President's policy, though in this particular case the effectiveness of his efforts was impaired by the fact that they were exerted upon that particularly tough subject, Charles Sumner. Under date of December 1 Bancroft tells Johnson that he has just had a two or three hours' talk with Sumner, and tried to calm him on the suffrage question (fancy anybody calming Sumner on the suffrage question!); that Sumner was bent on making some speeches in the Senate, but intended to cultivate friendly relations with Johnson and would call on him; that Sumner agreed with Johnson on foreign relations, and that therefore the President might do well to conciliate the Senator by "a little freedom of conversation on foreign affairs". We know, from Pierce's memoir of Sumner, the sequel of this amiable attempt to make oil and water mix. The Senator called on the President; found him, like so many another who failed to be convinced of the righteousness of Sumner's views, hopelessly dull and wrongheaded; and left the White House to turn upon its occupant the turbid stream of Demosthenian and Ciceronian invective which had hitherto been directed at only the slaveholder and the rebel.

A little later Bancroft was greatly perturbed, as well as honored, by an invitation to deliver the oration on Lincoln which was to be the central feature of a memorial service of the two houses. In a hasty note of January 8 he asks Johnson concisely, "What shall I do?" Why he should have thought it necessary to get the President's direction does not appear. We know from Gideon Welles, however, that politics and the tension between radicals and conservatives were operative in connection with this memorial service,

and that Stanton, who had first been selected as orator of the day, had been dropped as too radical and too little in sympathy with the dead President's reconstruction policy. Possibly Bancroft feared some scheme to compromise him with Johnson, and hence took the precaution of consulting the President. At all events, the answer must have been favorable to acceptance, for Bancroft did deliver the address.

These incidents all confirm the personal intimacy between Bancroft and Johnson; they do not, however, explain why Johnson should have intrusted the historian with a task of such fundamental political significance as the construction of the message. While we must, for such explanation, enter the field of conjecture rather than of history, I am disposed to believe that the clue is to be found in a consideration of Bancroft's political past and of Johnson's projects for a political future.

George Bancroft's politics forms one of the most striking features of his long and versatile career. His early apostasy from the Federalism which dominated his family, his college, and his whole social and literary *milieu* is almost what Professor Hart would call an "essential" of Massachusetts history. He was the bright particular star of the unspeakable Jacksonian Democracy in his native state, was collector of the port of Boston under Van Buren, was Secretary of the Navy and minister to Great Britain under Polk, and remained steadfast in the Democratic faith till the wartime. Then, in the stress of arms, he became conspicuous among those so-called War Democrats whose fusion with the heterogeneous and ill-compacted Republican party so transformed it that its identity was quite lost. In behalf of the Union Bancroft wrote, spoke, and schemed with all the nervous and not always well-directed energy that was characteristic of him. Every prominent enterprise for the promotion of the Union cause in New York, where he resided throughout the war, shows in the record the name of Bancroft; and his industry extended to undertakings in many other parts of the country.

This record of rock-ribbed Democracy and Unionism could not but have been very impressive to Andrew Johnson, whose own record was closely parallel to it. By the autumn of 1865 the President, as abundant evidence shows, had become definitively committed to the general policy of giving to the Union party, now that the distinctive object of its organization had been attained, a character that should perpetuate the ideals and traditions of the ante-bellum and anti-secession Democracy. From the radicalism that was seeking to revolutionize the social and political system he turned by the instinct of his nature; from the Whiggery which might offer

a refuge to conservatism he turned by the habit of a lifelong hostility. The principles and the men of the old Democratic party must, in his mind, now dominate the political situation. What were the principles of the old Democracy as they had been iterated and reiterated in Johnson's speeches? Government for and by the masses of the people; the sanctity and far-reaching autonomy of the states; the beneficence and perpetuity of the Union; the supreme and divinely inspired excellence of the Constitution; and the manifest destiny of the United States to lead all mankind in political wisdom and in the ways of righteousness and enlightenment. But even as we read this noble and exalted if somewhat chauvinistic list, does it not seem to every one who knows even superficially the writings of George Bancroft that we are cataloguing the principles and ideals which he systematically ascribed to his native land? No Prussian scholar of the Bismarckian era was ever more certain that the goal of all history, when scientifically interpreted, was the unification of Germany under the Hohenzollerns, than Bancroft was that the climax of humanity's political achievement was the American republic and its Constitution. And so we find in the message that "the hand of divine Providence was never more plainly visible in the affairs of men than in the framing and the adopting of" the Constitution; that this was, "of all events in modern times, the most pregnant with consequences for every people of the earth"; that the supreme merit of this American system is the guaranties it embodies of permanence to the general government, indestructibility to the states, and immunity to the citizens in all their natural rights. We have, in short, the principles for which the old Democratic party stood in its best estate before the war.

To formulate these principles and to rally the people to them was, I believe, the purpose which Johnson had chiefly in mind when he confronted the preparation of his first message. With such a purpose presumed, the resort to Bancroft as draftsman is an obvious and self-explained deduction. For the business in hand there was needed no old-time Whig, saturated with the heresies of a defunct and discredited party; no antislavery agitator, who had professed his faith in some law higher than the Constitution; no adept of the radicalism which maintained that the inspired work of 1787 had proved inadequate to the exigencies of rebellion and had been superseded: none of these, but one who had, through all the storm and stress of ante-bellum and per-bellum politics, remained undeviatingly true to the creed of the Democracy—to the view of

the Constitution which Jefferson and Madison had maintained, and to the view of the Union which had been taken by Jackson.

The melancholy failure of the enterprise which was so hopefully inaugurated by Bancroft's literary labor, it is no function of this article to describe. We may pause merely to recall the fact that the labor of the historian, though so notably unsuccessful in its political results, met with an entirely adequate personal reward in his appointment as minister to Berlin in 1867. In this position he was retained by President Grant until 1874. To one who is aware of the feeling toward Johnson that prevailed in the Senate in 1867 and in Grant in 1869, it will always be a matter of curious speculation whether Bancroft would have been confirmed by the one authority or retained in office by the other if it had been known that he was the author of Andrew Johnson's first annual message.

## II.

When during the Christmas holidays of 1905 I found myself again inspecting the Johnson Papers at Washington, the facts and inferences which are set forth above made it impossible for me to refrain from a more or less careful examination of President Johnson's other messages, with reference to the question of authorship. In Secretary Hugh McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century* it is stated, incidentally to high praise of Mr. Johnson's messages, that they were, with the exception of the vetoes, "written by himself, with no other help than what he received from his private secretary" (p. 406). This statement, which Mr. McCulloch doubtless believed to be the exact truth, seems at least questionable in respect to the first annual message. As to the other annual messages also, the evidence of the papers is that the one man who had least to do with drafting them was Andrew Johnson. In respect to the vetoes, McCulloch says that the one on the Tenure of Office Bill was written by Stanton—though it was brought out in the impeachment trial that Seward wrote it—and that the "other vetoes were mainly prepared by Attorney-General Henry Stanbery". The idea that Stanbery was responsible for those vetoes especially which involved fundamental doctrines of constitutional law has been adopted by various writers on the period. If it were true, it would militate against the view which I suggested above, that Mr. Johnson's natural recourse was to men of Democratic rather than Whiggish traditions; for Stanbery had been a Whig.

McCulloch's statement may be dismissed as that of one who had never known whereof he spoke, and who had, when he wrote his book, a most untrustworthy memory for what he had known. Of

six consecutive sentences in the passage from which I have quoted, four contain errors of fact. The Johnson Papers reveal that the President took great precaution to conceal from his cabinet the identity of the outsiders who assisted him. His Secretary of the Treasury, therefore, probably never had any first-hand knowledge as to the authorship of the messages, but merely recorded his recollection of the rumors of the time.

In taking up the authorship of the vetoes in the light of the manuscripts, we find that Mr. Johnson, at the beginning of his difference with Congress, employed the aid of various supporters in official life, though not in the cabinet. Thus for the first of his veto messages, that disapproving the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, drafts were submitted by Senator Cowan and General J. S. Fullerton. But clear evidence of outside authorship—outside, that is, of officials of the government, whether executive or legislative—appears first in connection with the military Reconstruction Act which became law March 2, 1867. This was the measure by which Congress took the whole future of the South into its own hands, declaring illegal the governments which the President held to be the constitutional organs of the states, setting up military rule pure and simple, and enfranchising the freedmen. The bill involved the most revolutionary treatment of the fundamental law, and was looked upon with panic by conservative men throughout the land. During the discussion of this measure in Congress certain of the extreme radicals were busying themselves also with the scheme of impeaching the President. From all sides thus, under the influence of the great radical victory in the autumn elections of 1866, the enemies of Johnson and his policy were assuming the offensive. He was now thrown back for support almost wholly on the old Democracy; and out of that ancient organization a redoubtable champion quietly betook himself to the President's side and entered upon an intimate relationship, the details of which the Johnson Papers now for the first time enable us quite fully to know.

Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney-general and Secretary of State in the Buchanan administration, had not won the most unqualified admiration for his part in the last months of that unhappy President's term; but his career as an advocate and jurist had given him laurels which were denied in his political life. In either line he had made himself a reputation, which time was unceasingly to enhance, as a master of dialectic and of invective. To President Johnson, destitute though he was of all fear for the outcome of the conflict in which he was becoming so desperately involved, it must have been peculiarly pleasant to receive the letter from Black dated January 22,

1867, which we find in the Papers. The writer assures Johnson that the public mind of the nation has not yet grasped the principles at issue between the President and Congress, and urges that the matter be presented in a solemn appeal to the people. Black then offers his assistance in preparing such a document, but only on condition that his connection with it be an absolute secret from even the cabinet.

The "solemn appeal" suggested was never made in that form. Possibly Johnson felt that the principles which a year's incessant iteration in his messages and speeches had not enabled the public mind to grasp would not be brought within the comprehension of that unsympathetic entity by a "solemn appeal", even in Judge Black's most effective style. But the Reconstruction Bill which was pending in Congress was evidently destined to pass sooner or later; and then, in what had come to be the natural course of events, it would have to be vetoed. The preparation of the veto would afford an admirable field for Black's constitutional learning and literary gifts; and the document would, since the majority in Congress were quite past the stage at which any attention was paid by them to vetoes, serve almost its sole purpose as an appeal to the people. Such, at any rate, must have been in a general way the President's thought, for the veto message, which was sent in on March 2, was in fact written by Black.

The secret of this authorship was not, however, so successfully maintained as had been the case with the Bancroft message. At this time, in connection with a resolution for impeachment which had been introduced, the House judiciary committee was engaged in what proved to be the most disgraceful and indecent inquisition in the history of legislative procedure. The purpose was to find some ground on which to base the impeachment of the President; and the method was to bring before the committee, and subject to the utmost pressure of its authority, every human being who, through public position or private relationship, through the hostility of partizan rancor or the delation of bar-room slander, afforded any promise of revealing anything to the discredit of Johnson in either his public or his private life. In some unknown way this committee got wind of Black's relation with the President, and they used the knowledge to torment the writer and if possible discredit the signer of the message. A letter of Black to the President tells the story in words which, if forcible, are well justified:

Those low devils of the judiciary committee summoned me up and, notwithstanding my protest, compelled me to testify concerning the last veto. I mentioned to Mr. Stanbery what I felt obliged to reveal. I



told him too beforehand what I would have to say, and he agreed with me that there was no escape. You are well aware that not a word was ever uttered by you to me that the purest patriot would be ashamed of. So far as I know you seemed to me always anxious for the liberty and laws of your country. I told them that conversations of this character had drawn me on to put the substance of them into written form and you had used some of them in that message.

The testimony of Judge Black was published the following November in the report of the judiciary committee. It is entertaining reading, and shows that the witness made the best of his situation. The inquisitors insisted on an exact indication of the paragraphs which stood as Black had written them, but he maintained that so many changes had been made as to render such indication impossible. A comparison of his manuscript, which is preserved in the Johnson Papers, with the message as sent in shows that three-fourths of his draft was used without any change whatever. Loyalty to the President led the writer to minimize his own part in preparing the message; but as between Jeremiah S. Black, the soul of truth, and the crazy<sup>1</sup> partizan zealots who were guiding the procedure of the committee, the recording angel could never have hesitated a moment in awarding responsibility for this lapse from perfect candor.

The revelation of Judge Black's annoyance at having been found out is not all the interesting information derivable from his letter to the President. The opening sentences have not yet been quoted. They run as follows: "I have drawn up a paper which I submit. It is transcribed by a perfectly confidential person—a member of my own family." The accompanying paper here referred to is a draft of a veto message of the Supplementary Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867. This means that probably on the very day, March 14, when the judiciary committee gave Judge Black an unhappy half-hour for his connection with one of Johnson's reconstruction vetoes, the unterrified and indefatigable victim devoted many other half-hours to the formulation of his ideas for another of those vetoes.

Whether the draft of Judge Black was the one actually used by the President was a question which the transcription by another hand made it difficult to answer; for the envelope devoted to the veto of March 23 contains two drafts. The letter which revealed that Black was the author of one of them was, when I discovered

<sup>1</sup> This term in its literal sense is justified in regard to at least one of the foremost "impeachers"; see the speech and testimony of Congressman Ashley, cited in David M. DeWitt, *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (New York, 1903), pp. 210, 292 *et seqq.*

it, folded within the draft which, on comparison, proved to be that actually signed and sent to Congress. But a careful consideration of the contents and style of the two, with various other circumstances, roused my suspicion that possibly the letter had got transferred to the wrong manuscript. This proved ultimately to be the case; for I happened by the merest chance to discover, in one corner of the first page of the rejected draft, a small stenographic sign which a familiarity with the system used by the President's secretary enabled me to identify as the symbol for "Black". The draft which, after considerable revision, was actually sent in was apparently written by Attorney-general Stanbery, or under his direction.

After this veto of the act of March 23, the Johnson Papers present but little evidence of relations between Black and the President until October 23, 1867. Of that date appears a letter to Johnson in which Black says that he is obliged to go to Pittsburgh, and continues: "In the mean time I am doing all that I ought and you will not be disappointed in any expectations you have formed. I will do all that I said and do it in good time." He concludes with a reference to the *Alta Vela* claim, concerning which we shall hear more later. The passages quoted have a familiar and stimulating air to one who has traversed the Johnson Papers thus far. The date suggests that the time is near when an annual message has to be prepared. One is not surprised, therefore, to find a bulky manuscript in Black's familiar hand, and to discover by collation that the manuscript corresponds with great exactness to the first half and more of the message which was sent to Congress on December 3. Black's part in the preparation of this third annual message was, indeed, precisely the same as Bancroft's in the first annual message: each writer formulated all that part of the document which was not sent in by the various departments, and each embodied in his draft the constitutional, legal, and philosophical doctrine of that Jacksonian Democracy of which he, with the President, had been a part.

But in this case again Judge Black was unsuccessful in escaping the responsibility for his work. The *Philadelphia Daily Chronicle*, owned by John W. Forney, secretary of the Senate, published on December 5 a letter from a Washington correspondent in which, after reference to Black's connection with the first reconstruction veto, the writer said of the annual message: "With some knowledge of the style of that eminent dialectician I have had little difficulty in tracing alike his venom and his logic in the argument which Andrew Johnson has adopted as his own." The correspondent who

wrote this was in all probability Forney himself. He was one of the most vehement of the radicals; and enjoyed the distinction, which indeed he has not yet lost, of being the only man ever described as a "dead duck" by a President of the United States in a public address. Forney's antipathy to Johnson had not been mitigated by the not altogether elegant and judicious term which the latter had applied to him; he had been a political and journalistic associate of Black in ante-bellum days, and in that way had acquired the knowledge which enabled him to make so shrewd a guess as to the authorship of the message. I think it extremely probable that it was Forney who made the suggestion on which the judiciary committee had acted in summoning Black to testify as to the veto.

The parallel which has been suggested as to the political antecedents of the two outsiders whom Johnson had employed to prepare his first and third annual messages respectively cannot be extended to the general tone of the two documents. In the latter paper, there is nothing of the mild philosophy and conciliatory spirit which pervades Bancroft's production. The Constitution is indeed held up as a venerated embodiment of supreme political wisdom, but only by way of emphasizing the indignities which have been heaped upon it by Congress through the laws concerning reconstruction. Judge Black indulged to the full his faculty for genial and dignified excoriation. Congress was lectured for its sins, was urged to reform, and was reminded that the latest elections had indicated that the people were awake to the delinquencies of their representatives. The defiant and aggressive tone of the message was not what the most judicious of the President's friends regarded as wise; but it was that which was most characteristic of both Johnson and Black in the circumstances that then existed. Both possessed in an extraordinary degree the *gaudium certaminis*, and in the conflict with the radicals the latter had for a year pressed the President till his back was full to the wall and he could not yield another inch. His control of subordinates had been taken from him by the Tenure of Office Act, his pardoning power had been assailed, his authority as commander-in-chief of the army had been limited, and a resolution to impeach him was pending in the House, awaiting some favorable conjuncture at which a majority could be secured to take up the process of ejecting him from his office.

That Andrew Johnson, under such circumstances, sent to Congress the message which Jeremiah Black prepared for him is a convincing testimony to his fearlessness and audacity, whatever it may signify as to his discretion. There is abundant evidence, however, that every step that he took was carefully considered, and that

he had the benefit of counsel from minds fully as shrewd and astute as those of his adversaries. Many letters, short and pithy, appear in the Johnson Papers at this time from the aged Thomas Ewing, whose judgment shows no abatement of the soundness which had given him high repute among the Whigs of a generation before. It must be said, however, that the President, deferential as he was to the octogenarian's views, showed less disposition to follow the advice of the "conservative Whigs", on whom Ewing urged him to rely, than to take up with the dubious counselors of Democratic faith, against whom Ewing solemnly gave him warning.

One particular bit of evidence which the Johnson Papers reveal as to the position assumed by the President in reference to the proposed impeachment is worthy of a little consideration at this point. To understand the matter properly it is necessary to bear in mind that the most extreme promoters of the movement for impeachment, with Benjamin F. Butler at their head, had propounded and gravely urged the principle that upon the adoption of a resolution of impeachment by the House of Representatives the President would be *ipso facto* suspended from the exercise of his functions till his guilt or innocence should be formally determined by the issue of his trial before the Senate. In other words, this extraordinary doctrine was that the House might by a simple majority vote depose the President, at least temporarily, from his office. It is incredible that there should ever have been a possibility that such a doctrine might be adopted by Congress. But very serious assaults had been made upon the constitutional prerogatives of the executive, and Mr. Johnson had resolved that if this final indignity should be attempted, it must be resisted to the bitter end and regardless of consequences. Accordingly, in a cabinet meeting of November 30, 1867, the President's advisers were confronted with a formal demand for their "separate" opinions, "in writing", on questions propounded in a paper which he read to them.

This very interesting document begins with a sufficiently startling declaration: "You are no doubt aware that certain evil-disposed persons have formed a conspiracy to depose the President of the United States and to supply his place by an individual of their own selection." Their plan is then explained as that of passing in the House a resolution of impeachment, and then, under color of law, by resolution of both houses, declining to recognize him as President pending his trial. After dwelling upon the evidence that such a scheme is on foot, the paper declares that Mr. Johnson has never for a moment contemplated the possibility of yielding to any demand that he give up his office, and that the likeli-

hood of a conflict between the President and Congress makes it indispensable that "the Executive and the Heads of the several Departments should, upon a question so momentous, understand one another without any reserve whatever". Then follow the questions on which the opinions are requested:

1. Can the President be removed from office in any other mode than that prescribed in the Constitution, *viz*: "On impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors"?

2. Pending impeachment and before conviction and judgment, can the President, by act of Congress or otherwise, be suspended from office, and the President *pro tempore* of the Senate or other officer provided by law, be authorized to act as President during such suspension?

3. If a law providing for such suspension and such exercise of the office by any officer other than the President should be passed, would it be the duty of the President to surrender his office or withdraw from the exercise of his official duties, or to continue to exercise them and to maintain his authority?

4. Whether such deposition or arrest of the President and the transfer of his official functions to another person, would be less a violation of the organic law if attempted or done by members of Congress, or at their instigation, than if attempted or effected by private parties?

That Mr. Johnson was in deadly earnest in his intention to have the formally expressed support of his constitutional advisers, in any struggle that he might be obliged to engage in to maintain his office, seems to be indicated by the fact that a copy of the above-described paper had been prepared and addressed to each member of the cabinet. The copies are all carefully preserved along with that which he read and signed. Why they were not delivered is explained in a note signed by the President and appended to his own copy. It runs as follows:

The above prepared paper was submitted to the Cabinet this day, and, after a full and free discussion, was unanimously approved, thus dispensing with the necessity of requesting written answers.

This official statement as to why the project so elaborately prepared was not carried out falls far short of satisfying the curious investigator. Was so formal a procedure necessary in order to satisfy Mr. Johnson that those advisers whose fidelity had already been proved by such severe tests would stand by him on an issue which many of his radical adversaries hesitated to raise because of its constitutional weakness? Can it be imagined that the discussion in the cabinet over this paper made more certain than before the opinion of Seward or McCulloch or Welles or Stanbery or Randall or Browning? The suggestion is preposterous. There is, however,

one member of the cabinet whose name has not been mentioned. At this date the War Department was presided over by General Grant as secretary *ad interim* in place of Stanton, who had been suspended from office in August. Grant was easily the most popular man in the United States, and was in control of the army. The struggle for his favor and support had been a leading feature of the conflict between Johnson and the radicals, and the wiles of the politicians had sadly perplexed the General, whose political acumen was subnormal. It seems to me, therefore, not unlikely that one leading motive in Johnson's project to poll the cabinet was to secure a formal committal of General Grant to the policy of resistance in case an attempt should be made by the radicals to depose the President. The discussion in the cabinet meeting, with the argument all on one side, doubtless soon drew forth an explicit concurrence of the General in the common opinion. Having secured this desideratum, Mr. Johnson probably allowed himself to be convinced that the danger with which he felt himself threatened was not so imminent as he feared, and that the formal written advice was not important. In yielding, however, he did not fail to indorse the outcome on the paper which he had read, and to preserve all the documents against future contingencies and for the edification and mystification of latter-day students of history.

In the light thrown by this record of the cabinet meeting of November 30, 1867, a much-discussed passage in the annual message of December 3 takes on a somewhat different aspect from that in which it has hitherto appeared. Of all the defiance and aggressiveness which, as I have said, that document embodied, none excited more resentment in Congress or more distress among the President's conservative friends than the paragraph in which occurs this passage:

If Congress should pass an act which is not only in palpable conflict with the Constitution, but will certainly, if carried out, produce immediate and irreparable injury to the organic structure of the Government, and if there be neither judicial remedy for the wrongs it inflicts nor power in the people to protect themselves without the official aid of their elected defender—if, for instance, the legislative department should pass an act even through all the forms of law to abolish a coordinate department of the Government—in such a case the President must take the high responsibilities of his office and save the life of the nation at all hazards.

This was the text of much rancorous declamation by the radical leaders in Congress as a gratuitous assault on the law-making branch of the government. The august Sumner went so far, in manifesting his indignation, as to vote against the customary motion to print

the message. Among the President's friends were many who felt that the paragraph was uncalled for, and needlessly gave color to a charge which had been unceasingly agitated by the radicals, that Johnson was seeking an opportunity to oppose the execution of the Reconstruction Acts. The message declares, in the sentence immediately following what is quoted above, that these acts were not believed to be in the class described as justifying resistance. Moderate men thought, therefore, that if nothing was to be done, nothing should have been needlessly said. In view of what took place in the cabinet, it is clear that the obnoxious paragraph was formulated not with any reference to the Reconstruction Acts, but solely with reference to the possible procedure in impeachment. This explanation is put beyond all question by another fact, not as yet referred to, in connection with the paper submitted by the President to the cabinet. Among the documents preserved in relation to that affair is the original manuscript draft of the paper, and this is in the handwriting of Jeremiah S. Black. That is to say, the cabinet paper and the annual message were the product of the same mind.

It would be most satisfactory to the student who has followed through the manuscripts the record of this intimate relation of the Pennsylvania jurist with President Johnson if the relation might be shown to have terminated as agreeably as happened in the case of the other outside coadjutor, Bancroft. If the framer of one annual message found retreat and distinction in a foreign ministry, the man who guided the President not only in an annual message, but also in a veto and—most intimate of all—in polling and testing the cabinet itself, might reasonably be expected to have received exceptional marks of favor. But this was not to be. It is a matter of fully recorded and widely discussed history that Black's intimate relations with the President ceased abruptly and dramatically at precisely the acutest crisis of Johnson's career—a crisis, moreover, which there is little room to doubt Black's influence contributed much to precipitate.

In February, 1868, the President removed Secretary Stanton from office and was thereupon promptly impeached. It is revealed by the Johnson Papers that the policy of making the removal was the subject of strong representations to the President by outside advisers both pro and con. The moderate men, represented particularly by the aged Ewing, urgently opposed the idea, on the ground that the removal would surely strengthen the radicals and bring on the impeachment, with all the turmoil and peril to both the President and the country that would follow. It was at this time that Ewing wrote (January 29) the letter referred to above, warn-

ing Johnson against the influence of Democratic advisers. This allusion was undoubtedly directed against Black, whose close relations with Johnson were well known in inner political circles. But Andrew Johnson's predilection for the part that involved a fight prevailed, and the result predicted by Ewing followed. With impeachment a fact and the preparations for the trial in progress, the interest and anxiety of the old Whig statesman made him outspoken, and on March 1 he wrote imploring Johnson not to engage Black among the counsel for his defense:

His very presence there . . . will injure your cause. He is known as a violent man—has talents but no discretion, and he would in the heat of his nature sacrifice your cause rather than omit saying a bitter thing. . . . Stanbery and Judge Curtis are safe and sufficient counsellors. They may want help to hunt up precedents, and for that let *them* choose their man.

In spite of this entreaty, Black was soon announced among the President's counsel, Johnson having overruled the representations of Black himself, supported by Curtis and Stanbery, that his participation was undesirable.<sup>1</sup> But on March 19 he sent to Johnson a letter of which the first sentence was as follows: "Your determination to determine nothing for the relief of the owners of *Alta Vela* makes it impossible for me to serve you longer as counsel in the impeachment case." The withdrawal thus announced furnished food for much gossip and scandal at the time, and the circumstances connected with it were diligently employed, with the customary suppressions and distortions, by both sides in the trial of the President. Through all the controversy, however, the letters of Black to Johnson were never, so far as I know, published in full. In the light of these, as they exist in the Johnson Papers, there was in the episode nothing whatever discreditable morally to any party concerned, though there is considerable that tends to confirm the opinion of Mr. Ewing, quoted above, as to Judge Black's temper and discretion. Reduced to its lowest terms, the situation which forced Black to retire was this: For a long time he, as counsel for a firm dealing in guano, had sought to secure action by the President in putting them in possession of *Alta Vela*, a small guano island off the coast of San Domingo. The State Department had determined, after investigation, that the desired action would not be justified by the facts. Judge Black had been urging the President to overrule the State Department's action, and had abused Seward unmercifully, even

<sup>1</sup> Black, in his letter of withdrawal, gives this version of the incident of his becoming associated with the counsel for the defense.



charging that the Secretary was in corrupt collusion with certain parties who were profiting by the exclusion of Black's clients. The President thus was called upon to decide between Black and Seward, between his unofficial and his official adviser. At precisely the worst possible moment, from the point of view of a favorable impression on the President, Black's associates in the case sent to Johnson an indorsement of their demand signed by the chief radicals of the House, headed by Benjamin F. Butler and including Thaddeus Stevens. Thereupon the President promptly announced that, as against this company and Black, he would sustain Seward. Black as promptly withdrew from the impeachment case, on the ground, as he explained in a letter to Johnson, that his duty to his *Alta Vela* clients would require him, for the protection of their interests, to engage in proceedings "which would make it impossible for me to aid you in any way or manner". That is, his clients would have to go to Congress for relief, and this would oblige them to antagonize the administration at every point necessary in order to promote their cause.

With this incident Judge Black disappears from the Johnson Papers. His participation in the trial of the President would unquestionably have added an element of picturesqueness—if possible an element of bitterness—to the proceedings. Whether the addition would have been of material benefit to the defendant, it is possible for the unbiassed historical student, with the venerable Whig statesman, most seriously to doubt.

WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Papers of Dr. James McHenry on the Federal Convention of 1787*

FOR the following papers the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Professor Bernard C. Steiner of the Johns Hopkins University, who is preparing for publication a volume containing the biography of Dr. James McHenry of Maryland and selections from his correspondence. Dr. McHenry was, it is familiar, one of the Maryland delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Among his papers is found a leather-bound octavo volume containing a journal kept by him while in attendance upon the Convention. At the conclusion of this journal are presented some lesser documents from his papers, relating to the same events. From a passage in one of these, no. VIII. *infra*, it appears that his notes were written down in the book from day to day during the progress of the Convention. It may be worth mentioning that the first page of the book bears a memorandum of a charge against the state of Maryland for seventy-two days' attendance at the Convention, at thirty-five shillings a day—£126.

McHenry's notes of the debates have a considerable value for certain parts of the history of the Convention, little for others. His notes for May 29, 30, and 31 are exceptionally full; for instance, they give a fuller account than is elsewhere preserved of Randolph's opening speech, though that is one of the few speeches of which the author gave Madison a text. At this point the diarist was called away by his brother's illness, and he did not return till August 4. By this time that weariness of keeping a diary which besets both boys and men had fallen upon nearly all those whose notes have been preserved. "The foremost horseman rode alone": Practically it is only the unwearying Madison who helps us from here on. McHenry came back fresh to his diarizing on August 4, and from that date to August 9 his notes add materially to Madison's incomparable record. After that time he takes notes with little zest or fullness, except in a few cases where Maryland or the Maryland delegates were especially concerned. In instances where the vote of the state was divided, he sometimes enables us to see the record of individual Maryland delegates.

Much the most interesting trait of his journal, however, is its contribution to our knowledge of the private consultations of the members from Maryland. Glimpses of such conferences, of the sort which would now be called caucussing, we have had before in the case of some states, but nowhere so detailed a revelation of what went on in the *coulisses* of the great conclave, beginning August 6, when the Maryland delegation was for the first time made complete.

## I.

PHILADELPHIA 14 May 1787.

## Convention.

On the 25th seven states being represented viz. New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, George Washington was elected (unanimously) president of the convention.

The convention appoint a committee to prepare and report rules for conducting business which were reported, debated, and in general agreed to on the 28th.

29.

Governor Randolph opened the business of the convention.<sup>1</sup> He observed that the confederation fulfilled *none* of the objects for which it was framed. 1st. It does not provide against foreign invasions. 2dly. It does not secure harmony to the States. 3d. It is incapable of producing certain blessings to the States. 4. It cannot defend itself against encroachments. 5th. It is not superior to State constitutions.

1st. *It does not provide against foreign invasion.* If a State acts against a foreign power contrary to the laws of nations or violates a treaty, it cannot punish that State, or compel its obedience to the treaty. It can only leave the offending State to the operations of the offended power. It therefore cannot prevent a war. If the rights of an ambassador be invaded by any citizen it is only in a few States that any laws exist to punish the offender. A State may encroach on foreign possessions in its neighbourhood and Congress cannot prevent it. Disputes that respect naturalization cannot be adjusted. None of the judges in the several States under the obligation of an oath to support the confederation, in which view this writing will be made to yield to State constitutions.

Imbecility of the Confederation equally conspicuous when called upon to support a war. The journals of Congress a history of expedients. The States in arrears to the federal treasury from the  
to the

<sup>1</sup>McHenry's report of this opening speech of Randolph adds much to that which Randolph gave to Madison and which is printed in Gilpin, pp. 728-730, and elsewhere.

What reason to expect that the treasury will be better filled in future, or that money can be obtained under the present powers of Congress to support a war. *Volunteers* not to be depended on for such a purpose. *Militia* difficult to be collected and almost impossible to be kept in the field. *Draughts* stretch the strings of government too violently to be adopted. Nothing short of a regular military force will answer the end of war, and this only to be created and supported by money.

2. *It does not secure harmony to the States.* It cannot preserve the particular States against seditions within themselves or combinations against each other. What laws in the confederation authorise Congress to intrude troops into a State. What authority to determine which of the citizens of a State is in the right, The supporters or the opposers of the government, Those who wish to change it, or they who wish to preserve it.

No provision to prevent the States breaking out into war. One State may as it were underbid another by duties, and thus keep up a State of war.

3. *Incapable to produce certain blessings.* The benefits of which we are *singly incapable* cannot be produced by the union. The 5 per cent impost not agreed; a blessing congress ought to be enabled to obtain.

Congress ought to posses[s] a power to prevent emissions of bills of credit.

Under this head may be considered the establishment of great national works—the improvement of inland navigation—agriculture—manufactures—a freer intercourse among the citizens.

4. *It cannot defend itself against incroachments.* Not an animated existence which has not the powers of defence. Not a political existence which ought not to possess it. In every Congress there has been a party opposed to federal measures. In every State assembly there has been a party opposed to federal measures. The States have been therefore delinquent. To What expedient can congress resort, to compel delinquent States to do what is right. If force, this force must be drawn from the States, and the States may or may not furnish it.

5. *Inferior to State constitutions.* *State constitutions* formed at an early period of the war, and by persons *elected by the people* for that purpose. These in general with one or two exceptions established about 1786 [sic]. The *confederation* was formed long after this, and had its ratification not by any *special appointment* from the people, but from the several assemblies. No judge will say that the *confederation* is paramount to a State consti[tu]tion.

Thus we see that the confederation is incompetent to any *one* object for which it was instituted. The framers of it wise and great men; but human rights were the chief knowle[d]ge of the times when it was framed so far as they applied to oppose Great Britain. Requisitions for men and money had never offered their form to our assemblies. None of

those vices that have since discovered themselves were apprehended. Its defects therefore no reflexion [*sic*] on its contrivers.

Having pointed out its defects, let us not be affraid to view with a steady eye the perils with which we are surrounded. Look at the public countenance from New Hampshire to Georgia. Are we not on the eve of war, which is only prevented by the hopes from this convention.

Our chief danger arises from the democratic parts of our constitutions. It is a maxim which I hold incontrovertible, that the powers of government exercised by the people swallows [*sic*] up the other branches. None of the constitutions have provided sufficient checks against the democracy. The feeble Senate of Virginia is a phantom. Maryland has a more powerful senate, but the late distractions in that State, have discovered that it is not powerful enough. The check established in the constitution of New York and Massachusets is yet a stronger barrier against democracy, but they all seem insufficient.

He then submitted the following propositions which he read and commented upon *seriatim*.<sup>1</sup> . . .

The convention resolved that, on to-morrow, the convention resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of the american union.<sup>2</sup>

It was observed by Mr. Hamilton before adjourning that it struck him as a necessary and preliminary inquiry to the propositions from Virginia whether the united States were susceptible of one government, or required a separte existence connected only by leagues offensive and defensive and treaties of commerce.<sup>3</sup>

#### May 30.

Mr. Randolph wished the house to dissent from the first proposition on the paper delivered in to the convention in order to take up the following

- 1st. That a union of the States merely federal will not accomplish the object proposed by the articles of confederation, namely "common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare."
2. That no treaty or treaties between the whole or a less number of the States in their sovereign capacities will accomplish their common defence, liberty, or welfare.<sup>4</sup>
3. That therefore a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislature, judi[c]iary and executive.

<sup>1</sup> The text of the Virginia plan here presented is that which is designated as A in Jameson's "Studies in the History of the Federal Convention of 1787", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1902, I. 103-111. It is not necessary to reprint it.

<sup>2</sup> The diarist ignores Charles Pinckney's plan.

<sup>3</sup> These remarks of Hamilton have not been reported hitherto.

<sup>4</sup> This resolution does not, like the other two, appear in the journal of the committee, but appears, with slightly different phraseology in both cases, in Madison's notes, *Documentary History*, III. 21, and in Yates, *Secret Proceedings*, ed. 1821, p. 98.

On a question taken on the last proposition after various attempts to amend it, the same was agreed to. For it, Massachusetts, Pennsylv., Delaware, Virginia, N. Carolina and S. Carolina—against it Connecticut. New York divided.

[The proceedings of May 30, up to this point, are set forth in much more detail in a loose folio sheet, in Dr. McHenry's handwriting, which was found lying in the book containing the main body of his notes. It seems best to insert this paper at this point. It reads as follows:

*May 30th.*

1st resolution from Mr. Randol[ph].

Mr. R. wishes to have that resol. dissented to. The resol. postponed to take up the following:

1st. That a union of the States merely fœderal will not accomplish the object proposed by the articles of confederation, namely, "common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare".

Mr. C. Pinkney wishes to know whether the establishment of this Resolution is intended as a ground for a consolidation of the several States into one.

Mr. Randol[ph] has nothing further in contemplation than what the propositions he has submitted yesterday has [*sic*] expressed.

2. Resolved that no treaty or treaties between the whole or a less number of the States in their sovereign capacities will accomplish their common defence, liberty or welfare.

3. Resolved therefore that a national governmen[t] ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislature, judiciary and executive.

Mr. Whythe [*sic*]<sup>1</sup> presumes from the silence of the house that they gentn. are prepared to pass on the resolution and proposes its being put.

Mr. Butler—does not think the house prepared, that he is not. Wishes Mr. Randolph to shew that the existence of the States cannot be preserved by any other mode than a national government.

Gen. Pinkney—Thinks agreeing to the resolve is declaring that the convention does not act under the authority of the recommendation of Congress.

The first resolution postponed to take up the 3d. viz—Resolved that a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislature, judiciary and executive.

1787, 21 Febry. Resolution of Congress.<sup>2</sup>

Resolved that in the opinion of Congress it is expedient that on the 2d Monday of May next a convention of delegates who shall have been

<sup>1</sup>This speech does not appear elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup>McHenry probably copies this at this point in his notes for reference in connection with the preceding remarks as to the powers of the Convention.

appointed by the several States to be held at Philada. for the sole and expres[s] purpose of *revising the articles of confederation*, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures, such alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed [sic] to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the *fæderal constitution*, adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the union."

Mr. Randolph<sup>1</sup> explains the intention of the 3d Resolution. Repeats the substance of his yesterdays observations. It is only meant to give the national government a power to defend and protect itself. To take therefore from the respective legislatures or States, no more sover[e]ignty than is competent to this end.

Mr. Dickinson. Under obligations to the gentlemen who brought forward the systems laid before the house yesterday. Yet differs from the mode of proceeding to which the resolutions or propositions before the Committee lead. Would propose a more simple mode. All agree that the confederation is defective all agree that it ought to be amended. We are a nation altho' consisting of parts or States—we are also confederated, and he hopes we shall always remain confederated. The enquiry should be—

1. What are the legislative powers which we should vest in Congress.
2. What judiciary powers.
3. What executive powers.

We may resolve therefore, in order to let us into the business. That the confederation is defective; and then proceed to the definition of such powers as may be thought adequate to the objects for which it was instituted.

Mr. E. Gerry. Does not rise to speak to the *merits* of the question before the Committee but to the *mode*.

A distinction has been made between a *federal* and *national* government. We ought not to determine that there is this distinction for if we do, it is questionable not only whether this convention can propose an government totally different or whether Congress itself would have a right to pass such a resolution as that before the house. The commission from Massachusetts empowers the deputies to proceed agreeably to the recommendation of Congress. This the foundation of the convention. If we have a right to pass this resolution we have a right to annihilate the confederation.

Proposes—In the opinion of this convention, provision should be made for the establishment of a fæderal legislative, judiciary, and executive.

Gouverneur Morris. Not yet ripe for a decision, because men seem to have affixed different explanations to the terms before the house. 1. We are not now under a fæderal gover[n]ment. 2. There is no such thing. A fæderal government is that which has a right to compel every

<sup>1</sup> These remarks of Randolph, and those of Dickinson which follow, seem not to be found in Madison's or any of the other notes hitherto printed.

part to do its duty. The federal gov. has no such compelling capacities, whether considered in their legislative, judicial or Executive qualities.

The States in their appointments Congress in their recommendations point directly to the establishment of a *supreme* government capable of "the common defence, security of liberty and general welfare.

Cannot conceive of a government in which there can exist two *supremes*. A federal agreement which each party may violate at pleasure cannot answer the purpose. One government better calculated to prevent wars or render them less expensive or bloody than many.

We had better take a supreme government now, than a despot twenty years hence—for come he must.

Mr. Reed, Genl. [Pinckney] 2dng. proposes—In order to carry into execution the design of the States in this meeting<sup>1</sup> and to accomplish the *objects* proposed by the confederation resolved that A more effective government consisting of a legislative judiciary and executive ought to be established.

In order to carry into execution

Mr. R. King<sup>2</sup>—The object of the motion from Virginia, an establishment of a government that is to act upon the whole people of the U. S.

The object of the motion from Delaware seems to have application merely to the strengthening the confederation by some additional powers.

Mr. Maddison—The motion does go to bring out the sense of the house—whether the States shall be governed by one power. If agreed to it will decide nothing. The meaning of the States that the confed. is defect. and ought to be amended. In agreeing to the<sup>3</sup>. . . ]

The Committee then proceeded to consider the 2 Resolution in Mr. Randolphs paper viz

That the rights of suffrage in the national legislature ought to be proportioned to the quotas of contribution or to the number of free inhabitants as the one or the other rule may seem best in different cases.

As this gave the large States the most absolute controul over the lesser ones it met with opposition which produced an adjournment without any determination.

The Committee of the whole to sit to-morrow.

31 May.

Mr. Randolph motioned to take into consideration, vz. That the national legislature ought to consist of two branches.

agreed to.

Part of the 4 resolution moved, vz. That the members of the first branch ought to be elected by the people of the several States.

6 States aff. 2 neg. 2 divided.

<sup>1</sup> "in forming this Convention" (*Journal*).

<sup>2</sup> King's remarks, and those of Madison which follow, seem not to appear in other records of the debates.

<sup>3</sup> End of paper. Unfinished.



5 Reso. so far as follows taken up vz. That the members of the second branch of the national legislature ought to be elected by those of the first out of a proper number of persons nominated by the individual legislatures.

Neg. 7. affirm 3. aff. Mass. S. C. Virginia.<sup>1</sup>

Motioned vz.

That each branch ought to possess the right of originating acts.  
agreed.

That the national legislature ought to be empowered to enjoy the *legislative rights vested in Congress by the confedn. and moreover* to legislate in all cases to which the *seperate States are incompetent.*

agreed.

or in which the harmony of the U. S. may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation.

agreed.

To negative all laws passed by the several States contravening in the opinion of the national legislature the articles of union, (or any treaty subsisting under the authority of the union, added by Dr. Franklin).

agreed.

And to call forth the force of the union against any member of the union failing to fulfil its duty under the articles thereof.

postponed.

Mr. E. Gery thought this clause "ought to be expressed so as the people might not understand it to prevent their being alarmed".

This idea rejected on account of its *artifice*, and because the system without such a declaration gave the government the means to secure itself.

*June 1st.*

Recd an express from home that my brother lay dangerously sick in consequence of which I set out immediately for Baltimore.

Left Baltimore 2 August.

*August 4th.*

Returned to Philada. The committee of Convention ready to report. Their report in the hands of Dunlop the printer to strike off copies for the members.<sup>4</sup>

*Augt. 6.*

Convention met. present 8 States. Report delivered in by Mr. Rutledge. read. Convention adjourned till to-morrow to give the members an opportunity to consider the report.

<sup>1</sup> More correct than the journal. See Madison, *Documentary History*, III. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See Jameson, *ubi sup.*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> The next two paragraphs seem not to occur in any other report.

<sup>4</sup> See Bancroft, *Constitution*, II. 119, 139; Ford, *Pamphlets on the Constitution*, 390.

Proposed to Mr. D. Carrol, Mr. Jenifer, Mr. Mercer and Mr. Martin,<sup>1</sup> to meet to confer on the report, and to p[r]epare ourselves to act in unison.

Met at Mr. Carrolls lodgings in the afternoon. I repeated the object of our meeting, and proposed that we should take the report up by paragraphs and give our opinions thereon. Mr. Mercer wished to know of me whether I thought Maryland would embrace such a system. I told him I did not know, but I presumed the people would not object to a wise system. He extended this idea to the other gentlemen. Mr. Martin said they would not; That he was against the system, that a compromise only had enabled its abettors to bring it into its present stage—that had Mr. Jenifer voted with him, things would have taken a different turn. Mr. Jenifer said he voted with him till he saw it was in vain to oppose its progress. I begged the gentlemen to observe some order to enable us to do the business we had convened upon. I wished that we could be unanimous—and would make a proposition to effect it. I would join the deputation in bringing on a motion to postpone the report, to try the affections of the house to an amendment of the confederation without altering the sovereignty of suffrage; which failing we should then agree to render the system reported as perfect as we could, in the mean while to consider our motion to fail and proceed to confer upon the report agreeably to the intention of our meeting. I. E. That we should now and at our future meetings alter the report to our own judgement to be able to appear unanimous in case our motion failed.

Mr. Carrol could not agree to this proposition, because he did not think the confederation could be amended to answer its intentions. I thought that it was susceptible of a revision which would sufficiently invigorate it for the exigencies of the times. Mr. Mercer thought otherwise as did Mr. Jenifer. This proposition to conciliate the deputation was rejected.

Mr. Martin in the course of the conversation observed that he was against two branches—that we [*sic*] was against the people electing the representatives of the national government. That he wished to see the States governments rendered capable of the most vigorous exertions, and so knit together by a confederation as to act together on national emergencies.

Finding that we could come to no conclusions I recommended meeting again to-morrow, for unless we could appear in the convention with some degree of unanimity it would be unnecessary to remain in it, sacrificing time and money without being able to render any service. They agreed to meet to-morrow, except Mr. Martin who said he was going to New York and would not be back till monday following.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other members from Maryland. Mercer did not take his seat till this day.

<sup>2</sup> Martin in the *Maryland Journal* says that he was absent five days. Ford, *Essays on the Constitution*, 341. Ellsworth ("Landholder") says ten. *Ibid.*, 186. Martin replied, *ibid.*, 346, that he set out for New York on August 7, and

It being of importance to know and to fix the opinions of my colleagues on the most consequential articles of the new system, I prepared the following propositions, for that purpose viz.<sup>1</sup>

Art. IV. Sec. 5. Will you use your best endeavours to obtain for the senate an equal authority over money bills with the house of representatives?

Art. VII. Sect. 6. Will you use your best endeavours to have it made a part of the system that "no navigation act shall be passed without the assent of two thirds of the representation from each State?"

In case these alterations cannot be obtained will you give your assent to the 5 sect. of the IV article and 6 sect. of the VII. article as they stand in the report?

Will you also, (in case these alterations are not obtained) agree that the ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for organizing the new constitutions?

N. B. Saw Mr. Mercer make out a list of the members names who had attended or were attending in convention with for and against marked opposite most of them—asked carelessly what question occasioned his being so particular upon which he told me laughing that it was no question but that those marked with a for were for a king. I then asked him how he knew that to which he said no matter the thing is so. I took a copy with his permission, and Mr. Martin seeing me about it asked What it was. I told him, in the words Mr. Mercer had told me, when he begged me to let him copy the list which I did.<sup>2</sup>

#### Augt. 7.

+ Mr. Martin set out for New York on this day so we were without his concurrence in the propositions.

Shewed these propositions to Mr. Carroll Mr. Jenifer and Mr. Mercer in convention. They said in general terms that they believed they should accord with them. I observed to Mr. Carrol[l] that we would meet again in the evening and talk over the subject.<sup>3</sup>

The business of the Convention proceeded.

The preamble or caption and the 1. and 2. article passed without debate, the 3 article was amended so as to leave it with the legislature to appoint after the first meeting, the day for the succeeding meetings.

The IV article gave rise to a long debate, respecting the *qualifications of the electors*.

Mr. Dickinson contended for confining the rights of election in the returned and took his seat in the Convention on Monday, August 13. But see *post*, August 16.

<sup>1</sup> On the next page are two insertions, marked "N. B." and "+"; and places are indicated for their insertion.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, nos. III.—IX., and especially no. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Crossed out: "that I had my doubt whether the gentlemen had given themselves time to consider the effect of the propositions or the part we ought to take respecting them."

first branch to *free holders*. No one could be considered as having an interest in the government unless he possessed some of the soil.

The fear of an aristocracy was a theoretical fiction. The owners of the soil could have no interest distinct from the country. There was no reason to dread a few men becoming lords of such an extent of territory as to enable them to govern at their pleasure.

Gouverneur Morris—thought that wise men should not suffer themselves to be misguided by sound. If the suffrage was to be open to all *freemen*—the government would indubitably be an aristocracy. The system was a system of Aristocracy. It put it in the power of opulent men whose business created numerous dependents to rule at all elections. Hence so soon as we erected large manufactories and our towns became more populous—wealthy merchants and manufacturers would elect the house of representatives. This was an aristocracy. This could only be avoided by confining the suffrage to *free holders*. Mr. Maddison supported similar sentiments.

The old ideas of taxation and representation were opposed to such reasoning.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Franklin spoke on this occasion. He observed that in time of war a country owed much to the lower class of citizens. Our late war was an instance of what they could suffer and perform. If denied the right of suffrage it would debase their spirit and detach them from the interest of the country. One thousand of our seamen were confined in English prisons—had bribes offered them to go on board English vessels which they rejected. An English ship was taken by one of our men of war. It was proposed to the English sailors to join ours in a cruise and share alike with th[e]m in the captures. They immediately agreed to the proposal. This difference of behavior arises from<sup>2</sup> the operation of freedom in America, and the laws in England. One British Statute excluded a number of subjects from a suffrage. These immediately became slaves. At th[r]ee o'clock the house adjourned without coming to any issue.

At five o'clock in the evening I went to Mr. Carrolls lodging to confer with my colleagues on the points I had submitted to their consideration. I found Mr. Carroll alone when We entered upon their merits. He agreed with me that the deputation should oppose a resolute face to the 5 sect of the IV article,<sup>3</sup> and that they ought to reject it. He appeared fully sensible of its tendency—That lodging in the house of representatives the sole right of raising and appropriating money, upon which the Senate had only a negative, gave to that branch an inordinate power in the constitution, which must end in its destruction. That without equal powers they were not an equal check upon each other—and that this was

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently McHenry's comment. What follows, from "Doctor Franklin" to "became slaves" is written on the opposite page of the manuscript, and marked to be inserted.

<sup>2</sup> Crossed out: "this description of men having a right of suffrage."

<sup>3</sup> To the effect that money-bills should originate in the House of Representatives alone, and that the Senate should have no right to alter or amend them.

the chance that appeared for obtained [*sic.* obtaining?] an equal suffrage, or a suffrage equal to wh[a]t we had in the present confedn.

We accorded also that the deputation should in no event consent to the 6 sect. of VII article.<sup>1</sup> He saw plainly that as a quorum consisted of a majority of the members of each house—that the dearest interest[s?] of trade were under the controul of four States or of 17 membe[r]s in one branch and 8 in the other branch.<sup>2</sup>

We adverted also to the 1st sect of the VII article which enabled the legislature to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, and to regulate commerce among the several States. We almost shuddered at the fate of the commerce of Maryland should we be unable to make any change in this extraordinary power.

We agreed that our deputation ought never to assent to this article in its present form or without obtaining such a provision as I proposed.

I now begged his particular attention to my last proposition.<sup>3</sup> By the XXII article we were called upon to agree that the system should be submitted to a convention chosen in each State under the recommendation of its legislature. And that a less number of conventions than the whole agreeing to the system should be sufficient to organise the constitution.

We had taken an oath to support our constitution and frame of government. We had been empowered by a legislature legally constituted to revise the confederation and fit it for the *exigencies of government*, and *preservation of the union*. Could we do this business in a manner contrary to our constitution? I feared [(Note by McHenry.) This was said first I *thought*—then I *feared*]<sup>4</sup> we could not. If we relinquished any of the rights or powers of our government to the U. S. of America, we could no otherwise agree to that relinquishment than in the mode our constitution prescribed for making changes or alterations in it.

Mr. Carroll[1] said he had felt his doubts respecting the propriety of this article as it respected Maryland; but he hoped we should be able to get over this difficulty.

Mr. Jenifer now came in to whom Mr. Carroll repeated what we had said upon my propositions and our determinations. Mr. Jenifer agreed to act in unison with us but seemed to have vague ideas of the mischiefs of the system as it stood in the report.

I wished to impress him with the necessity to support us, and touched upon some popular points.

I suggested to him the unfavorable impression it would make upon the people on account of its expence. An army and navy was [*sic.*] to be raised and supported, expensive courts of judicature to be maintained, and a princely president to be provided for etc. That it was plain

<sup>1</sup> "No navigation act shall be passed without the assent of two thirds of the members present in each house."

<sup>2</sup> Marginal note: "33, 17 and 14, 8."

<sup>3</sup> As to ratification by nine states. See p. 604, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> The word "feared" is substituted for a word erased.

that the revenue for these purposes was to be chiefly drawn from commerce. That Maryland in this case would have this resource taken from her, without the expences of her own government being lessened. That what would be raised from her commerce and by indirect taxation would far exceed the proportion she would be called upon to pay under the present confederation.

An increase of taxes, and a decrease in the objects of taxation as they respected a revenue for the State would not prove very palatable to our people, who might think that the whole objects of taxation were hardly sufficient to discharge the States obligations.

Mr. Mercer came in, and said he would go with the deputation on the points in question. He would wish it to be understood however, that he did not like the system, that it was weak—That he would produce a better one since the convention had undertaken to go radically to work, that perhaps he would not be supported by any one, but if he was not, he would go with the stream.

*August 8.*

The 2 sect. of the IV. article was amended to read 7 insted of three years. It was proposed to add to the section "at least one year preceding his election". negatived. Maryland divided. M[ess]rs. Mercer and Carrol neg. Mr. Jenifer and myself aff.

The fifth section giving the sole power of raising and appropriating money to the house of representatives expunged.

*August 9.*

6 and 7 sects. agreed to without amendment.

The 1 section of the V article underwent an emendatory alteration. The last clause—"each member shall have one vote"—opposed by Mr. Mason, Randolph and a few others on account of the Senate by the loss of the 5 sect of the IV article having the same powers over money bills as the house of representatives.—The whole however was agreed to.

Sect. 2. agreed to after an emendatory addition.

Sect. 3 agreed to after inserting inhabitant for resident, as being less equivocal, and 9 years for 4 years,<sup>1</sup>

Gouverneur Morris proposed insted of 4 years 14. He would have confined the members he said to natives—but for its appearance and the effects it might have against the system.

Mr. *Mason* had the same wishes, but he could not think of excluding those foreigners who had taken a part and borne with the country the dangers and burdenths [*sic*] of the war.

Mr. Maddison was against such an invidious distinction. The matter might be safely intrusted to the respective legislatures. Doctor Franklin was of the same opinion. Mr. Willson expressed himself feelingly

<sup>1</sup> The next three paragraphs marked for insertion. Written on preceding page.

on the same side. It might happen, he said, that he who had been thought worthy of being trusted with the framing of the Constitution, might be excluded from it. He had not been born in this country. He considered such excluding as one of the most galling chains which the human mind could experience. It was wrong to deprive the government of the talents virtue and abilities of such foreigners as might chuse to remove to this country. The corrup[t] of other countries would not come here. Those who were tired in opposing such corruptions would be drawn hither, etc. etc.

Sect. 4 agreed to.

Article VI.

Sect. 1. Agreed to with this amendment insted of "*but their provisions concerning them.*"<sup>1</sup>

adjourned

August 10.

Sect. 2. dissented to. Sects. 3. 4 5 and 6 agreed to.<sup>2</sup>

Augt. 11.

Sect. 7 agreed to after expunging the words "when it shall be acting in a legislative capacity" and inserting after the words "publish them" except such parts as in their judgement require secrecy.

After much debate<sup>3</sup> agreed to reconsider on monday the 5 sect. of the 4 article.

August 13.

The 2 sect. of the 4 article and the 3 sect. of the 5 article was reconsidered and lengthily debated. The 7 years however in the first and the 9 years in the latter remained and the articles stood as before reconsideration.

Augt. 14.

Sect. 8 agreed to, premising the words "during the session of the legislature".<sup>4</sup>

Sect. 9. postponed.

Sect. 10. altered, that the members of both branches be paid out of the treasury of the United States, their pay to be ascertained by law.

August 15.

Sect. 11. agreed to.

Sect. 12 postponed.

Sect. 13. Agreed to with the alteration of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of each house instead of *two thirds*.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the substitution, for the words indicated, of the words "regulations in each of the foregoing cases", etc.

<sup>2</sup> After amendment of sections 3 and 6.

<sup>3</sup> Not much is reported by Madison, the only other reporter for this day.

<sup>4</sup> This was done on August 11, according to the journal and Madison.

16 Augt.

Agreed to Article VII from Sec: 1. to the paragraph "borrow money and emit bills on the credit of the united States inclusive, with the addition of the words "and post roads" and the omission of "*and emit bills*".

Mr. Martin appeared in convention.

August 17.

Agreed "to appoint a treasurer by joint Ballot; To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court; To make rules concerning captures on land and water;

expunged the next section and inserted

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas;

To punish counterfeiting the securities and the current coin of the United States.

Struck out the clause "To subdue a rebellion etc.

Debated the difference between a power to declare war, and to make war—amended by substituting declare—adjourned without a question on the clause.<sup>1</sup>

Augt. 18.

To make war, to raise armies "to build and equip fleets amended to "declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain fleets" to which was added "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

The next clause postponed.

August 20.

The following one agreed to.

Sect. 2. Amended to read. Treason against the U. S. shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies giving them aid and comfort. The legislature shall have power to declare the punishment of treason. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on confession in open court, or the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act.

Mr. Mason<sup>2</sup> moved to add to the 1 sect of the VII article.

To make sumptuary laws.

Gouverneur Morris. sump. laws were calculated to continue great landed estates for ever in the same families. If men had no temptation to dispose of their money they would not sell their estates.

Negatived.

Amended section 3 by striking out the words in the second line *white and other*, and the word six in the 5 line and substituting the word three—but adjourned without a question on the section.

<sup>1</sup> Not so the journal, *Documentary History*, I. 130.

<sup>2</sup> From "Mr. Mason" to "Negatived" inserted. Written on preceding page. The proper place for the insertion is however a paragraph earlier, according to the journal and Madison. *Ibid.*, 137, III. 567, 568.



Augt. 21.

passed the 3 sect.

Took up 4 sect. adjourned, after passing the first clause to the word State 2[d] line inclusive.<sup>1</sup>

August 22.

Committed the remainder of the 4 sect. with the 5 and 6.

The 4 sect permitting [permitting] the importation of Slaves gave rise to much desultory debate.

Every 5 slaves counted in representation as one elector without being equal in point of strength to one *white* inhabitant. This gave the slave States an advantage in representation over the others. The slaves were moreover exempt from duty on importation. They served to render the representation from such States aristocratical.<sup>2</sup>

It was replied—That the population or increase of slaves in Virginia exceeded their calls for their services—That a prohibition of Slaves into S. Carolina Georgia etc—would be a monopoly in their favor. These States could not do without Slaves. Virginia etc would make their own terms for such as they might sell. Such was the situation of the country that it could not exist without slaves—That they could confederate on no other condition. They had enjoyed the right of importing slaves when colonies. They enjoyed as States under the confederation. And if they could not enjoy it under the proposed government, they could not associate or make a part of it.

Several additions were reported by the committee.

Mr. Martin<sup>3</sup> shewed us some restrictory clauses drawn up for the VII article respecting commerce—which we agreed to bring forward.

Moved that the legislature should pass no ex post facto laws or bills of attainder.

G. Morris Willson Dr. Johnson etc thought the first an unnecessary guard as the principles of justice law et[c] were a perpetual bar to such. To say that the legis. shall not pass an ex post facto law is the same as to declare they shall not do a thing contrary to common sense—that they shall not cause that to be a crime which is no crime.

Carried in the affirmative.

August 23.

7 sect. agreed to.<sup>4</sup>

On motion, on a proposition reported and amended agreed that "*The legislature* shall fulfil the engagements and discharge the debts of the U. S." To make the first clause in the VII article—Amended the first

<sup>1</sup> I. e., "No tax or duty shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any State."

<sup>2</sup> These remarks cannot be identified with any individual speech in Madison's notes. What follows seems to be General C. C. Pinckney's statement. *Documentary History*, III. 587.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is inserted from the preceding page.

<sup>4</sup> After amendment.

clause in the report of the said article by striking out the words, *the legislature of the U. S.* Added in the said article after the clause "to provide and maintain fleets":

To organize and discipline the militia and govern such part of them as may be employed in the service of the U. S. reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by the U. S."

Expunged in the VIII article the words *the acts of the legislature of the U. S. and of this constitution*, so as that the constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof etc should be the supreme laws of the several States.

The IX article being taken up, It was motioned that no treaty should be binding till it received the sanction of the legislature.

It was said<sup>1</sup> that a minister could not then be instructed by the Senate who were to appoint him, or if instructed there could be no certainty that the house of representatives would agree to confirm what he might agree to under these instructions.

To this it was answered<sup>2</sup> that all treaties which contravene a law of England or require a law to give them operation or effect are inconclusive till agreed to by the legislature of Great Britain.

Except in such cases the power of the King without the concurrence of the parliament conclusive.

Mr. Maddison,<sup>3</sup> the Kings power over treaties final and original except in granting subsidies or dismembering the empire. These required parliamentary acts.

Commiteed [*sic*].

Adjourned.

*Augt. 24.*

2 and 3 sect. struck out. The 10 article give rise to various debate. Amended to read that the election of the president of the U. S. be by *joint ballot*. It was moved to add each State having one vote—Conn: Jer. Mar. Georg:<sup>4</sup> ay. N. H. Mass. Penns. Vir. N. C. and S. C. no. It was moved that the president be elected by the people<sup>5</sup> 3 states affirm—7 neg.

On what respects his ineligibility Gov. Morris observed. That in the strength of the Executive would be found the strength of America. Ineligibility operates to weaken or destroy the constitution. The president will have no interest beyond his period of service. He will for peace and emolument to himself and friends agree to acts that will encrease the power and agrandize the bodies which elect him. The legislature will swallow up the whole powers of the constitution; but

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Gorham. *Documentary History*, III. 604.

<sup>2</sup> By Dr. Wilson. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Not in his notes. *Ibid.*, 606.

<sup>4</sup> And Delaware. *Ibid.*, I. 233.

<sup>5</sup> According to the journal and Madison, this second vote came first, and stood 2 to 9. *Ibid.*, 151, 152, 232, III. 609.

to do this effectually they must possess the Executive. This will lead them to tempt him, and the shortness of his reign will subject him to be tempted and overcome. The legislature has great and various appointments in their power. This will create them an extensive influence which may be so used as to put it out of the power of the Executive to prevent them from arriving at supremacy. On the other hand give the Executive a chance of being re-chosen and he will hold his prerogatives with all possible tenaciousness.

postponed the question.

Proceeded, and made some amendments to the 2 sect. Adjourned when the question was going to be put whether the legislature might enable the State Executives or legislatures to appoint officers to certain offices.

*Augt. 25.*

The clause in the 2 sect. X article, "he shall commission all the officers of the U. S. and shall appoint officers in all cases not otherwise provided for by this constitution, was moved to be amended by adding, except where by law the Executive of the several States shall have the power. Amendment negative[d]. Maryland divided—D. C. and J. against Martin and myself affirm.<sup>1</sup>

Moved several propositions<sup>2</sup> to restrict the legislature from giving any preference in duties, or from obliging duties to be collected in a manner injurious to any State, and from establishing new ports of entrance and clearance, unless neglected to be established by the States after application. Opposed by Massachusetts. Mr. Gorahm [*sic*] said it might be very proper to oblige vessels, for example, to stop at Norfolk on account of the better collection of the revenue.

Mr. King thought it improper to deliberate long on such propositions but to take the sense of the house immediately upon them.<sup>3</sup>

I moved to have them committed to a committee consisting of a member from each State. Committed.

Proceeded a little further in the 2 sect.

Mr. C. Pinkney gave notice that he would move that the consent of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the whole legislature be necessary to the enacting a law respecting the regulation of trade or the formation of a navigation act.<sup>4</sup>

Adjourned to monday.

*Monday 27 Augt.*

Amended the Presidential oath of office—made some other amendments—postponed what follows from the oath to the end.

Agreed to the 1. 2 and 3 sect. of the XI article with amendments.

<sup>1</sup> August 24, according to the journal and Madison, who says, *Documentary History*, III. 613, that it was negatived without a call of states, as also appears from the sheets of votes, *ibid.*, I. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Some of them by Dr. McHenry.

<sup>3</sup> This is not in Madison.

<sup>4</sup> This is not in Madison, who however reports Pinckney as proposing this on August 29, but with a two-thirds vote, not three-fourths. *Documentary History*, III. 636.

*Augt. 28.*

4 Sect. amended. 5 sect. agreed to.

XII article amended by adding that no State shall emit bills of credit, nor make any thing but specie a tender in debts.

XIII amended so [th]at all duties laid by a State shall accrue to the use of the U. S.

*Agt. 29.*

XIIII and XV agreed to<sup>1</sup> XVI. article committed.

*Augt. 30.*

XVII article debated by Maryland. Obtained an alteration so that the claim of the U. S. to the Crown lands or Western territory may be decided upon by the supreme judiciary.

XVIII agreed to.<sup>2</sup>

Endeavoured to recall the house to the reported propositions from Maryland, to prevent the U. S. from giving prefe[re]nces to one State above another or to the shipping of one State above another, in collecting or laying duties. The house averse to taking any thing up till this system is got through.<sup>3</sup> XXI. adjourned on this article.

Proposed to have a private conference with each other to-morrow before meeting of the convention to take measures for carrying our propositions. etc.

*Augt. 31.*

Filled up the blank in the XXI article with 9: 8 States affirm: 3 Neg. Maryland moved to fill it up with 13 but stood alone on the question. G. W. was for 7.

Struck out *for their approbation* in the 22 Article. filled up the blank in the 23 article with 9, and amended the last clause by striking out *choose the president of the U. S. and.*

The system being thus far agreed to the restrictory propositions from Maryland<sup>4</sup> were taken up—and carried—against them N. Hamp. Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup> and S. Carolina.

Referred to a grand committee all the sections of the system under postponement and a report of a committee of 5 with several motions.

Adjourned.

*Septmbr. 1.*

Adjourned to let the committee sit.

Sepr. 3. and 4 Employed chiefly by the committee.

Agreed on report of the com. that the 1 clause of the 1 sect. of the 7 art. read vz.

<sup>1</sup> August 28, according to the journal and Madison.

<sup>2</sup> The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth articles were all agreed to on this day.

<sup>3</sup> This episode does not appear in Madison.

<sup>4</sup> As to equality of the states in respect to federal regulation of commerce and navigation.

<sup>5</sup> The vote of Massachusetts not given in the journal.

"The legislature shall have power to lay and collect taxes duties imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the U. S."

Also to add at the end of the 2 clause of the 1 sect of the 7 art. "and with the Indian tribes."

+ Took<sup>1</sup> up in the report "in the place of the 9 art. 1 sec.—"The senate of the U. S. shall have power to try all impeachments but no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of 2/3 of the members present. postponed.

The committee report in part as follows<sup>2</sup> . . .

After the words into the service of the U. S. in the 2 sect 10 art add "and may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the Executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

The latter part of the 2 sect. 10 art. to read "he shall be removed from his office on impeachment by the house of representatives and conviction by the Senate, for treason, or bribery, and in case of his removal as aforesaid, death absence resignation or inability to discharge the powers or duties of his office, the vice pres. shall exercise those powers and duties until another pres. be chosen or until the inability of the pres. be removed.

No provision in the above for a new election in case of the death or removal of the President.

Upon looking over the constitution it does not appear that the national legislature can *erect light houses or clean out or preserve the navigation of harbours*. This expence ought to be borne by commerce—of course by the general treasury into which all the revenue of commerce must come.

Is it proper to declare all the navigable waters or rivers and within the U. S. common high ways? Perhaps a power to restrain any State from demanding tribute from citizens of another State in such cases is comprehended in the power to regulate trade between State and State.

This to be further considered. A motion to be made on the light house etc, to-morrow.

Sept. 5.

The greatest part of the day spent, in desultory conversation on that part of the report respecting the mode of chusing the President. Adjourned without coming to a conclusion.

Sept. 6.

Spoke to Gov Morris Fitzimmons and Mr. Goram to insert a power in the confederation enabling the legislature to erect piers for protection of shipping in winter and to preserve the navigation of harbours. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph inserted. Written on preceding page.

<sup>2</sup> Here follows the familiar report of the committee of eleven on the mode of electing the President, to be found in all prints of the journal, and therefore omitted here. See *Documentary History*, I. 177-179, III. 668-670.

Gohram against. The other two gentlemen for it. Mr. Gov: [*sic*] thinks it may be done under the words of the 1 clause 1 sect 7 art. amended—"and provide for the common defence and general welfare. If this comprehends such a power, it goes to authorise the legisl. to grant exclusive privileges to trading companies etc.

Mr. Willson remarked on the report of the committee considered together That it presented to him a most dangerous appearance. He was not affraid of names—but he was of aristocracy. What was the amount of the report.

1. The Senate in certain events, (which by such management as may be expected would always happen—) is to chuse the President.
2. The Senate may make treaties and alliances.
3. They may appoint almost all officers.
- 4 May try impeachments.

Montesqu says, an officer is the officer of those who appoint him. This power may in a little time render the Senate independent of the people. The different branches should be independent of each other. They are combined and blended in the Senate. The Senate may exercise, the powers of legislation, and Executive and judicial powers. To make treaties legislative, to appoint officers Executive for the Executive has only the nomination, To try impeachments judicial. If this is not ARISTOCRACY I know not what it is.

Gov. Morris observed that the report had lessened not increased the powers of the Senate. That their powers were greater in the printed paper.

Col Hamilton. In general the choice will rest in the Senate—take this choice from them and the report is an improvement on the printed paper. In the printed paper a destroying monster is created. He is not re eligible, he will therefore consider his 7 years as 7 years of lawful plunder. Had he been made re eligible by the legislature, it would not have removed the evil, he would have purchased his re election. At present the people may make a choice—but hereafter it is probable the choice of a president would centre in the Senate. As the report stands—the President will use the power of nominating to attach the Senate to his interest. He will act by this means continually on their hopes till at length they will boeth [*sic*] act as one body. Let the election of the president be confined to electors,<sup>1</sup> and take from the Senate the power to try impeachments, and the report will be much preferable to the printed paper.

He does not agree with those persons who say they will vote against the report because they cannot get all parts of it to please them. He will take any system which promises to save America from the dangers with which she is threatened.

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, by a provision that the highest number of electoral votes may elect, even though not a majority.

The report amended by placing the choice of the President in the house of representatives, each State having one vote.

Adjourned.

*Sepr. 7.*

Made some further progress in the report.

Mr. Mason<sup>1</sup> moved to postpone the section giving the President power to require the advice of the heads of the great departments to take up a motion—to appoint a council of State, to consist of 6 members—two from the Eastern, two from the middle and two from the Southern States—who should in conjunction with the President make all appointments and be an advisory body—to be elected by the legislature, to be in for 6 years with such succession as provided for the Senate.

3 States for postponing 8 against it—so it was lost.

Adjourned.

*Sepr. 8.*

Agreed to the whole report with some amendments—and refered the printed paper etc to a committee of 5 to revise and place the several parts under their proper heads—with an instruction to bring in draught of a letter to Congress.<sup>2</sup>

|           |             |
|-----------|-------------|
| Committee | Gov. Morris |
|           | Maddison    |
|           | Hamilton    |
|           | Dr. Johnson |
|           | King—       |

Maryland gave notice that she had a proposition of much importance to bring forward—but would delay it till Monday it being near the hour to adjourn.<sup>3</sup>

*Monday Sepr. 10, 11 and 12.*

Spent in attempts to amend several parts of the system. 12—amended the sect art<sup>4</sup> from 3/4 to 2/3, as it stood in the printed report at first.

*13 Sepr.*

Recd. read and compared the new printed report with the first printed amended report. Made some verbal alterations, and inserted the propositions moved by Maryland which had been overlooked.

*14 Sepr.*

Moved by Dr. Franklin seconded by Mr. Willson, to empowe[r] Congress to open and establish canals. This being objected to—moved

<sup>1</sup> The printed journal, ed. 1819, attributes this motion to Madison. The latter corrects this in his notes. *Documentary History*, III. 701.

<sup>2</sup> This instruction appears in the journal under September 10, in a form requiring the preparation of an address to the people, to be laid before Congress.

<sup>3</sup> Of this episode there appears to be no record elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Section 13 of article vi. of the report of the Committee of Detail, dealing with the President's veto.

by Virginia To empower Congress to grant charters of incorporation in cases where the U. S. may require them and where the objects of them cannot be obtained by a State.

Negatived.

Moved To authorize Congress to establish an university to which and the honors and emoluments of which all persons may be admitted without any distinction of religion whatever. Congress enabled to erect such an institution in the place of the general government. Thus Congress to possess exclusive jurisdiction.

Neg. 6 Noes. 3 ay.<sup>1</sup> 1 State divided.

Moved—And the liberty of the press shall be inviolable. 6 noes. 5 ays.<sup>2</sup>

15 Sepr.

Maryland moved.<sup>3</sup>

No State shall be prohibited from laying such duties of tonnage as may be sufficient for improving their harbors and keeping up lights, but all acts laying such duties shall be subject to the approbation or repeal of Congress.

Moved to amend it viz. No State without the consent of Congress shall lay a duty of tonnage. Carried in the affirmative 6 ays 4 Noes, 1 divided.

Made several verbal amendment[s] in the progression on the system.

Added to the V article amended "No State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Mr. Mason moved in substance that no navigation act be passed without the concurrence of 2/3 of the members present in each house.

Negatived.

Mr. Randolp[h] moved that it be recommended to appoint a second convention with plenary powers to consider objections to the system and to conclude one binding upon the States.

rejected unanimously.

The question being taken on the system agreed to unanimously.

Ordered to be engrossed and 500 copies struck.<sup>4</sup> Adjourned till monday the 17th.

Monday 17 Sepr. 1787.

Read the engrossed constitution. Altered the representation in the house of representatives from 40 to thirty thousand.

Dr. Franklin put a paper into Mr. Willsons hand to read containing his reasons for assenting to the constitution. It was plain, insinuating persuasive—and in any event of the system guarded the Doctors fame.

Mr. Randolp[h], Mr. Mason and Mr. Gerry declined signing. The other members signed.

<sup>1</sup> Four noes, according to Madison.

<sup>2</sup> So the printed journal, though Madison has it 4 to 7.

<sup>3</sup> McHenry and Carroll, according to Madison. *Documentary History*, III. 751.

<sup>4</sup> The number is not elsewhere mentioned, I believe.



Being<sup>1</sup> opposed to many parts of the system I make a remark why I signed it and mean to support it.

1s[t]ly I distrust my own judgement, especially as it is opposite to the opinion of a majority of gentlemen whose abilities and patriotism are of the first cast; and as I have had already frequent occasions to be convinced that I have not always judged right.

2dly Alterations may be obtained, it being provided that the concurrence of 2/3 of the Congress may at any time introduce them.

3dly Comparing the inconveniences and the evils which we labor under and may experience from the present confederation, and the little good we can expect from it—with the possible evils and probable benefits and advantages promised us by the new system, I am clear that I ought to give it all the support in my power.

Philada. 17 Sepr. 1787 James McHenry.

Major Jackson Secry. to carry it to Congress. Injunction of secrecy taken off. Members to be provided with printed copies. adjourned sine die. Gentn. of Con. dined together at the City Tavern.

18—

A lady asked Dr. Franklin Well Doctor what have we got a republic or a monarchy. A republic replied the Doctor if you can keep it. [(Foot-note by McHenry.) The lady here aluded to was Mrs. Powel of Philada.]

Mr. Martin<sup>2</sup> said one day in company with Mr. Jenifer speaking of the system before Convention.

I'll be hanged if ever the people of Maryland agree to it. I advise you said Mr. Jenifer to stay in Philadelphia lest you should be hanged.<sup>3</sup>

## II.

[The following drafts of amendments are found on scraps of paper in McHenry's handwriting in the journal. They are obviously drafts of the amendment presented by McHenry and Carroll on September 15; see p. 617, *supra*.]

provided that any state may lay additional duties on shipping for the support of Lights, piers marks or Buoys or for the deepening or improvement of Harbours.

The legislature shall have power to erect piers buoys or marks and to deepen or clean harbours for facilitating or improving navigation—

No State shall be prohibited from laying such duties of tonnage as may be sufficient for improving their harbours and keeping up lights or buoys, but all acts laying such duties shall be subject to the approbation or repeal of Congress. Amended. 6 ay. 4 noes. 1 divided.

<sup>1</sup> From here to McHenry's signature is written on the preceding page in different ink.

<sup>2</sup> The anecdote of Martin is an insert written on the preceding page.

<sup>3</sup> End of book.

[Also the following, not written by McHenry. Except for its last twenty words, it is identical with the amendment moved on August 25 by Carroll and Luther Martin. *Documentary History*, III. 619.]

The Legislature of the United States shall not oblige Vessels belonging to Citizens thereof, or to foreigners to enter or pay duties or imposts in any other State than in that to which they may be bound, or to clear out in any other than the State in which their Cargoes may be laden on board; Nor shall any privilege, or immunity be granted to any Vessels on entering clearing out or paying duties or imposts in one State in preference to another—Nor shall vessels owned by Citizens of one State have any preference of vessels owned by Citizens of another State.

III.<sup>1</sup>

Copy of what Col. Mercer gave me<sup>2</sup> at Annapolis during the sitting of the Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Mercer had during the sitting of the Convention at Pha. a list of the members of that body taken down on the printed Constitution, and against their names, these words—for and against. Mr. McHenry seeing it (without its being shewn to him) at the table where the Members from the State sat copied it without the leave or interference of Mr. Mercer and added Mr. Mercers name with those of Mr. Martin and himself—as against. Mr. Mercer askd him what authority he had for setting him down against. Mr. McHenry made some reply rather in a

<sup>1</sup> Nos. III., IV., V., VI., and VII. are from papers in the handwriting of Daniel Carroll found with the McHenry volume.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Carroll.

<sup>3</sup> The session of the Assembly of Maryland began (nominally) on November 5, and ended on December 17, 1787. The transactions to which this and the subsequent pieces refer are illustrated by the following passage from a letter of Daniel Carroll to James Madison, dated May 28, 1788, and printed in the *Documentary History*, IV. 638: "It has come to light that Luther Martin in his Tavern harangues among the members during the sitting of that Assembly had informd many of them that more than 20 Members of the Convention were in favor of a Kingly Government, and that he receivd the information from Mr McHenry who had a list of their names on the 1st printed report of the Committee of Detail. This possitive assertion under the weight of Mr McHenrys name had the effect I have mentiond [of preventing Carroll's being elected to the Congress]. Some time after the breaking up of the Assembly being informd of what Martin had said, I wrote to Mr McHenry who gave for answer, that seeing a list of names on Mr Mercers report, he copied it and ask'd him what the words *for* and *against* meant, who replied, *for* a Kingly Governmt. *against* it. I wrote to Mr McHenry that as I had been injurd by his names being mentiond I desird he wou'd take a proper occasion whilst the Convention was sitting of having justice done me. He has answerd that on speaking to Mercer, on the Subject, he told him that he meant a National Govt., to which McHenry says, 'I do not know what you meant, but you said a Kingly Govert.' This Mercer denies and has given from under his hand that he neither said Kingly or National Govt. I have a letter from Luther Martin wherein he says he had the information from McHenry (without Mercer being mentiond) who told him he might rely on the persons being as markd for a Kingly Govt. Thus this matter rests at present—it is to be setteld between McHenry and Martin on one point, and him and Mercer on another."

light manner—that he had left Mr. Mercer room to change side, or to that effect. Some conversation took place but not of so serious a nature, as to make any impression on Mr. Mercers memory, but he is persuaded that he entered into no explanation of the list to authorize Mr. McHenry to say the members were markd as for a *Kingly* or *national* Government, and the list being on the Constitution with the words for and against, and nothing else, Mr. McHenry cou'd have no authority from that. Mr. Mercer and Mr. McHenry were not in the habit of Confidential communication—nor has Mr. Mercer ever mentioned any political opinion as the opinion of Mr. D. Carroll to any one. In a variety of private conversations it is probable he receiv'd the opinions of almost every Member in Convention, but he has never related more than what came from them in debate. At that moment the Cant expression was *high toned* Government which superceeded the usual descriptions of Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy and which perswades Mr. Mercer that the word Kingly could never have been used by him.

But as Mr. Martins information to Mr. Mercer of what passd between him and Mr. McHenry fixes it, that Mr. McHenry told him, that he knew it of his own knowledge and from his acquaintance with the Characters, Mr. Mercer thinks that Mr. McHenry has very improperly introduc'd him into the business.

## IV.

Extracts from Mr. McHenrys Letter to me<sup>1</sup> dated the 9th of Jan'y 88

Nothing that Mr. Martin can say can make me uneasy, or give me any Surprize. I will tell you in a few words the ground of his misrepresentation. I observ'd Mr. Mercer one day in Convention taking down the names of the members on a blank side of his report and affixing to most of them the word for or against. I askd him what question occasiond his being so particular, upon which he told me, it was no question, but those markd with a for were in favor of Monarchy. How do you learn that? No matter said he the thing is so. I then ask'd him to let me copy it, and Mr. Martin took a copy from mine, which was also on a blank page of my report. This is the whole history, and you may make what use of it you please.

## V.

The following is a copy [of] Mr. Martins letter to me<sup>1</sup> in consequence of what passd between us on Col. Mercer's calling him to me, at the time we were in conversation—

May 20th. 1788

Agreeable to your request I here present you the Substance of our this days conversation—

Sometime after Mr. McHenrys return to Convention conversing on the System then under discussion, and of the object and views of the

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Carroll.

Members of the Convention, Mr. McHenry told me that a very considerable Number of them were in favour of a Monarchical Government (under certain limitations and restrictions as I concluded) and shewed me a list of the then attending Members from each State marked with the words *for* and *against*, to distinguish such as were for or against such a Government; this list was written on a blank page of his printed report of the Committee of detail, and I copied it on a blank page of mine with the same distinctive marks—more than twenty were noted in the list as being in favour of a Monarchy, among those was your name.

I observ'd to Mr. McHenry that as to many of them I perfectly concurd in opinion, but as to some, I thought he was mistaken—he replied I might depend upon it, he was better informd on the Subject, and better knew their sentiments than I did, and that every one who was there distinguish'd [*sic*] in favor of a King was so in reality; Mr. McHenry did not mention to me particularly whom [*sic*] he drew the inference or how he had obtained the Knowledge or the belief which he express'd, but I naturally concluded that it proceeded from the Sentiments he had heard them express, from information which had been given to him by others or from their Conduct in Convention, or from all these Sources combin'd. I have no possible recollection that Col Mercers name was mentiond to me on that or any other occasion by Mr. McHenry as having given him any information on the Subject, on the contrary, I well remember that I was surprizd when I heard Col Mercers name lately mentiond on the occasion, as being totally unacquainted with his sentiments on that Subject, and as being ignorant that he had ever expressd such Sentiments. And I am well convinc'd from the fullest recollection and reflection that Mr. McHenry did not mention to me any person in particular from whom he had receiv'd the information or who had impressd on his mind the opinion he at that time entertaind.

At the time we were before the Assembly to give information<sup>1</sup> Mr. McHenry's report of the Committee with other papers were laying on the Table, at that time the list I have mention'd was upon it; And as Mr. McHenry endeavour'd to impress an Idea that there cou'd be no foundation for my Sentiment, that tho' but few members openly avowed their being for a Monarchical Government, yet there were a much greater number who secretly favord that System, I with difficulty restraind myself from laying my hands upon it, and producing it to the Assembly as a proof that he had himself once entertaind Similar Sentiments, altho' he might since be convincd of his error.—

The foregoing is a just State of what passd between Mr. McHenry and myself on the Subject concerning which you expressd a desire that I wou'd give you information, and you have my full permission to make any use of it which you may think proper.

I am sr. yr. Obt Sert.

Copy.

LUTHER MARTIN

<sup>1</sup> See Martin's *Genuine Information*.

## VI.

The following is from a Scrip of paper sent me<sup>1</sup> by my Brother<sup>2</sup> from Mr. McHenry—

I mentiond to Mr. Mercer, at the Governors that Mr. Danl. Carroll had been made very uneasy by Mr. Martins having reported, that when in Convention he had been for a Kingly Government, and related the Substance of what I had written to Mr. Carroll on that Subject. Mr. Mercer replied that he had put down no such thing opposite the names, and that he only meant that those which had *for* annex'd to them were for a national Government. I said I did not know what he meant, but that he told me in Convention when I copied the names from his paper that those mark'd for were for a King. He spoke of Mr. Martins having acted improperly on this occasion and some others.

## VII.

DANIEL CARROLL TO REVEREND JOHN CARROLL.

June 11th. 1788.

*Dear Brother,*

The inclosd<sup>3</sup> is for Mr. McHenry. During a long course of Public Service, I have never before heard of any imputation being cast on my conduct. This is of a nature which woud deservedly deprive me of the confidence of the Public, at least. My character I hold dear, and will maintain it against attempts to injure it. Where the blame is, I will not undertake to determine. I did not conceive it probable, that such a paper as is mentiond in Mr. McHenrys Letter of the 9th of Jany. could have been circulated among some of the deputies from Maryland without my privity, much less, that Mr. McHenry woud furnish Mr. Martin with one with my name to it. Untill lately I woud not believe that my name was on that list.

Dear Brother

*Yrs etca—*

DANL CARROLL.

[Address:] The Revd. Mr. John Carroll.

## VIII.

JAMES MCHENRY TO REVEREND JOHN CARROLL.<sup>4</sup>

BALTIMORE 16 June 1788:

I have read Mr. Martins and Mr. Mercers information to Mr. D. Carroll. With respect to their statements, I can only subjoin, to what I have already written to Mr. Carroll, that I copied the list in question with Mr. Mercers permission, without adding any thing of my own or

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Carroll.

<sup>2</sup> Father John Carroll, afterward bishop and archbishop of Baltimore.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the matter printed above as III., IV., V., and VI., all four of which are found transcribed on one sheet among the papers.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. VII. and IX. are rough drafts of two letters of James McHenry, written in his handwriting, on one sheet, folded and addressed.

altering any thing of his, which may be ascertained by comparing the two together; and that on Mr. Merc[e]rs changing his seat to another part of the house, Mr. Martin asked me, what I had been copying, and without waiting for an answer took up my report and read over the list. I told him, I had copied it from a list made out by Mr. Mercer, and that the names having *for* annexed to them, Mr. Mercer said, were for a king. Mr. Martin asked me to let him take a copy, and I permitted it, and this was *all* the conversation I held then or at any other time with Mr. Martin on that subject.

This relation is copied in substance from my note book of the transactions of the convention, which I wrote down daily,<sup>1</sup> and is besides fresh in my memory so that there can be no mistake upon my part. I did not shew the list to Mr. Carroll or Mr. Jenifer or any other person (except Martin who got it by surprise), because I took it only with a view to relate the circumstances attending its origin in case it should ever be brought forward to answer improper purposes; nor have I at any time since mentioned any thing respecting either the list or its object,<sup>2</sup> to any person whatever but Mr. D. Carroll and his brother.

Mr. D. Carroll has my consent to make what use he may think proper of the above.

JAMES MCHENRY.

IX.

JAMES MCHENRY TO REVEREND JOHN CARROLL.

BALTIMORE 16 June 1788.

*Dr. Sir.*

You have been so kind as to put your brothers letter into my hand. I have read it attentively and cannot help thinking that he has looked for an illustration where his own experience might have taught him it could not possibly be found. He doubts where the blame lays. When did Mr. Martin and Mr. Mercer become authorities? He suggests also that I should have made him acquainted with the list. If I had shewn it to him, I must have shewn it to others who were equally affected by it, with some of whom I have been for these thirteen years past in the closest habits of intimacy and friendship. Such a step, he must be aware, would have brought on immediate personal altercations (at a most critical time) with a man prone to anger, and excessively captious. I did what I thought much safer and more decisive. I reserved myself to expose it publicly in case a public use had been made of it. This has never been done tho' the fairest opportunity in the world was offered for doing it. Can any one who witnessed that occasion, who heard me charge Mr. Martin with uttering falsehoods, entertain a belief that his

<sup>1</sup> The words "which I wrote down daily" are an insertion in the text of the draft. By reference to p. 604, *supra*, it will be seen that McHenry's account of the episode in the Convention which caused this imbroglio is an insertion in his diary.

<sup>2</sup> The words "its object" are crossed out, probably by mistake.

representation to Mr. Carroll is true, or that he would have remained silent and condemned before the general assembly if he could have given me as an evidence of what he there asserts? As to Mr. Mercer, I wish your brother had mentioned what he has recently done or said that has induced him to think more favorably of his veracity.

I have only to regret in this affair that my anxiety for the public good and your brothers quiet, for whom I have the most sincere friendship, should have occasioned him a moments uneasiness, and am only surprised that he has not treated this as he has the other fictions which have been gravely reported to the world for truths.

I am very respectfully

Sir Your obt. and hble st.

JAMES MCHENRY

[Address:] Révd. John Carroll Esqr.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*A History of All Nations from the Earliest Times.* General Editor, JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, LL.D., Professor in Harvard University. Volumes III., *Ancient Greece*, IV., *Republican Rome*, and V., *Imperial Rome*. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Company. 1905. Pp. 431, 331, 326.)

THE first two volumes of this series, which is to consist of twenty-four, were reviewed by Professor Toy in the number of this REVIEW for October, 1905 (XI. 117-118). The general description of the whole series given there need not be repeated here. The three volumes noted here are meant to be, like all the first nineteen volumes of the series, "a carefully edited translation, slightly condensed, with additions", of the corresponding volumes in Flathe's *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*. These were written by Professor G. F. Hertzberg of Halle, and were practically nothing more than condensations of his *Hellas und Rom*, in two volumes, and his *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches*, published in 1879 and 1880 as parts of Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte*.

The original volumes, when published, constituted the best popular history of classical antiquity in German. They were prepared by a scholar who, if not an independent authority in the field, was thoroughly acquainted with the latest and best original work there, and who had a notable experience and power in popularizing scientific researches. They were unencumbered with learned apparatus, and yet reflected the latest investigations, and were presented "in a form to excite the interest of all intelligent readers". By means of brief foot-notes the Flathe edition of 1885-1886 corrected here and there the Oncken edition of 1879-1880, but otherwise was the same, except for being much condensed.

The task of putting these volumes into fitting English, and at the same time of bringing them up to date after twenty years of research and discovery, was a serious one. In many ways it would have been easier to rewrite the whole story. The new material might then have been incorporated into the work, instead of for the most part taking the form of appendixes, added paragraphs, and additional foot-notes. But, assuming the wisdom of the task, it has been well performed. We still need, however, a popular history of antiquity on the general plan of Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Alterthums*, where the history of the ancient world, and especially that of the Balkan and Apennine peninsulas, is treated in parallel chronological layers, after the manner of the more recent excavations.



Volume III., *Ancient Greece*, is translated and condensed from the original by Professor Charles Forster Smith of the University of Wisconsin. Entirely new are the concluding paragraphs of chapter II., pp. 47-55, prepared on the basis of the opening chapter of Bury's *History of Greece* (1900), and Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion* (1902). They represent succinctly the "vast contributions" which "archaeological research within the last decade has made . . . to our knowledge of the early history of the civilization on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean". New also is the appendix, pp. 411-421, on the recent Cretan excavations, especially those at Cnossus and Phaëstus. Both these additions are richly illustrated from the latest photographs, and are the work of Professor William Nickerson Bates of the University of Pennsylvania, whose name appears as associate editor on the title-page of the volume. Until scholars are more agreed as to the relations of this newly found Cretan culture to that so long known as "Mycenaean", it is well, perhaps, that the evidence merely is presented, without definite deductions from it.

Other adaptations of the old to the new edition consist mainly in slight changes in or corrections of the original German text; in brief foot-notes; and in generous additions of illustrative material. An example of the first is the change (p. 127) in the date of Cylon's attempt upon the Acropolis from 612 B. C. to "before 620 B. C.", without, however, putting the narrative into its proper position before the story of Draco's activity. The mere change of date is hardly enough. It will doubtless seem to many that the chronology of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* has been adopted with too much confidence in other cases.

Good examples of the general editor's foot-notes, supplementing or correcting the original text, may be seen at pp. 105, 143, 217, 288, 376, and 390. Almost all are imperatively called for by the advance in knowledge since the original text was prepared. Perhaps their number and importance may be thought to emphasize anew the danger of putting new wine into old bottles.

For most of the added illustrations the scholar as well as the general reader will be thankful, and also for the carefully detailed explanations of them. Some are of rare beauty and great importance, as, for instance, the vase-painting of Croesus on the Funeral Pile (p. 157), the Darius vase (plate IX.), and the beautiful vase-paintings in color (plates V., VI., and VIII.). On the other hand, it is to be regretted that so much of the old illustrative material has been kept, or furbished up, when clearly past its usefulness, as, for instance, the coarse cuts of the Naples Tyrannicides (pp. 140, 141), or of the "Marathonian Soldier" (p. 179), or of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Euripides (after Visconti, pp. 256, 290). In all these cases good fresh photographs are accessible. And what scholar can welcome the hypaethral restorations of the temples of Athena and Zeus (p. 89 and plate XVI.)?

Volume IV., *Republican Rome*, is translated by Professor John K. Lord, of Dartmouth College. The original, published in 1879 and 1885,

was the conventional and standard popular history, steering on the whole impartially between the opposing schools among the followers of Niebuhr, and not too much influenced by the radical views of Mommsen. Greater freedom in this last regard might possibly have been exercised by the translator, as, for instance, in rejecting the note (p. 88) on the genuineness of the earliest commercial treaty between Rome and Carthage. Eduard Meyer upholds its genuineness (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, II. § 500).

There was, of course, much less to be done in the way of bringing the material of this volume up to date than in the preceding one. Even the vexed Etruscan questions of chapter I. have not received much additional light since 1885, and therefore require no such supplementary treatment as the corresponding "Mycenaeae" questions of the *Ancient Greece*. The illustrations of Etruscan monuments are, however, somewhat fuller and richer in the English edition. Especially welcome are the additions of the beautiful colored plate I., representing a sepulchral wall-painting, and of figure 6, a sepulchral stele. On the other hand, the retention of the old illustration of the walls of the Palatine (figure 12) is, in view of the abundance of recent photographs, inexplicable; and both the (old) plate IX. and the (new) figure 44 are hopelessly out of date. Far less has been done for this volume in the way of improving its illustrations than for the one before it.

Volume V., *Imperial Rome*, is also translated by Professor Lord, and differs even less from its German original than its companion volume, *Republican Rome*. The story closes with the permanent division of the Empire in 395 A. D., leaving the description of the breaking up of the Western Empire to the succeeding volume of the series. An exceedingly valuable supplementary chapter (pp. 257-274) on Latin Literature from Paulus to Claudian, i. e., from about 200 A. D. to 400 A. D., is contributed by Mr. George W. Robinson of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and fills a gap of nearly two centuries which the German series unaccountably left in its sketch of the intellectual life of the Roman world.

All three volumes show great improvement on the German original in the continuous numbering of chapters and "Parts" through the successive "Books", and in the admirable "Analytical Contents" of each chapter supplied by the general editor at the end of each volume. Volume V. also supplies an elaborate series of "Chronological Tables", to illustrate Oriental as well as Greek and Roman history, and supplementing, therefore, all the first five volumes of the series. The Egyptian chronology already needs correction to accord with the system established by Eduard Meyer ("Aegyptische Chronologie", *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Classe, 1904) and adopted by Breasted in the latest *History of Egypt*. So impossible is it to have a book up-to-date for long.

B. PERRIN.

*A History of All Nations from the Earliest Times.* General editor, JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, LL.D., Professor in Harvard University. Volumes VI., *The Great Migrations*, VII., *The Early Middle Ages*, and VIII., *The Age of Charlemagne*. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Company. 1905. Pp. 415, 416, 332.)

THE publishers of this series have performed a real service in making a good universal history at last accessible to English readers. It is not likely that the general history will ever come to occupy in America the place which the German *Weltgeschichte* holds beside the family Bible, and those who have but a modest sum to spend on historical books may well find it wiser to get individual histories of distinguished excellence rather than comprehensive collections whose quality can never be of the highest. Still, general histories are sure to be bought, and it is much to be desired that they be works of real scholarship, like the *History of All Nations*, and not the dreary and untrustworthy compilations which have hitherto had possession of the field in English.

Of the three volumes discussed in this review, volumes VI. and VII. are by Dr. Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, Archivist of the Prussian Royal State Archives, formerly professor of history at the University of Basel, volume VIII. by Dr. Hans Prutz, professor of history in the University of Königsberg. The two volumes of Pflugk-Harttung are among the best of the series, and although subject to some correction from the progress of knowledge in the twenty years which have elapsed since they were begun, they can be commended to the teacher of history as well as to the general reader as one of the best accounts of the early Middle Ages to be found within the same limits of space. A specialist in the field of papal diplomatics, the author evidently succeeded in acquainting himself with the sources of information for the other phases of his subject, notably in the direction of prehistoric archaeology, to which more attention is given than is usual in books of history. The conditions of society among the early Germans and their relations with Rome are taken up with considerable fullness, nearly one-half of the first volume being given to the period before the great invasions. In relation to the work as a whole this seems rather disproportionate, but it should be welcomed because of the meagreness of material in English on this part of the field. The account of the migrations and the German kingdoms on Roman soil is not limited to conventional narrative, but the interaction of the two civilizations is emphasized, and special chapters deal with the institutions and culture of the new states. The church, on the other hand, hardly comes sufficiently into the foreground, and the Greek empire and Islam are dismissed with two scant chapters at the end. The brief description of the sources prefixed to the various sections is a praiseworthy feature. The principal general criticisms to be made upon the work are that the general plan involves some repetition and that the outlines are not always drawn with enough distinctness.

Prutz's *Age of Charlemagne* could be more appropriately discussed in connection with the following volumes of which he is the author. The title is misleading, since the volume extends to 1056 and gives but seventy pages to Charlemagne. The treatment is for the most part the conventional narrative of Frankish and German history, with two brief and inadequate summaries of civilization and a chapter on the East. As in most German histories, the account of the break-up of the Carolingian empire is vitiated by modern ideas of race and nationality, instead of being studied from the point of view of the ninth century; as when we are told that the partition of Verdun was "made pretty closely along national lines" (p. 134), and that the portions of Lotharingia "which were thus torn from their proper national environment [by the treaty of Meersen] strove to free themselves from this compulsory union with a foreign people, and to renew their connection with those of their own race" (p. 138).

The work of translation has been done with only moderate success. The style of the German popular history does not readily lend itself to English, even under the most flexible hands, and the hands of the translators have not always been flexible. It is not, for example, hard to see the German original behind a sentence like the following, where it is said of Gregory of Tours, "No other German people enjoys an approximately equal delineator of their inner life" (VII. 64). Here and there serious blunders betray an imperfect knowledge of German. Thus the paragraph on the early German codes (VII. 259) is made even more confusing than the original by translating *sonst* "furthermore", and by assuming—not unnaturally—from Pflugk-Harttung's statement that there are no extant manuscripts of the *Lex Frisionum* and the *Edict* of Theodoric, that these codes have been lost. The "Münster zu Aachen" becomes the "cathedral at Münster" (VIII. 83), and in the Omniad empire the "drei Erdtheile" between the Pyrenees and the Indus (VII. 407) appear as "three-quarters of the globe"!

The illustrations call for special praise, as they are reproductions of actual objects of the period, drawn in great profusion from a variety of authentic sources—manuscripts, coins, buildings, and archaeological remains of every sort. They have been recognized as one of the most valuable features of the German original, and nowhere else, least of all in a universal history, is so much valuable illustrative material for the study of this age placed before the English reader. There are also a number of maps. Each volume has an analytical table of contents, prepared by the editor, but lacks an index, a defect which is not atoned for by the promise of an index-volume to the series.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*Dix Leçons sur le Martyre données à l'Institut Catholique de Paris.*

Par PAUL ALLARD. Préface de Mgr. PÉCHENARD, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique. (Paris: Victor. Lecoffre. 1906. Pp. xxxii, 373, no index.)

THE lectures here published were delivered early last spring at the Catholic Institute of Paris by a scholar well known for his valuable contributions to the history of the early church, including five volumes on the history of the persecutions in the first four centuries, and the work entitled *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain de Néron à Théodose*. The field covered is the two hundred and fifty years between Nero and Constantine, when Christianity was struggling for existence and recognition. During about half of this time, according to M. Allard's computation, the Christians suffered intermittent persecution; at its end they were granted toleration by a series of imperial edicts. The book before us contributes little that is new to our knowledge. The sources had already been diligently explored, both by the author himself and by several other scholars (Boissier, Mommsen, Neumann, Harnack, Hardy, Spence), and the main facts repeatedly published. We have here, however, a comprehensive and useful summary of the available information, from the hand of a specialist, written with the grace that we are accustomed to expect from French savants, however technical their theme. "Il me semble que j'en ai à peine effleuré le sujet" (p. 366) is overmodest. There is no occasion to apologize for the book; it is sure of a welcome.

The contents, arranged topically and not always in the order one might have expected, include the geographical expansion of the church, the antichristian measures of various emperors, the legal aspects of their proceedings, the causes of persecution, the number of the martyrs and their social position, descriptions of the trials and punishments, the tests of constancy, and the evidential value of the martyrs' testimony. The author believes the number who suffered death before the reign of Decius was larger than would seem to be indicated by Origen's statement (*Contra Celsum*, III. 8), taking issue on this point with Harnack (*Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 345). It is difficult to reach a very positive conclusion, in view of the indefiniteness of the records. But there is no doubt that very many suffered death under Decius, Valerian, Diocletian, and his successors.

M. Allard rejects the well-known view of Mommsen and others that there was no special early antichristian legislation, but that magistrates proceeded against the Christians either under the *lex majestatis* or by virtue of their police powers (*coercitio*). He holds, with Boissier, that there was an ancient imperial enactment, perhaps from the reign of Nero, to this effect, "christiani non sint", and that this formed the basis of all subsequent proceedings. "Avant les rescrits de Marc Aurèle, d'Hadrien, de Trajan, existait une loi initiale—*ἀρχαῖος νόμος*, selon

l'expression d'Eusèbe—qui défendait d'être chrétien, et dont ces rescrits règlent, éclairent ou tempèrent l'application" (p. 92). But the "ancient law", referred to by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* V. 21), which required that accused persons refusing to recant should be punished, is not limited to Christians; apparently it was designed to cover a much wider variety of cases. It is true that Tertullian seems to refer to some such ancient law (*Apol.* 4), yet in very general terms and without attempting to assign it any date. And elsewhere he says explicitly, "sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. summa haec causa, immo tota est" (*Apol.* 10). Trajan's order to Pliny, "conquirendi non sunt" (*Epist.* X. 97), is hardly compatible with the theory that an existing law forbade Christians to exist, for in that case a Roman governor could have had no option; he must "seek them out". The author's view remains a mere hypothesis, and not a very probable one at that. But he recognizes that the decision of the question is after all a matter of small importance for such a treatment of the subject as he is here endeavoring to give.

JOHN WINTEROP PLATNER.

*Julian the Apostate.* By GAETANO NEGRI. Translated from the second Italian edition by the Duchess LITTA-VISCONTI-ARESE, with an introduction by Professor PASQUALE VILLARI. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xxxiv, 320; vi, 321-636.)

THE author of this richly instructive and eloquent work virtually makes his own comment upon it in his preface (I. xxiv): "We should reconstruct, as far as possible, in History the human drama, relive in thoughts, in sentiments, and in passions the life of a human being during a specified period of time, and during a specified conflict of hopes and fears, of anger and affections, of illusions and reality." These words might have been written by George Eliot, and Villari's introduction to the present work tells us (I. xiii) that George Eliot "was the writer who evoked Negri's most unlimited admiration". Although, then, English readers are already provided with able studies on the life and character of the Emperor Julian in Wordsworth's article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, in Rendall's work (1879), and in the more recent and most excellent book by Alice Gardner (1895), there are special and distinguished merits in Gaetano Negri's treatment which should insure a welcome to this English version.

Villari's interesting introduction informs the foreign reader of the political and literary career of Negri and indicates the philosophical and religious beliefs which drew him to such a subject and determined the judgments and sympathies of his exposition. Negri was a positivist with a leaning to faith, and his work bears the impress of an exalted character. He has written a genuinely historical work on Julian, with *Quellenkritik* and patient narrative detail, but his main interest is in discussing the man in his historical situation, his ideals and methods.

his motives and character, and the wisdom of his dramatic and visionary attempt to establish a "puritan polytheism". The work is, therefore, far more than a biographical study. The reader obtains a complete explanatory account of the whole spiritual situation of the century in which Julian lived, and it will be read with keen interest by the student of church history and of the history of philosophy. In the preface Negri, indeed, speaks of his work as a study of Christianity. He does not contribute any new body of fact for the church historian, but he gives a vivid picture of the moral conditions of the Christianized empire and a brilliant and illuminating construction of the doctrinal development whether Christian or Neoplatonic. What Harnack means by the secularization of Christianity in the Hellenic world is here made into a concrete and unforgettable picture. Negri views Julian's attempt to revive Hellenism as "a symptom and a proof of the corruption into which Christianity had fallen" (II. 630), but, positivist as he was, is keenly appreciative of a purity of genuine inspiration in the original Christianity which was justly victorious by its "response . . . to the most profound needs of the human conscience" (I. xxii). However, an element of exaggeration or of inaccuracy belongs to this language about the corruption of Christianity. The discourse of Libanius (II. 467) makes it clear that in Antioch there was Christian conviction and sincerity among the women and the poorer classes, and that the moral insufficiency complained of was the characteristic of citizens who had, since the state establishment of Christianity, become nominal converts without having yet yielded to its moral power. On page 606 we have a recognition of purer elements who withdrew from a church mixed with the world to a monastic life in which the religious ideal could be realized. The lack of moral earnestness in pagan circles recently enrolled in a state church from motives of worldly policy is not accurately named a corruption of Christianity. Were it the case that Julian had found any energetic moral support from paganism, Negri would not have exaggerated in speaking (I. xxiii) of the Emperor as concentrating, "in the focus of a single person, all the passions that have determined the direction, and provoked the attitude, of the human soul in a given moment of its evolution". The interest of the treatment is not confined to problems of faith and ideals of culture. Experienced in the practical politics of Milan, Negri discusses with acuteness and ingenuity the Emperor's policy in a very practical fashion. By a *tour de force* the problem raised by Julian's school law is made to illustrate the secularization of the Christianity of the times, and the Emperor is justified by a brief but striking discussion of the principles involved in recent French legislation.

The work is diffuse, and even repetitious, but never tiresome. As Villari remarks, it has occasional exaggerations but teems with originality. Without a knowledge of the original, one may believe the translator to have been for the most part successful. In a few passages "he" and "his" require close inspection in order to determine which of

two persons is meant; and in a few cases syntax and meaning are far from clear, as, "He, therefore, has this canal reopened", etc. (I. 125). Here and in the following pages the use of the historical present is distasteful. In a line from the *Iliad* (II. 445), the Homeric society is made fashionable by "excellent dancers at the balls" (*χοροποίησιν*). Apart from a few such blemishes, the version is clear and readable, and conveys the life and eloquence which must have belonged to the original.

Negri accepts as genuine the letters to Iamblichus, discrediting for their sake the report of Eunapius that Iamblichus died before the end of Constantine's reign. But quite apart from the datum in Eunapius, it is impossible to think of Iamblichus as living when Julian was a Neoplatonist. It is his habit to refer to Iamblichus as if he were simply a literary source. In a note Negri consents, if the substantial genuineness is conceded, to suppose the letters as intended for another teacher, but wrongly addressed and interpolated by a copyist. If any motive could be seen for the harmless interpolations, the hypothesis would be acceptable. In view of the fact that the style, whether suggestive of Julian or not, is the style of a rhetorical school, it is safer to suppose that they are really letters to Iamblichus from an earlier pen than Julian's.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Life of St. Patrick and his Place in History.* By J. B. BURY.  
(London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 404.)

THERE are few historical figures about whom more diverse opinions have been held than about Saint Patrick. By some writers his existence has been denied altogether or explained away as Celtic mythology; by others his reputed labors have been divided among several men who bore the same name. One party has sought to limit and minimize the importance of his work, while another has stoutly defended his traditional position as the founder and organizer of Irish Christianity. Catholics and Protestants have found cause of controversy with regard to his relations to the Roman see. Much learning has been applied to the discussion of these questions, and a large body of information on the subject has been brought together by successive scholars. But a thorough analysis and comparison of the ultimate sources is a matter of very recent years, and in fact Professor Bury himself is the first scholar to attempt in any satisfactory fashion to account step by step for each of the Patrician documents and to show their relation one to another. In a series of essays contributed to the *English Historical Review* for 1902, *Hermathena* vol. XXVIII., the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* for 1903, and the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*



for the same year, he laid the foundation of his biography, and its completion has been facilitated by the Reverend N. J. D. White's critical editions of Patrick's *Confessio* and the *Letter to Coroticus*, and by the Reverend Professor Gwynn's diplomatic edition of the *Book of Armagh*.

The necessary limits of this review do not permit any extended recapitulation of Professor Bury's conclusions. His views with regard to the documents are conveniently summarized in his first appendix. With regard to Saint Patrick's much-disputed career, it is sufficient to say that the general result of the present study is to support the traditional view—what may be called the Roman Catholic view—of Patrick's work and of his relation to Rome. In the light of Professor Bury's analysis of the sources it is extremely difficult to defend a theory like that advanced by Professor Heinrich Zimmer in 1901 (*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, X. 204 *et seqq.*, translated by Miss A. Meyer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, and published by Nutt, London, 1902), which holds Patrick to have been an unimportant and unsuccessful missionary in a limited field, and which would explain the usual account of his career as a fiction of the Romanizing party in Ireland in the seventh century. Professor Bury's attack upon this hypothesis must be regarded as successful. Whether the details of his own reconstruction of Patrick's biography will all stand a similarly searching criticism remains to be seen. He fully recognizes the problematic character of a large portion of it (see p. viii of his preface). But his method can without hesitation be said to be sound, and his mind singularly unbiassed. His mastery of the evidence, both in Latin and in Irish, is also unquestionable. In the interpretation of documents which are obviously in considerable part legendary, there is bound to be room for difference of opinion, even if complete agreement has been reached concerning the nature and mutual relations of the writings. Thus Professor Bury speaks on p. 82 of the "vain method of retaining as historical what is not miraculous". But it might be urged that he comes near practising this method himself on p. 158 when he preserves the moral meaning of a supernatural tale, though rejecting the truth of the narrative.

In addition to the central problems with which Professor Bury deals, his book contains many observations and suggestions of value to students both of church history and of early Celtic institutions. Special attention, by way of example, may be called to his remarks on the "Senchus Mór" (pp. 355-357), his characterization of the reign of King Loegaire (pp. 95 *et seqq.*, 353-355), and his suggestions with regard to the history of the Celtic tonsure (pp. 239 *et seqq.*).

In the general plan of the book, it appears from the preface (p. viii), Professor Bury has undertaken to exemplify his theory of historical narrative—to make "an effort in the art of historiography". The body of the work is cast in the form of a literary biography, and the narrative is burdened as little as possible with learned discussions. Critical and illustrative material is rigidly banished to the appendixes, which are

approximately equal in extent to the text. By this method the author is able to tell a straightforward story with very little digression or confusion. The style, too, though rather compact and severe, is lucid and readable.

F. N. ROBINSON.

*Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought.* By F. HOMES DUDDEN, B.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Two vols., pp. xvii, 476; 473.)

THE English have not been ungrateful to their apostle. It was they who first hailed him as a saint and gave his festival a place in their calendar. It was an English monk of Whitby who in the early seventh century wrote that first life of him which Paul Ewald has unearthed and Abbot Gasquet published. A greater Northumbrian scholar, Bede, insured his place in English history by the learning and the charm with which he recounted the great pope's part in the christianization of England; and the noblest of English kings not only gave this story to his people in their own tongue, but enriched their literature and their life with the teachings of Gregory himself. Even the religious revolt of the sixteenth century seems to have left their loyalty unshaken. The very sneer of Gibbon loses half its venom as he pictures the prelate whose vision took in far Britain; and in our own critical day, which has seen the revision of so many verdicts, English historians of the Middle Ages, from the Anglican Milman to the Quaker Hodgkin, have not less than their Catholic countrymen loved to linger over "Gregory, best and greatest in the long line of pontiffs".

Yet till now English scholarship has devoted to him no worthy monograph. A decade ago Mr. Hodgkin, in his brilliant chapter on the correspondence of Gregory, declared that for an adequate description two volumes like his own would not more than suffice. Whether or no this was the suggestion to Mr. Dudden of his task—and his debt to the Quaker historian is everywhere apparent—it is a work of precisely this bulk which he now gives us. The book is a monument of that patient scholarship we have learned to expect from the leisure of the English universities. It would not be easy to find in it anything new in conclusion or startling in arrangement. It shows neither the critical subtlety of Ewald nor the genial human insight of Hodgkin. But it rests everywhere sanely and safely on a personal study of the sources, guided and corrected by a wide knowledge of the researches of modern scholars.

Just how complete, indeed, is Mr. Dudden's acquaintance with the almost oppressive wealth of modern research in his field is matter for inference only. His preface, which discusses with care the original authorities, is content to name only the most directly pertinent of the recent literature; and in his foot-notes he has, "save in a very few cases, deliberately refrained, through considerations of space, from referring

to modern authors". As this self-restriction suggests, Mr. Dudden's work, despite its scholarship and its bulk, is clearly meant not only to be studied but to be read. The polemics which he has excluded from his notes he has not admitted to his text; and with a keen eye for the picturesque and the entertaining he has woven into his narrative all that is most interesting in the story of sixth-century Europe. He frankly tells us, indeed, that his book "is intended, not merely as a biography of Gregory, but also in some degree as a work of reference on the Gregorian age".

The work falls into three main divisions. A book on "Gregory before His Pontificate" and a book on "Gregory's Pontificate" make up the biography proper. The third, of lesser bulk, is entitled "Gregory the Fourth Doctor of the Latin Church", and is devoted to Gregory's theology, redeeming the promise of the title as to "his place in thought". It is the first book, as will be guessed, which is most padded from the general history of the time. After an opening chapter on Gregory's family and home, a second, on the world of Gregory's childhood, invites a survey of the age of Justinian and a description of sixth-century Rome. One on Gregory's education—of which, in sooth, nothing is known except what may be inferred from the qualities and defects of his writings—is an essay on the schools of his time. A chapter on the coming of the Lombards gives place for the whole romantic story of that people; one on his stay as papal envoy at Constantinople, for a detailed picture of that metropolis of sixth-century civilization. Even thus helped out, the meagre particulars of Gregory's career, displayed on so vast a scale, take on somewhat the coarsened effect of an enlarged photograph. Yet Mr. Dudden is no unskilful narrator. His descriptions, especially, glow with life and color.

For Gregory as pope his materials are, of course, abundant. Following the traditional scheme, he treats him first as bishop of Rome, then as landlord of the papal estates and virtual regent of Italy, then as Patriarch of the West. The letters, for which he adopts implicitly the arrangement of Ewald and Hartmann, furnish, of course, the tissue of his story; but he cleverly extorts much evidence from Gregory's other works, notably from the *Dialogues*. His treatment of the latter offers perhaps the best measure of his discretion as a biographer. Eliminating the legend of Benedict and the doctrinal discussions at the end, he divides the remaining tales into three classes: stories of visions, stories of prophecies, and stories of miracles. The visions, though he relates several, he finds of little interest: "we may read the same things *ad nauseam* in all the lives of the saints." Of the prophecies the only two which can be tested prove to be nothing better than wrong guesses; hence "it is not unreasonable to suppose that the other tales of prophecies fulfilled were mostly legends which grew up after the events which are said to have been prophesied." The miracles he thinks of great interest to the student of the supernatural because at first sight they seem so well attested; but a closer look shows the evidence less good.

The age expected miracles; Gregory himself "had no capacity either for weighing and testing evidence brought forward by others or for drawing correct inferences from what fell within his personal observation"; and practically all the miracles which even Gregory will accept took place at a distance from Rome.

Mr. Dudden has, then, nothing of the temper of the professional hagiographer. His hero is a saint, indeed; but only a saintly man. He mentions the miraculous stories that gathered about his memory, but only to brush them aside as unworthy of credence. He makes him the creator of the medieval papacy, the shaper of the medieval church, the formulator of that popularized Augustinianism which from his day was western dogma. He lauds his "many splendid moral qualities"—his conscientious devotion to duty, his unflinching sympathy, his unswerving love of justice, his lavish generosity, his all-embracing charity, his unselfishness and self-forgetfulness even amid acute suffering of mind and body. But he makes him no moral prodigy. Even his conception of religion, he thinks, was somewhat hard and unlovely: "it lacked breadth and sunshine." His credulity, his irritability, his craft, his sycophancy, he explains, but he does not explain away: they may be condoned, but not justified. Yet, he justly adds, "in spite of his failings and many limitations, in spite of his typical Roman character, which tended to inspire more fear than love, the memory of Gregory will always be honoured throughout the Christian world." To that end Mr. Dudden's biography will nobly contribute.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Theodore of Studium: His Life and Times.* By ALICE GARDNER, Associate and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. (London: Arnold. 1905. Pp. xiii, 284.)

MISS GARDNER presents her present volume as "a sketch of a notable man, who lived in notable times", as one in whose life "were focussed many great historical tendencies which gave their character to the Churches and the civil societies of the Middle Ages". It is perhaps owing to the fact that we have not, in English, a single biography in any degree adequate, nor a single edition of the works, of Theodore of Studium that there must be many, even among students, who know very imperfectly wherein lay his personal importance, apart from the historic interest of the time in which he lived. We think of him less as the Abbot of Saccudio and later of Studium, than as the opponent of Constantine VI. in his illegal union with Theodote (possibly a cousin, or even a sister of Theodore); as upholding the authority of the Church against the State in the matter of the election of the Patriarch, and of his consequent imprisonment; as exiled a second time for the same cause though for a different occasion, the proposed restoration to office of the priest who had performed the marriage of Constantine; and, above all, as upholding tradition in the great controversy with the Iconoclasts, and of his renewed exile and persecution.

All these things, and many more in which Theodore was concerned, are matters of history, but in addition to a review with all necessary detail of times which are perhaps as notable as any in the history of Christianity, we have here a biography of "a notable man" whose personal greatness has been somewhat overlooked in the overwhelming interest of the events, social, religious, and political, with which he was brought in contact.

It is an interesting point, however, in the appreciation of his character, that the greatness of the interests at stake were, for Theodore, an accident of the position. He was essentially a Puritan, a man who attributed grave moral importance to matters to which many, even among those nearest to him, were practically indifferent. The question of the Emperor's divorce, the cause of Theodore's first exile, was undoubtedly one in which he upheld domestic purity as against lawless despotism. That of the rehabilitation of the wretched priest, a mere political cat's-paw, a question for which Theodore again suffered, with equal willingness and equally for a question of principle, was, in the eyes of many, a mere petty personality not worth the discussion expended upon it. His opposition to the party of iconoclasm was again a matter purely of principle and in no sense of personal predilection. He was not a devotee of sacred art, he does not seem to have himself used icons as helps to devotion, he scoffs at the weakness of those who found them necessary, in his letters he constantly discourages all unauthorized flights of religious fancy, yet he exposed himself to suffering and possible death, refusing all compromise, for the sake of the doctrines which, in his eyes, seemed to stand or fall with the issue of the conflict. In the same way he was often blind, not only to the merits of his adversaries, but to the weaknesses of his allies; the cause alone occupied his mind. Nevertheless he was a leader of men, and his personal influence, even in exile, seems to have had an almost incredible force. Miss Gardner is at her best—as is natural in one of her training and associations—in vivid presentation of the history of the time, yet she never fails to perceive its psychological bearing upon the individuality of her subject. This careful balancing of the work of the historian and that of the biographer is a fair guaranty of the presentation of all sides of those questions of which the mere biographer might be tempted to give a one-sided or partial impression.

The author has used to the full all such original sources of information as remain to us, namely the two lives of Theodore: that of his contemporary Michael the Monk, and the longer and later one, based upon it but containing some additional matter, especially as to his early monastic career, which is now attributed to a certain John, or to Theodorus Daphnopates. In addition to these are the published works of Theodore, from which, especially from his letters, Miss Gardner quotes largely. The passages quoted have always illustrative value, and are the more welcome to the ordinary reader that, with the exception of a few hymns for which we are indebted to Dr. John Mason.

Neale, we have nothing of Theodore's work in the English language. Migne has given us the only important, although incomplete, edition of his letters, addresses, and controversial epistles, since supplemented by Cozza-Luzi; the present volume may suggest that an English edition would be of value to the church historian.

It is restful to turn from the stormy public career of Theodore to the contemplation of his quiet though somewhat interrupted retirement at Studium, and his work in hymnography and calligraphy. The chapter upon the problem of the ecclesiastical Greek scansion of his period, and the origin of tonic rhythm, with its struggle between quantity and accent, is especially interesting if only as showing how the combativeness of Theodore was exhibited even in questions purely literary.

The literary services of the Studium and its daughter communities as copyists of manuscripts may, we learn, have originated in the neat and businesslike handwriting which Theodore and Plato, his uncle and predecessor as abbot, may have acquired in youth in the government offices while still in the imperial service.

In a future edition the author will doubtless correct some errors and omissions in the index, and a few mistakes of fact and nomenclature pardonable in an author not personally acquainted with the Orient.

H. H. SPOER.

*The Political History of England.* Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. In twelve volumes. Volume II. *The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John, 1066-1216.* By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Professor of History in Yale University. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. x, 473.)

PROFESSOR ADAMS'S volume is another mile-stone on the road which the scientific study of history has travelled during the past century. Although it is destined to render important services to students and to those who have neither the leisure nor the inclination to master the specialized and technical treatises upon which it rests, its greatest interest lies perhaps in the measure of progress and the forecast of future development which may be derived from it. The book contains little that is new, in the sense of not before having seen the light, and indeed the political history of England in the Middle Ages can offer little novelty when dealt with in isolation, even though the material be treated with the rigorously scientific method that Professor Adams has so consistently employed. One is driven to the conclusion that a fresh synthesis can be attained only by a reinterpretation of the authorities that shall rest upon a conception of the origins of English history very different from that which now holds the field. It is not a question of points of detail, nor even of the history of single institutions, but of the whole conception of the elements out of which, and the processes by which, English national consciousness and English self-government

developed. Primitive democracy, the predominance and sufficiency of the Teutonic element, and its unbroken evolution are the ideas in which most of us have been trained and by which our thinking is hampered or at least conditioned. And yet every year it is becoming more apparent that the system constructed upon these ideas requires, if not complete reconstruction, at least a very serious readjustment. Until this preliminary need is met and, as far as may be, satisfied, a reinterpretation of English history seems scarcely possible, and even a redigestion hardly to be a matter for reasonable hope. The most that can be done is to make a clear, conscientious statement of what knowledge we possess, a statement that shall gather up the results of the criticism and investigation of single questions, and try, by means of them, to dispel old illusions and to supply doctrine which at present seems nearer the truth. This is the line that Professor Adams has followed, and he has brought to his task of *vulgarisation* rich learning, sane judgment, and an objectivity so sensitively alert as to suggest that he is perpetually attended by the shade of an angry German methodologist.

The plan of the work, for which no doubt the editors are responsible, contributes by its chronological, its almost annalistic, disposition of the material to the general impression of the book which we have just now recorded. The analytical table of contents and the very adequate index make it easy and pleasant to use. The bibliographical arrangements, on the other hand, leave something to be desired, although, contrary to the unfortunate practice in books of this sort (notably in the *Cambridge Modern History*), a limited number of foot-notes have been permitted, and have in the present case been so wisely used as to make one wish that a much greater freedom had been granted. But the discussion of the original authorities and more important modern works (pp. 448-458) adds very little to the knowledge that is now generally available in Professor Gross's invaluable *Sources and Literature*, although there is a good note on Freeman (p. 456) and, in the remarks on Miss Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings* and *John Lackland*, a touch of rich (if unconscious) humor combined with sound criticism that fully deserves quotation: "In the first book the influence of John Richard Green is clearly traceable both in the style and in the selection of facts for treatment. . . . The second book is a sober and careful study of John's career" (p. 457). But Professor Adams has excluded from his bibliography "the long list of monographs and special studies, English and foreign, which alone make possible the writing of a history of this age". One cannot help regretting that he had not referred his readers more often to Professor Gross's *Sources* and thus found space to include at least the contributions of this kind that have appeared since 1900.

Readers will be interested in Professor Adams's rather disparaging judgment of Henry II. (see particularly pp. 290-291, 351). He writes very much under the influence of Mr. Round, and in expressing the opinion that Henry's system was rather a development and expansion of

his grandfather's work than an original contribution he is really formulating the view toward which all of that great scholar's investigations have tended. The treatment of the thorny questions connected with the conquest of Ireland and the Bull *Laudabiliter* (pp. 263 *et seqq.*) is particularly sane and reasonable. In his judgment of the Great Charter, Professor Adams follows in the main the opinion of Professor Maitland, while repeating the views which he himself expressed in these pages six years ago.<sup>1</sup> Mr. McKechnie's laborious work (*Magna Carta*, Glasgow, 1905) and Mr. Jenks's vagaries (*Independent Review*, November, 1904, IV. 260-273) probably came too late to be used.

In a work so long and so full of detail some points naturally present themselves for criticism. In dealing with the anarchy in Stephen's reign, Professor Adams follows the view expressed by Mr. Round in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892), but he does not discuss or even refer to the divergent opinion put forward by Mr. H. W. C. Davis (*English Historical Review*, October, 1903, XVIII. 630-641). We do not think that Mr. Davis made out his case, but his argument deserves attention. Again, the intrusion of William Cumin into the see of Durham is passed over in silence, although it seems to have been part of the general policy of the Empress and her uncle the King of Scots and as such to deserve mention. Professor Adams's description of the origin and nature of scutage is scarcely successful; the question is admittedly difficult and obscure, but one may fairly doubt whether a beginner would derive much light from the present statement of it (pp. 266 *et seqq.*). With regard to the claim of the Angevin kings in the twelfth century to be seneschals of France by reason of their tenure of the country of Anjou, Professor Adams seems to be following Bémont without giving any indication that the historical value of the treatise *De Senescalcia Franciae*, upon which this claim rests, has been very much discussed and by certain scholars entirely denied (p. 346). Great stress is laid on the influence which the ideas of chivalry, current in France in the twelfth century, exerted upon the conduct of Henry II. in general and in particular with regard to the coronation of the young Henry and the endowment of his other sons (pp. 302 *et seqq.*). Professor Adams even writes of "the courtly virtue of 'largesse,' which [Henry II.] followed with some restraint where money was concerned" (p. 304). Even a cursory examination of the *Pipe Roll of 1175-1176*, published in 1904, would have suggested that restraint was a more potent force in Henry's character than largesse where money was concerned (cf. *English Historical Review*, July, 1905, pp. 558-560). John's marriage with Isabella of Angoulême is described as "a blunder in morals, in which, . . . by an act of passion and perfidy, he gave his antagonist a better excuse than he could have hoped for when he was at last ready to renew the war" (p. 397). We have no desire to defend the morals of John, but we wish that Professor Adams had taken account of Miss

<sup>1</sup> "The Critical Period of English Constitutional History," *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 643-658.



Norgate's suggestion that the marriage had been originally proposed by Philip and was carried out by John as part of a considered policy connected with the internal conditions of Poitou, with the "deliberate purpose of goading [the Lusignans] into some outrageous course of action which might enable him to recover La Marche and ruin them completely" (*John Lackland*, 75-77). Professor Adams writes, "the Great Charter was drawn up and sealed on June 15, 1215" (p. 437). The point is discussed by Mr. McKechnie (*Magna Carta*, 48-49), who makes out a strong case for the view that several days were consumed in negotiation, so that the charter did not pass the seal until June 19; and even if Mr. McKechnie's book came too late to be used, this point had already been raised by Blackstone.

The statement that Matilda was crowned "Queen of Germany" (p. 155), and the description of John's second primate as "Stephen of Langton" (p. 409), are surely slips. Misprints are uncommon, indeed we have noticed only three (pp. 244, 372, 377). The rendering of *legalis homo* by "legal man" strikes one as both awkward and misleading.

It must be confessed that the whole book is without literary grace or adornment, but serious and even pedestrian as the style is, it is neither dry nor repellent. Still occasional lapses occur, and we cannot pass without a protest such a sentence as this: "Coming to the door of the church, he knelt and prayed; at the spot where Thomas fell, he wept and kissed it" (p. 310). Examples of the same sort of thing may be found on pp. 263, 308, 358, 410.

We have dealt much in criticism, but it would be unjust at once to the excellence of Professor Adams's work and to our own sense of its value to conclude without a word of appreciation of the service which he has rendered to students of English history, whether they be beginners or teachers. His book is informed with a large-minded, conscientious desire to see the past as it actually was and to represent it truthfully to men of his own day.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

*Forum Turolii, Regnante in Aragonia Adefonso Rege, anno Dominice Nativitatis mclxxvi.* Transcripcion y estudio preliminar de FRANCISCO AZNAR Y NAVARRO. (Záragoza: Cecilio Gasca. 1905. Pp. xlv, 300.)

THE series of which this is the second volume—the *Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón*—gives promise of affording valuable assistance to the student of the medieval period, not only in Spain but in general. The first volume, issued in 1904 by Don Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez (see this REVIEW, X. 915), contained an interesting collection of *Documentos correspondientes al Reinado de Ramiro I. desde 1034 hasta 1063 años*, and the present one is even more valuable.

Alfonso II. of Aragon in 1171 advanced the border of the Reconquest to Teruel, and in 1176 he granted to the new settlers this *Fuero* or Customary. It is exceedingly complete and elaborate, consisting of 552 articles, comprising all the details of civic life coming within the scope of the lawgiver, and consequently it presents us with an unrivalled review of medieval habits and customs. Of course such a body of laws could not be evolved from the inner consciousness of the sovereign, and this is a development from the anterior *Fuero* of Daroca. It continued for ages to satisfy the needs of the community, for it was sworn to, in 1547, by decree of Prince Philip, acting for his father Charles V. In 1564 it was revised in some respects, to accommodate it to the autocratic principles of Philip, then king. After the *Córtes* of Tarazona, in 1592, when the troubles occasioned by Antonio Pérez enabled Philip to make a breach in the liberties of Aragon, he abrogated the *Fuero* of Teruel, in 1597, by a transparent fiction, in which the people were represented as asking for this change and were forced to pay him 122,000 libras for the privilege of subjecting themselves to the laws of Aragon. Not only did it thus prove itself as adapted to the needs of Teruel and its district, extending over some twelve hundred square miles, but it was the source of much of the local legislation of Castile. The *Fuero* of Cuenca was based upon it, and thence it was transplanted to Sepúlveda, where it served as a model for various other places. Its importance as a medieval document can thus be understood, and the merit of rendering it accessible to students can be appreciated.

Of the three hundred pages which it occupies there is scarcely one which does not afford insight into the manners and modes of thought of the period, showing that society was by no means so simple and rude as we are apt to imagine. When we read (p. 133) of a fine of ten sueldos for casting water from a window, or spitting upon one in the street, we recognize a refinement greater than that existing, five hundred years later, in Madrid or Edinburgh; and a similar early solicitude for cleanliness and health is seen in the provision (p. 49) that whoever dirties the street shall cleanse it and pay five sueldos.

There is conspicuous proof of the toleration prevailing throughout Spain during the earlier Middle Ages in the law (p. 16) providing that homicide committed by a Jew on a Christian, or by a Christian on a Jew, is to be treated like homicide between Christians. The *Maurus pacis*—the Mudéjar, or Moor domiciled among Christians—was treated, however, somewhat less equitably (p. 17). The Christian, indeed, who wounded or slew a Moor paid for him the same *wergild* as for a Christian. So the Moor wounding a Christian also paid the same as a Christian, but, if the Christian died, the Moor was delivered to the kindred, to extort the *wergild* and then do with him as they pleased. The difference is probably attributable, not to religious discrimination, but to the fact that the Moor was more sudden and quick in quarrel than the Jew, and therefore was regarded as requiring sharper restraint. In an age of class privilege it reflects the stubborn assertiveness of Aragonese

freemen that a noble or knight, committing violence of any kind in the district of Teruel, could be slain without incurring the penalties of homicide (p. 14).

The primitive methods of proving innocence of course were in vogue. Compurgation with six or twelve compurgators was used, but mostly for churchmen. For women the red-hot iron ordeal was sometimes employed (p. 209). Among laymen the usual solvent, in both civil and criminal matters, was the wager of battle, which was conducted under very peculiar regulations. If there were several defendants, one was chosen by lot, and he could elect whether to fight on horseback or on foot. The appellant apparently never fought personally, but by a champion, who was not to be a mercenary or one who had previously served in that capacity in Teruel. If the combat was to be on horseback, the appellant had three terms of nine days, in each of which to produce five cavaliers; the judge measured them carefully, with leather thongs, to find one of perfect equality with the defendant, and, if none such were found, the latter's oath to his innocence or his rights was accepted; but if one were smaller, the defendant could agree to fight with him. If the combat was on foot, the same preliminaries were observed, except that among the disabilities of the champion was that of being a farrier. The antagonists wore complete armor; the cavaliers had a blunted lance, a shield, and two swords; the footmen the same, except that only one sword was allowed. When the equal champion was found, the two watched their arms that night in the church and heard mass in the morning, after which the defendant swore that he was defending the truth and the champion that he swore falsely. They were then conducted to the field, where the judge laid out the boundaries, the crossing of which by either party was equivalent to defeat. The combat lasted until sunset and might be prolonged for three days, during which the combatants ate and slept together in the house of the judge, who kept them strictly from converse with any one—whoever attempted to speak with them, either there or in the lists, was fined sixty sueldos. Each morning the judge and alcaides replaced them in the field with precisely the same arms that they had had the previous evening. At any time the two combatants could come to terms, unless the fight was for homicide or theft, in which case the consent of the crown was necessary, as it had a share in the *wergild*. If the defendant was worsted, in a case of debt or false-witness, he paid double, and the appellant could hold him until he paid; if for crime in which the crown had an interest, the judge held him until he paid or gave security. The champion, if victorious, received forty sueldos; if beaten, ten sueldos; if he was killed, his widow or children were entitled to twenty. If he came to terms with the defendant after they were armed in the field, he was paid five, increased to ten after the combat had commenced (pp. 107-114).

Did space permit, it would be easy to multiply illustrations of the interesting details of which the *Fuero* is full, but these will suffice to indicate how much is to be gathered from a code so extensive and so

minute. The introduction of the learned editor is devoted to an exhaustive vindication of the antiquity and authority of the *Fuero*, which leaves nothing to be desired except that he might have facilitated reference by a simple table of the rubrics of the several articles, and that a glossary of the words, for which the student may vainly search his Ducange, would have relieved the obscurity of some passages, for those not so familiar as himself with the medieval lore of Aragon.

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

*John of Gaunt.* By SYDNEY ARMITAGE-SMITH. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Archibald Constable and Company, Ltd. 1905 [1904]. Pp. xxviii, 490.)

If we may trust the silence of the *Catalogue of the British Museum*, the present work is the first attempt at an extended biography of the Duke of Lancaster. Moreover, the difficulties of the subject being such as they are, the author is destined in all probability to hold this field for many years to come. It is of interest, therefore, to know that he regards John of Gaunt with somewhat more favor than the historian ordinarily who treats of this period of English history. He denies that John of Gaunt ever directed his ambition toward the English crown, but holds that his mind was always and at all times set on "continental sovereignty".

In support of his thesis, the author has brought to bear a knowledge of source-material which other workers may well envy. His results, moreover, in the main seem sound. We may fully admit that sufficient importance has not been given to the influence of the Spanish Marriage in shaping the policy of John of Gaunt's later life. The attempt, however, to reverse the accepted view of the duke's relations to English parties at home, and particularly to relieve him of all responsibility for the conditions that disgraced the last years of his father's reign, is not so satisfactory.

The author frankly admits that he finds no support for his view in the *Chronicle of St. Albans*. Now the *Chronicle of St. Albans* presents the only full account that we have of the last years of Edward III. It is, furthermore, unquestionably the work of a contemporary who was in close touch with some of the men who were trying to wrest the government from the corrupt ring who controlled its patronage. The author, however, claims that the chronicler is superstitiously credulous in the matter of dreams and portents and bitterly hostile to John of Gaunt, and that therefore he is "wholly untrustworthy" (p. 134), and his testimony is to be rejected altogether. Is this verdict sound? Adam of Usk, the "hard-headed lawyer and impartial critic" as Mr. Armitage-Smith styles him (p. xxvi), is guilty of folly quite as grave in his pedigree of the Mortimers as the dream of de la Hoo. Warkworth's *Womere waters* and *blasing comets* tax our patience quite as seriously. In fact, if we accept this canon of the author, we shall be forced to rule

out most of the favorite sources of English history from Baeda down to the *Annual Register*.

The hostility of the chronicler is a far more serious charge. His testimony is undoubtedly that of an enemy. But does an enemy never tell the truth? Mr. Armitage-Smith admits that the *Chronicle* reflects contemporary popular feeling toward the duke. Is there not then a core of facts to be discovered even in such testimony, to be carefully distinguished from the opinions of the writer, facts which in popular estimation justified the prevailing hostility and which the modern historian must not ignore in making his estimate of the life and character of John of Gaunt?

But even if the author be allowed to throw out of court in this summary fashion the chief witness for the prosecution, the question may still be fairly asked, Does he upon the evidence submitted free John of Gaunt from all responsibility for the presence of the unclean herd that befouled the court of Edward III.? To say that John of Gaunt did not appoint these ministers is hardly to the point, since the appointment of ministers was a function of the crown. It is scarcely nearer the mark to claim that because John of Gaunt was absent on the continent during much of the time when the corrupt lay ministry was in power, *i. e.*, from 1371 to 1376, he must have been a cipher in politics at home, without knowledge of the inner history of the council and hence without responsibility.

Now as a matter of fact during most of this period John of Gaunt was in England and not on the continent. In January, 1371, upon the retirement of the Black Prince, he had succeeded to the command in Aquitaine. But in December he followed the prince to England and remained at home until July, 1373. The author admits this, but gives us to understand that during these eighteen months there was little doing at home, that the year 1372 passed without a Parliament, and hence there was little opportunity for Lancaster to make his presence felt. Now there was not only a Parliament in 1372 but a very important one (*Rot. Parl.* 46 Edward III.). These months, moreover, were months of great activity on the part of the government. Enormous sums were raised for the war with France, and three separate expeditions, one led by John of Gaunt himself, were sent out from England in the vain hope of saving Aquitaine. In April, 1374, Lancaster returned home, not to leave England again until after the death of the king, save for two trips to Flanders, in both of which he was entrusted with diplomatic missions of the greatest importance.

John of Gaunt, therefore, could hardly have been ignorant of the character of the people who surrounded his father. Moreover, his own prominence in public service, his necessarily close connection with the men who were to finance his expeditions, force us to believe that if he did not actually support the ministers in their evil doings, he at least connived at their misdeeds. It is true that when the day of reckoning came, Lancaster made no effort to shield his father's ministers from

the wrath of the "Good Parliament". But it must be borne in mind that the leader of the reform movement was the Black Prince himself, who had risen from his sick-bed to purge his father's court, and that John of Gaunt feared his popular brother. When, however, six months later the Black Prince was dead, Lancaster broke his silence not to carry on his brother's work but to undo it, and to turn with marked vindictiveness upon the men who had been prominent in the support of the Black Prince. The author's explanation of this later conduct of the duke is ingenious but hardly convincing.

In his efforts to make out his case, the author has not forgotten the friendships of Lancaster, which it is claimed are inconsistent with the accepted view of his character. The use of Chaucer's name is unfortunate. Even waiving the question of the relationship of Philippa Chaucer and Catharine Swynford, the man who could thus lament the fall of Pedro the Cruel, the passing favorite of the English court—

"O noble, O worthy Pedro, glory of Spain,  
Whom fortune held so high in majesty,"—

proves himself too much of a courtier to be other than blind to the serious faults of his patron (pp. 64-65). Of Wyclif's high mind and single heart, however, there can be no question. Yet the alliance of the two can hardly be cited as a voucher for the character of the duke, any more than the later Pitt-Newcastle alliance may be cited to prove that history has been in error in the verdict which she has passed upon Newcastle and his methods. A common cause makes strange bedfellows sometimes. That John of Gaunt ever comprehended the logical significance of Wyclif's teachings, or that he delighted in the character of the high-souled doctor, or that he supported him beyond the point where Wyclif ceased to be useful in plucking the fine feathers of the churchmen, does not appear.

Of minor matters it may be worth while to note that the title *El Justiciero* (the doer of justice) applied to Pedro (p. 65), so strangely out of keeping with all that we know of this Dahomey chief of the fourteenth century, was not conferred upon him until the days of the autocratic Ferdinand, when no one might speak ill of any king of Castile.

In describing the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer" (pp. 6-8), while claiming to follow Froissart, the author calls *La Salle du Roi* the flag-ship. The name of the king's ship is not given by Froissart. Moreover, the flag-ship could not have been *La Salle du Roi*, since the king is described by Froissart as passing by this ship in the course of the action. In describing the gay scene on board the king's ship on the eve of the battle, the author is evidently thinking of Drake on the historic Devonshire green, rather than the Edward of Froissart.

On p. 21—evidently an error of the proof-reader—1369 is given as the date of the death of John of Gaunt. It was the Duchess Blanche rather who died in 1369. Again, p. 10, the comment on the death of the

false queen of Edward II. hardly does justice to the fact that she had been kept a prisoner for twenty-eight years. The statement that Prince Edward received his famous christening at Crecy, a statement that has the support of no contemporary authority, ought not to be made without some qualification.

Besides the more obvious and accessible facts of John of Gaunt's career, to be noticed as of special value is the chapter upon the Lancastrian estates, in which, aided by a map which has evidently cost much labor, the author brings out quite clearly the many ramifications of the Lancastrian lands and their importance as a basis of Lancastrian political influence. So also may be noted the fact that the Beaufort from which the illegitimate family of Lancaster took its name was the Beaufort of Champagne and not of Anjou as commonly given. The full apology of Northumberland for his brutal insult to Lancaster in 1381, which Mr. Armitage-Smith has drawn from the unpublished Register of the Duchy of Lancaster, is here brought out for the first time; so also the important fact, which even Bishop Stubbs missed, that Michael de la Pole was the friend of Lancaster and not his enemy. The attempt, however, to clear up the strange charge brought against Lancaster in 1384 by the Carmelite friar, as the result of a vicious trick on the part of Oxford to destroy Lancaster, is hardly satisfactory. It is more reasonable to believe with the Monk of Evesham that the poor friar was the victim of his own hallucinations.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

*England under the Tudors.* By ARTHUR D. INNES. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen and Company. 1905. Pp. xix, 481.)

THIS is the fourth in chronological order and the second in date of publication of the six volumes which comprise Professor Oman's collaborate history of England. It is, as far as the present reviewer is aware, the first single volume to treat of the Tudor period as a whole. Its author has already put forth one book on a subject lying within the present field, and two others dealing with a later one.

It is obvious at a glance that the present work possesses a number of admirable qualities. In the first place the proportions are excellent. Of the 427 pages which compose the main part of the book, 58 are devoted to Henry VII., 128 to Henry VIII., 30 to Edward VI., 26 to Mary, and 185 to Elizabeth. It is totally free from theological bias; it is eminently fair-minded and just in its conception of the important characters of the period: the treatment of the reign of Mary is in this respect particularly admirable. It is a most useful volume for purposes of reference; it is easy to find facts in it; it is furnished with an excellent index and useful genealogical tables, maps, and appendixes on special topics.

A closer examination however reveals a wide discrepancy in knowledge, treatment, and expression between the first part of the book and the second. Certainly Mr. Innes is not seen at his best in his chapters

on Henry VII. and Henry VIII. A number of minor errors and inaccuracies reveal his inadequate acquaintance with the recent literature of this period, and his style, in the first part of his book, lacks precision and definiteness. But the gravest defect of all is the author's ignorance of continental affairs from 1485 to the accession of Elizabeth. This is indeed a serious charge to bring against any historian of the Tudors, whose most permanent service to England lay in their dealings with outside powers; but it is impossible to acquit Mr. Innes. Mistakes of date, of which there are many (*e.g.*, "Lewis XI. died in 1482", p. 13; "the accession of Lewis XII. in 1497", p. 36), may be forgiven; ignorance of the fact that Milan belonged to the Hapsburgs in 1559 (indicated by the second map at the end of the book) is more serious; but worst of all is the frequent recurrence of loose and inaccurate sentences, which leave the reader the unwelcome choice between positive error of the grossest kind, and absolute meaninglessness. As an example of this type of sentence may be cited the words in which the author describes the internal state of France in 1485: "With the exception of the Dukedom of Brittany, which still claimed a degree of independence, and of Flanders and Artois which, though fiefs of France, were still ruled by the House of Burgundy, the whole country was under the royal dominion" (p. 13). Mr. Innes is much too fond of this dangerous and misleading word "dominion". Or again, if instead of remarking "that whenever Charles had a wife living he appears to have been faithful to her" (foot-note to p. 183), Mr. Innes had taken the trouble to find out just how many times the Emperor was married, and had stated the fact clearly and distinctly, before commenting on Charles's "divagations . . . in the intervals", one cannot help feeling that the force of his compliment would have been increased.

But when Mr. Innes reaches the reign of Elizabeth, these defects, for the most part, disappear. Minor errors are but few, the style improves: when the author is at his best he is by no means lacking in ability to express himself, and he seems to gain confidence and power as he progresses, like the English nation whose development he describes. His grasp of continental affairs in the Elizabethan period, moreover, contrasts pleasantly with his earlier shortcomings in this respect. The fact that he has Professor Seeley's *Growth of British Policy* to guide him after 1558 is perhaps partially accountable for this welcome change. And we hasten to add that this latter part of his work is more than a careful and readable summary of a glorious reign: it contains several special features of peculiar and distinguishing value, for example, the excellent and much-needed account of Shan O'Neill in chapter xx., and the brief yet thorough estimate of Elizabethan literature. For all the latter part of his work Mr. Innes is certainly deserving of high praise; we only wish, for the sake of the reputation of the book as a whole, that the earlier pages were more nearly like it.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.



*Henry VIII.* By A. F. POLLARD. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xii, 470.)

THIS book is a new edition, revised, enlarged, and carefully annotated, of the sumptuous biography of Henry VIII. by the same author, published in 1902 by Messrs. Goupil and Company. There can be no doubt that the present compact volume will prove far more useful for purposes of historical study than its bulkier and far more expensive predecessor, which, though copiously illustrated and beautifully printed and bound, was totally lacking in foot-notes, index, and bibliographical references. Certainly Mr. Pollard has never produced a more scholarly and serviceable book than this. He has used to the fullest advantage the monumental collection of *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, which is now nearing its completion, and yet on the other hand he has by no means neglected secondary authorities; he has an enviable background of general historical knowledge; his judgments are for the most part sane and consistent; and he writes clearly and convincingly. Occasionally he is led to use a phrase or title which may be regarded as out of place in a serious historical work; as, for example, when he labels the chapter dealing with the crucial events of 1533-1534 "The Prevailing of the Gates of Hell", but in general his style is such as to add force and picturesqueness to his narrative. As far as the present reviewer is able to discover, the volume is entirely free from misprints and minor errors.

There are a number of debatable points in the reign of Henry VIII., on which every student of history has a right to his own opinion; and Mr. Pollard's views on some of these will doubtless elicit criticism and perhaps contradiction from other laborers in the Tudor vineyard. He has already crossed swords with Dr. Gairdner on the very difficult subject of the character of the king himself. Dr. Gairdner maintains that the simplest explanation of Henry's extraordinary career is "that it was due to selfishness combined with a wonderful deal of diplomatic cunning", while Mr. Pollard asserts that the desire to see England great and prosperous had a large share in determining the king's action at every great crisis of the reign, that Henry shaped his personal ends so that they coincided with what was best for the nation as a whole. That the two foremost authorities on the Tudor period can disagree on a point as fundamental as this is a significant and perhaps not entirely discouraging fact for younger students of sixteenth-century history to reflect upon. Another even more important point on which Mr. Pollard's views will doubtless arouse contention is the very delicate question of Henry's relations with his Parliaments, especially the great Reformation Parliament of 1529-1536. Was the famous assembly which passed the acts that severed England from Rome packed and intimidated, or free? Mr. Pollard sturdily maintains the latter view; asserts that there is "nothing to show that Henry VIII. intimidated his Commons at any time, or that he packed the Parliament of 1529"; and,

be it added, materially strengthens his case by a skilful anticipation and refutation of the arguments of those who disagree with him. All that Mr. Pollard says in this matter must be treated with respect and will doubtless dispose of a good many of the extremer statements of those who disagree with him; yet on the other hand there can be little doubt that he sometimes overstates his own case. If, for example, freedom of speech and freedom from arrest for members of Parliament were "established" in 1512 and 1543 (p. 259), why was Peter Wentworth thrice imprisoned in the reign of Elizabeth?

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

*Renaissance Portraits.* By PAUL VAN DYKE, D.D., Professor in History, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. xiii, 425.)

THERE are portraits of all sorts and sizes, from miniatures by Sidney Cooper to equestrian figures of Philip IV. in the best manner of Velasquez. Dr. Van Dyke's studies of Aretino, Thomas Cromwell, and Maximilian I. are essays in criticism rather than biographical condensations and so belong to the domain of art. The author writes, as he tells us in a choice humanistic epigram, for the love of scholarship and to beguile the leisure of his friends. Such a phrase may to some minds suggest the sketches of an amateur and not the studied efforts of a professional. The present volume, however, is far from amateurish in either preparation or manner. We began by making an allusion to the scale of the performance. These three bits of historical delineation are more than miniatures and less than the heroic canvases of a conventional biographer. Without attempting to carry further the figure which is suggested by the title, each of the three papers here published is equivalent to a long article in an English quarterly, besides possessing other qualities which recall well-known papers in the *Edinburgh Review*.

Of all great epochs the Renaissance demands from its historian the widest sympathy and the keenest discrimination. We would, at least, by some unqualified statement emphasize the variegated character of Quattrocento and Cinquecento, the element of paradox which enters into the career of every political or intellectual leader then living, the incredible freaks of psychology that tempt one to heighten his colors or darken his shadows. In each case, Dr. Van Dyke has selected a sharply articulated type. Aretino, Cromwell, and Maximilian were men whom it is very easy to caricature or to denounce. All had striking talents, and to these Cromwell added extraordinary force of will. Yet for a variety of reasons not one of the three evokes anything like genuine admiration from the modern world. Dr. Van Dyke has certainly made an interesting choice of figures, and he seldom strays far from his main purpose, which is neither to extol nor to extenuate, but to interpret.

Aretino, whether on intimate acquaintance he be liked or not, is worth understanding. We once heard a professor of history who should have known better speak about him as though he were a Celtic decadent

with a taste for absinthe. A glance at any one of his portraits by Titian should dispel this idea, but Dr. Van Dyke has ample scope for effort in clearing away both vulgar errors and deeply rooted misapprehensions. A blackmailer and a writer of pornographic literature he remains after all the facts have been laid bare, but the talents by which he recommended himself to the service of the great and which admitted him on even terms to excellent society deserve the reward of an impartial disclosure. Were it possible that such a type should appear to-day in London or New York, few of the intellectuals who could avoid doing so would come near him. Indeed, when full allowance has been made for the generous eclecticism of the Renaissance, it is difficult to realize that he should have been the friend of decent people—a phenomenon to be explained partly by the paradoxes of the age, partly by fear of having a foul-mouthed enemy, and partly by a general willingness on the part of mankind to accept friendship when it is proffered. Dr. Van Dyke gives us full means of estimating Aretino's peculiar gifts and does him the justice of letting him reveal himself. But one must continue to cherish a fondness for the story of how Tintoretto one day measured his stature in terms of pistol lengths, by way of giving him a useful hint.

We hurry past the essay on Maximilian (in whose character Dr. Van Dyke finds the thirst for distinction and family pride to be more powerful passions than a love of art) in order that we may glance at the paper on Thomas Cromwell. As readers of this REVIEW are already aware, Dr. Van Dyke has strong views regarding Cardinal Pole's *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum*, a work which is responsible for much of the prejudice at present felt against the despoiler of the monasteries. To follow up Pole's special pleading is one thing: to secure a proper basis for estimating Cromwell's character is another. It is in the seven thousand letters which he wrote or which were written to him or which were written about him that Dr. Van Dyke finds the positive materials for his essay. According to this latest verdict, Cromwell, judged for what he was, seems "morally neither better nor worse than the average man of his age; if we judge him by what he did, it seems difficult to deny him a place among the most capable statesmen of all ages" (p. 258).

We regret that dearth of space prevents us from giving by citation some favor of Dr. Van Dyke's style or from touching upon a few of the moot points which fall within his essays. These papers belong to a delightful class of historical writing and illustrate the opportunities it affords to those who combine ideas with scholarship. The few slips we have noticed are of no great moment. As an example, Gloucestershire would need to be expanded considerably before it could take in ninety monasteries with an average of sixty-five thousand acres apiece (p. 209).

*Deutsche Geschichte.* Der ganzen Reihe siebenter Band. Erste Hälfte. VON KARL LAMPRECHT. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag von Hermann Heyfelder. 1905. Pp. xv, 396.)

WITH the publication, last year, of his *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (see this REVIEW, XI. 119-121) Professor Lamprecht seems to have given more or less final shape to the exposition of his historical method. The first six volumes of the *Deutsche Geschichte* were put forth with very little of apology or explanation, and it was only slowly that the consciousness of historical scholars was aroused to the fact that the work was little less than revolutionary in purpose and method. By the year 1895, however, there had arisen such a storm of debate that the author was forced to take up the cudgels in his own defense. The decade following that year is destined to rank as the period of the Lamprecht controversy, and the end is not yet. In these years, the regular course of publication of the volumes was interrupted while the author was engaged in the defense of his attitude as a writer of history and in the preparation of his *Zur jüngsten deutschen Vergangenheit*. He returns in the present half-volume to the point where the work was suspended ten years ago, and, when the second half of the seventh volume is published, will have brought his history down to the period just prior to the French Revolution, the point at which, according to his scheme, the period of individualism merges into that of subjectivism.

In general the present volume adheres, in both plan and method, to the design upon which the earlier volumes were constructed. If one is conscious of any change, it lies in a stronger accentuation of the distinctively psychological attitude toward the facts of history. The period covered, although Lamprecht resolutely refuses to be tied down within rigid date-boundaries, is approximately that between the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. "History", says the author, "is primarily a socio-psychological science." His whole history therefore is not strictly a *Kulturgeschichte* but rather a *Seelengeschichte* of the German nation, and this volume is wholly devoted to the intellectual and psychic life of the period covered. The second half of the volume, when published, is expected to trace the political history during the same period. Books nineteen and twenty of the general work are included here. Book nineteen is devoted to the intellectual movements and the *Weltanschauung* of the time. First comes an analysis of the foreign influences on German culture, particularly the Italian and the French. Then follows a discussion of the new ideals of cosmopolitan culture which, finding their earliest acceptance among the princes and court circles, gradually spread downward through the ranks of society. In the field of purely intellectual development the chief interest centres in the growth of rationalism through the influence of the natural sciences, metaphysics, and education. The leading phenomena in the psychic life of the period are found to be the so-called enlightenment movement and Pietism, the discussion of which

leads one into the rather dreary region of post-Reformation religious thought. Book twenty is concerned with the fine arts and literature. The chapter subjects are: The Rococo and Baroco Styles of Art, The Poetry of the Renaissance, Music and Poetry, Further Musical and Literary Changes. One looks in vain for any systematic treatment of these subjects as independent facts. To Lamprecht they have interest and find a place only as they help to interpret the soul-life of the nation.

The character of the period covered is such as to offer an excellent field for the sort of historical interpretation which Lamprecht believes to be the only scientific one. If the historian is to find his true work not in the correlated grouping of events but in a study of the "psychic mechanism of the periods of culture", clearly that period which marked the transition from the life that was essentially medieval to that which is distinctively modern offers unusual attractions. Among the following which Lamprecht has secured the word has gone out that the revolution in historical method is already a *fait accompli*, and indeed the Lamprecht idea seems, for the time being, to have triumphed in Germany. The Rankian method, always narrative in form and sometimes frankly didactic in purpose, is to be supplanted by the analytical historical essay. But it may well be questioned whether the present movement is not merely an exaggerated but necessary protest against the neglect of the social-psychic element in historical interpretation. Like much of the current sociological writing, to which it is closely akin, it is a brilliant intellectual feat which is singularly unfruitful in independent results. History is not likely to be dissolved into folk-psychology and historical sociology.

ULYSSES GRANT WEATHERLY.

*The England and Holland of the Pilgrims.* By the late HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D.D., LL.D., and his son MORTON DEXTER. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 673.)

UNTIL the middle of the nineteenth century no living person knew from what point in England the Independents, harried out of their home land, had fled, in order to reach Holland, where they knew conscience was free. Mr. James Savage, editor of the *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*, received from the Reverend Joseph Hunter of Yorkshire a hint that the "Ansterfield" of defective New England printing was the mask for "Austerfield", and to this Englishman belongs the first honors of fruitful investigation. After Hunter had discovered the baptismal record of the baby William, afterward Governor Bradford, and, as we may say, the first American historian, his little book of 1849 told of *The Founders of New Plymouth*. Even before this, however, N. C. Kist, the Leyden professor, and Dr. J. G. de H. Scheffer, the Mennonite scholar of Amsterdam, had already delved in the Dutch archives, bringing forth rich data concerning these English exiles for conscience sake.

Such pioneers having struck the vein of ore, Dr. H. M. Dexter, with the enthusiasm of a born antiquarian though hardly with the gifts of a philosophic historian, made eight visits to Scrooby. Spending also his time and money freely in both Holland and England, he recovered to history many names and incidents. With the aid of his unrivalled collection of original documents, which had survived the fire, and other destructive agencies of political churchmen, he gave the world a bulky volume entitled *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature* (New York, 1880). He treated especially of the careers of Robert Browne and John Robinson, and of the inner history of the English Separatist churches in Amsterdam and Leyden. Those who know this earlier book will recognize in the work under review the same hand, the same opinions, and the same general conspectus. To many the view will seem unjustifiably narrow, though it is very pleasant to notice that the matters formerly dealt with more or less fully by Dr. H. M. Dexter are here treated by his son independently, though with few essential changes of opinion. The son's canon of orthodoxy, as editor and rewriter of his father's manuscript, is that of Dr. Benjamin Jowett, the translator of Thucydides, who has declared that "we must interpret an ancient writer by himself, and by his own age and not by modern notions". This is all true, but one would have gladly welcomed a treatment of Pilgrim history less limited, by the predestination of filial piety, to the very narrow view of American origins which prevails among so many men brought up only in New England. One would almost imagine from this book that these seventeenth-century Englishmen, so sensitive to currents of life and thought in their home land, had suddenly become and remained impervious to influences that were active in the nascent federation beyond the North Sea wherein modern religious liberty had some of its beginnings. The title thunders, while the text whispers of Holland. To the filial editor the League of Seven States might as well be, what on the sign-boards of country English inns it is—"The Leg and Seven Stars". One is often reminded, as he reads these pages, of the bald and colorless methods of the annalist; or even of the political envoy sent abroad who fears that his enemies will be in power on his return home. Nevertheless, this may be the best way of furnishing the facts from which the true historian is to deduce the final story. Yet one can hardly accept the opening chapter of book I., "The England of Our Fathers", as anything like a full or satisfactory picture, because the economic conditions, which had so much to do with the movement of Englishmen to the Netherlands, are practically unnoticed, while of the Netherlands there is no general description. We have, instead, only a slight, untinted picture of Leyden, the city in which the first founders of New England, in overwhelming majority, spent the most sensitive, as it was the formative, period of their lives.

The book is strongest on the side of opinion, theology, and controversial literature. Its six books contain an enormous mass of trust-

worthy information, while in the five appendixes we have the personalia dealt with so liberally and with such accuracy that one must feel very grateful to the unwearied labors of the three Dexters (Henry, Franklin, and Morton Dexter), continued during a period of over half a century. The two indexes are of publications and of general subjects, and the foot-notes are copious. The original documents are set forth in their own spelling, and the illustrations are only what the rigid critic needs. Altogether, after noting the limitations, hereditary and contemporaneous, of this work, every scholar must be thankful for the goodly volume, which grandly concludes with a paragraph (p. 595) revealing both severe conscience and superb catholicity. The author scouts the idea of "the Pilgrim Colony in America . . . as merely ecclesiastical in origin or development". On the contrary, "It was one of the earliest manifestations of that resistless impulse of expansion and conquest which asserted itself in the England of that period, and even earlier in Spain, and which changed the whole face of the globe."

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

*Les Nouvellistes.* Par FRANTZ FUNCK-BRENTANO, avec la collaboration de M. PAUL D'ESTRÉE. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. viii, 331, with six reproductions of contemporary prints.)

THIS is a study of news under the ancien régime. Contrary to what might be expected, the modern newspaper is hardly more truly a descendant of the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century pamphlet than the modern trade-union is descended from the medieval guild. Almost as remote a source of the French newspaper are those famous periodicals of the seventeenth century, the *Gazette de France* (1631), the *Journal des Savants* (1665), and the *Mercure Galant* (1672). Each of these, besides not being of daily issue, was an organ of special limited interests. The first daily newspaper of France appeared in 1777—the *Journal de Paris*. The author is not disposed to attribute this condition of things so much to the press restraints of the government from Charles IX. to Louis XV., as to the spirit of the age. "The press as we understand it, of free information and independent criticism", we are told (p. 20), "could not exist in old France."

Before the appearance of the newspaper, the curiosity of the public for news was satisfied through the medium of a class of professional newsmongers whose calling enriched the French language with a new word (*nouvelliste*), and the civilization of France with a new institution (*nouvellisme*). Indeed, a minor poet of the reign of Louis XIV. gained an ephemeral reputation by a long poem in the manner of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, entitled *La Novellomanie*. The wide activities of France under Richelieu and Mazarin and the spontaneous curiosity of the period of the Fronde created this class. The *nouvellistes* merely sought to satisfy the popular curiosity; they did not, and did not seek to, influence public opinion in any appreciable degree. Under Louis XIV. the intense interest of all France in the life of the court and the almost

continual absenteeism of many provincial families led the *nouvellistes* to widen the sphere of their activities and to reach out into the provinces for news acquired through special correspondents there. Merchants and bankers were solicited to add news items to their commercial letters.

The author divides these public gossipers into three classes: the *nouvellistes d'état*, the *nouvellistes de plein vent*, and the *spécialistes*, who dispensed literary, military, or other particular information. Each one of these classes had its especial rendezvous. The first class, the *politiques*, as they were sometimes called, frequented the corridors and anterooms of the Louvre, or hung upon the outer edge of the court at Versailles. Representatives of this class were generally of wealthy bourgeois ancestry, living upon the income of their *rentes*, who found a life of ease and vainglory in what they did. The wars of Louis XIV. raised the usefulness and dignity of the *nouvelliste*. Like the modern newspaper proprietor, he prided himself upon the importance, the accuracy, and, above all, the earliness of his information; one such enterprising individual actually had an agent with the army in Italy during the War of the Spanish Succession, and another at Toulon to watch the movement of the fleet. An interesting example of the prototype of a modern despatch "from our special correspondent" is given (pp. 90-91) in the shape of a letter written to Lionne from Cremona on February 4, 1702. This Lionne was the news-magnate of his day, and was a cousin of Hugues de Lionne, the famous diplomatic agent of Louis XIV. He organized a news bureau in the precincts of the Tuilleries; his sources of information were so high as to be semi-official. He had upon his "staff", besides the domestics and servants of every prominent man of affairs, the clerks of the various councils, the Cardinal d'Estrées, and even Hugues de Lionne's own son.

The open-air *nouvellistes (de plein vent)*, as their name implies, were not the privileged few who had access to the Louvre and the Tuilleries, but humbler folks who frequented the street corners or other points of meeting. This class was not unlike the *improvisatori* of Italy. "They spoke of everything with admirable assurance, and with the greatest volubility", we are told (p. 46), from which it may be inferred that the line drawn by them between real and imaginary news was not a clear one. The Pont Neuf was their favorite resort. The author has a vivid description of the scene as it must have been when the famous bridge was the foyer of Parisian life. Other rendezvous of the *nouvellistes* were the cloisters of the Célestins and the Cordeliers, the shaded alleys of the Luxembourg, and the Quai des Grands Augustins between the Pont Neuf and the Pont Saint Michel, the popularity of which as a headquarters for information went back to the days of the Ligue. In the eighteenth century the gardens of the Palais Royal, where the Duke of Orleans during the Regency and Philippe Égalité during the Revolution purchased public favor, became popular. In this century too, when imitation of things English became fashionable, the English coffee-house crept into favor. Then came the great Revolution and the birth of a host of daily newspapers.



It should be added in closing that the book upon which this brief survey is based is a work of collaboration. In his capacity as archivist of the Arsenal, M. Funck-Brentano came upon a large number of documents formerly harbored in the Bastille. These he has put at the disposal of M. Paul d'Estrée, who has performed the labor of composition. For the convenience of the reader who may wish to fare farther, each chapter is accompanied by references to wider reading.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*Versailles and the Court under Louis XIV.* By JAMES EUGENE FARMER. (New York: The Century Company. 1905. Pp. xii, 447, with 74 full-page illustrations and two plans.)

IN the midst of the number of shallow books that are written upon the glories of Versailles, it is good to come upon a work as substantial as this one. It must be confessed that the gorgeous "baby-blue" and gold binding and the array of sumptuous illustrations almost led into believing that it was another gift-book for holiday time. But it has been a pleasure to read so historically accurate and so well-balanced a survey of the court of the Grand Monarque. Mr. Farmer looks at things with level eyes, and has the spirit of real research (*e. g.*, p. 73, note). He has read his sources deeply, earnestly; and, having imbibed something of the spirit of the age of which he is writing, he reflects neither the prejudice of Taine nor the adulation of a Bourbonist. Two of his observations perhaps may be quoted as examples of his historical judgment. After a minute description of the mechanism of the administration and the routine life of the king, he says: "If the monarchical machine ran well, no small part of the success was due to the fact that Louis himself did all his work each day with clock-like regularity; and to dub him a king of fêtes and reviews is to render him scant justice. With the exception of Napoleon, France has never had a sovereign who worked harder or more regularly than Louis XIV." (p. 183). Again, apropos of Louis's personality, Mr. Farmer says: "The Grand Monarch was not naturally hard of heart, but he was one of the proudest men of whom history makes mention, and on the subject of his pride he has received a vast amount of criticism. It is an open question if much of that criticism is not misplaced. Louis was not a philanthropist, nor a philosopher, nor a financier, nor a builder of better lodgings for workmen; he was a king, according to his lights, and in his judgment, to be a king, was to rise and shine" (p. 210).

Mr. Farmer's book irresistibly reminds one of Ezechiel Spanheim's *Relation de la Cour de France en 1690*. Each writer's scene is the court of Louis XIV. The difference lies in the fact that Spanheim observed with his own eyes, while Mr. Farmer has looked at things through the eyes of St. Simon and Dangeau. The thing seen is the same; the point of view is much the same; the very treatment is similar. The composition of the book is a testimony to the thoroughness of the author's reading of his sources, and to the Duc de St. Simon's power of

universal observation. The reviewer has been interested in analyzing the sources upon which it is based, and for this reason has made an analysis of the authorities cited. It is evident that Mr. Farmer has chosen to read a few books and to read them thoroughly. All told, there are sixteen works cited, all of them original sources with four exceptions. By far the largest amount of the material has been quarried out of St. Simon's *Mémoires*, which are cited no less than ninety-five times (he is referred to eight times on pp. 340-341). Then follow in order: Dussieux, *Le Château de Versailles*, thirty-seven times; Dangeau, ten; the *Mémoires de la Duchesse d'Orléans*, nine; the *État de France* and the *Mercure*, each eight times; the *Mémoires* of Madame de Montespan, four; Taine, three; De Sourches's *Mémoires* and the *Œuvres de Louis XIV.*, each twice; Bossuet, once; Madame de Maintenon, the *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, Martin's *Histoire de France*, Guillaume Du Peyrat's *Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Cour*, and De Tilly, each once.

This is certainly a substantial foundation upon which to build a history of the court of Louis XIV. But it is astonishing not to find M. Émile Bourgeois's edition of Spanheim's *Relation* (1900) and Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* included. The ambassador of the elector of Brandenburg is quoted only once, and that in a way to indicate that the allusion is borrowed from the editor of St. Simon or Dangeau. In Spanheim the author would have found an exceedingly important account of the famous reproof given Colbert by the king, a reproof which, coming from such a source at such a time, probably hastened the death of the great minister. This incident is one of the most notable events connected with the building of Versailles. Louis is said to have harshly reproached Colbert for the sums of money which certain parts of the château were costing, among others the great *grille d'entrée*, and to have drawn a comparison between the cost of the palace and the cost of the fortresses in favor of Louvois (see Spanheim's *Relation*, pp. 314-315, and M. Bourgeois's notes).

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV.* By W. H. WILKINS, M.A., F.S.A.  
(New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company.  
1905. Two vols., pp. xxi, 350; ix, 340.)

THERE is no great addition to historical knowledge in Mr. Wilkins's story of Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV.; for the documents which were deposited in 1833 at Coutts's Bank substantiate what was already generally believed, rather than throw any new light on either the character or the actions of George IV. These documents in 1905 were removed from Coutts's Bank, and were placed among the private archives of Windsor Castle; and, on an application to the king, Mr. Wilkins was permitted to examine the papers, and to publish any extracts from them which he deemed necessary in order to establish beyond all doubt the fact of Mrs. Fitzherbert's marriage with George Prince of Wales in 1785.

On the death of George IV. in 1830, Mrs. Fitzherbert asked that her letters to him might be returned to her. The Duke of Wellington, who was then Prime Minister, refused to grant this request unless she was prepared to hand over the documents in her possession; and for the moment the matter was dropped. In 1833, however, the duke again brought up the question. Mrs. Fitzherbert was then seventy-six, and in the event of her death it was feared that the papers might pass into indiscreet hands. After some negotiation it was agreed that Mrs. Fitzherbert should be allowed to preserve certain papers which she thought necessary to prove her marriage and guard her interests; that these papers should be sealed under the seals of the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Albemarle, who with Lord Stourton acted for Mrs. Fitzherbert; that the sealed package should be placed in safe custody at Coutts's Bank; and that all other papers, including all the letters which had passed between Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV., should be burned. The Earl of Albemarle and the Duke of Wellington personally undertook the burning of the letters—a task which occupied several hours. The reserved papers—now for the first time given to the public—include: the certificate of the marriage, dated December 21, 1785; a letter signed by George, relating to the marriage; the will of George IV.; a mortgage on the palace at Brighton; and a memorandum written by Mrs. Fitzherbert, attached to a letter written by the clergyman who performed the marriage ceremony.

It is always a satisfaction to have settled beyond further doubt a question which has been a matter of controversy; but in spite of the flat denial given by Fox and Sheridan in the House of Commons in 1787—a denial which Fox asserted that he made from direct authority—there were very few, even in Mrs. Fitzherbert's lifetime, who did not believe that the marriage had taken place; and since the publication by Charles Langdale of the *Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert* in 1856, the question may be said to have been at rest. The only value of Mr. Wilkins's long story is to be found in the settlement of it for all time by means of the new documentary evidence. One other question it is to be hoped will be finally answered by the publication of this book. Mrs. Fitzherbert left no descendants. Neither as Mrs. Weld nor as Mrs. Fitzherbert in her youthful days, nor during her long connection with George IV., did she have any children; and all claims to royal descent through this illegal marriage are entirely without foundation.

A. G. PORRITT.

*Le Pape et l'Empereur, 1804-1815.* Par HENRI WELSCHINGER.  
(Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1905. Pp. iv, 473.)

In this work M. Welschinger has studied the conflict between Napoleon and Pius VII. from the morrow of the Concordat to the fall of the Empire. The development of the controversy, which became an open rupture in 1809 when French troops occupied Rome and carried off the pope to Savona, is briefly sketched, leaving the bulk of the

book for a detailed account of the repeated efforts of Napoleon to obtain from Pius VII. some settlement of the points at issue which would be in harmony with imperial ideas and plans.

The book is not exclusively or even principally a work of original research. At all available points the author has made free use of the labors of Artaud, Haussonville, Chotard, and others. In all such cases, however, he has displayed independence in the handling of his authorities and has usually been able to supplement them somewhat from his own investigations. Upon the ecclesiastical councils of 1809 and 1811 he has found in the Archives Nationales some valuable and hitherto unutilized materials which have enabled him to tell the story of those gatherings more in detail than was possible hitherto. Chapters v.-vii., which deal with these subjects, are a distinct contribution to knowledge.

The author's conception of history and his point of view upon the particular questions involved in the subject before him permeate the book from the first page to the last. He thinks of history as a moral science, and is frankly the partizan of the Catholic church and of Pius VII. Unquestionably the book suffers from these qualities. The subject is one which in a peculiar degree calls for a point of view which can regard the existence of antipodal ideas upon the subject of church and state as something normal and as the natural consequence of historical forces at work for centuries. It also requires a cool, dispassionate treatment which simply seeks to ascertain what was done and to explain the proceedings of the various actors with real intellectual sympathy for their varying points of view.

Aside from his conception of history and his point of view, the author's historical method exhibits grave deficiencies. One of the most perplexing questions that confront the historian of the Napoleonic period is the problem of the memoirs, and within that problem the question of the conversations ascribed to Napoleon. Welschinger does not handle either of them satisfactorily. Occasionally he exhibits scepticism in regard to some statement of a memoir writer or doubts whether a particular remark attributed to Napoleon represents his real thought on the subject, but generally all such materials when in accord with his thesis are treated as if they were of equal value with strictly contemporaneous evidence. A typical instance occurs on pages 213-215, where Talleyrand's *Memoirs* are accepted as authority for an incident at Saint Cloud on June 18, 1811. (Welschinger transfers it to the nineteenth.) Napoleon is represented as overwhelming with reproaches several bishops and as making Cardinal Fesch the particular target for his wrath. The provocation was a report of the first day's proceedings of the National Council which had appeared in the *Moniteur*, and a copy of the paper figured conspicuously in the violent scene which occurred. Talleyrand's account is followed implicitly, even to the words used by Napoleon. It would seem that the suspicions which have been aroused over the authenticity of the Talleyrand *Memoirs* ought to have made the author cautious about accepting any particular incident contained in

them, and especially when the passage in question was certainly written years after the event. It happens, moreover, that the *Moniteur* never published any such report as that which Talleyrand alleges was the occasion for Napoleon's outburst of anger. The fact that Napoleon immediately afterward consented to the selection of Fesch as president of the National Council also casts suspicion upon the authenticity of the entire incident. Possibly Welschinger has some other authority for the affair, but as his text stands it exhibits a singularly faulty method.

The critical apparatus is extremely defective. Many important statements are left without citations. There is no bibliography or discussion of authorities, save here and there a line or two in the text or the notes. There is not even a list of the editions used in the citations. As usual in French monographs, there is no index. Despite these faults, and others which would require a more extended notice, the work has considerable merit. The author's partiality for Pius VII. and his evident exaggeration of the pope's sufferings do not entirely conceal the really heroic resistance which the pope made to the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon him by Napoleon. Some strong, if not altogether conclusive arguments are brought against views of the Savona note of May 19, 1811, and the Fontainebleau Concordat which hitherto have been widely received.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*The Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon the Second)*. By EDWARD DE WERTHEIMER. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1905. Pp. xvi, 463.)

THIS is a free and very readable translation of Wertheimer's excellent German volume published in 1902. To the historian its value lies in its scholarly method and the new materials on which it is based. Welschinger in his *Roi de Rome* (1897), aside from some rather meagre sources in the Paris archives, contented himself mainly with printed material—old pamphlets and memoirs (especially those of Prokesch-Osten and Montbel); he made a personal visit to Vienna, but regretted to find that the Austrian archives, both public and private, "soient peu abondantes aujourd'hui en documents relatifs au fils de Napoléon" (preface, p. vi). Wertheimer shows how little founded is this regret. His biography is based primarily on sources heretofore unused: Metternich's private letters to Hudelist at Prague; the full daily reports of the Austrian secret police at home and abroad; the frequent reports and posthumous papers of the young Napoleon's governor, Count Dietrichstein; the diary of his tutor, Baron Obenaus; the private papers of the Metternich and Schwarzenberg families; and the archives of Prussia and Parma. He is thus able to correct on many a page the misstatements of memoir writers which have been accepted by historians. To give but two out of many instances: Metternich in his *Memoirs*, written long after Napoleon's fall and the unfortunate outcome of the marriage with Marie Louise, not unnaturally insists that the original idea of the

marriage was Napoleon's, and that his own attitude throughout was strictly passive and expectant. His letters at the time, however, and an unpublished memorandum evidently expressing his ideas, show his extreme eagerness to promote an arrangement which would make him appear to be the savior of the Austrian monarchy. Similarly, Prokesch-Osten overemphasizes the Duke of Reichstadt's generous unwillingness to return to France unless unquestionably desired by a majority of the French people, and the Emperor Francis's willingness to allow him to go. But the emperor's real attitude is expressed in his words to Belliard (the accuracy of which Welschinger doubts without sufficient reason): "I am well aware I could injure Louis Philippe through him [the Duke of Reichstadt], but such an idea is far removed from my thoughts. I have brought him up as a stranger to France" (p. 354). Nevertheless, the existence of "Napoleon II." continued to be a bugbear to the Orleanist monarchy until his death.

The general reader, for whom this handsome volume is evidently intended, will find that the events and persons in the life of this son of Napoleon stand out sharp, clear, and interesting. The picture with which he is familiar from Edmond Rostand's *L'Aiglon* is not, on the whole, far from the true one. In his earliest years, however, the duke was a more healthy, normal, and well-grown boy than is usually supposed. It was not till his fifteenth year that it began to be noticed that his circulation was poor, his chest too narrow, and his throat very subject to cold and catarrh, all of which were made worse by his unwillingness to protect himself properly. It was quick consumption, and not a debauchee's exhaustion, which caused his death in 1832. That he often appeared to visitors so sad, cold, and distrustful was largely due to the unhappiness and constant mystery and evasion which surrounded his earliest years at Vienna. In 1816, when he was only five years old, his French attendants were sent away, in order that all remembrance of the past might be washed from his mind. It was a great concession that he was allowed in his prayers to pray for his father, though he did not know where he was. Most pathetic is his unsatisfied curiosity on this point. One day he asked if it was true that his father was in America? in England? in the East Indies? On being assured that he was not, the boy persisted he had heard his father was in exile somewhere. "What? In exile? How could that be possible or probable?" was all his embarrassed tutor could say, and hastened to change the subject (p. 282).

Some errors have slipped into the translation: the Austrian police identification of the four-year-old King of Rome, sent to the frontiers during the Hundred Days to prevent the possibility of his abduction, is an understatement in the original ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  *Schuh hoch*), but is absurd when further reduced in the translation to "2 ft. in height" (p. 164); he was created Duke of Reichstadt July 22, 1818, not June 22 (p. 421); some proper names are mutilated, but not beyond recognition. A more serious criticism lies in the fact that Wertheimer, out of the fullness of

his knowledge of the sources, is able to give so many quotations which show a strong Napoleonic feeling in France at various times, especially in 1830, that the reader is in danger of getting the impression that France was nearer to having a Napoleon II. on the throne than was actually the fact. Nevertheless, this book with its good index and illustrations is the best on the subject.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871.* Von ALFRED STERN. Vierter Band (Zweite Abteilung, Erster Band). (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Pp. xviii, 617.)

THE fourth volume of Professor Alfred Stern's history of Europe is the first of the second division of his work, which is to treat of the history of Europe from 1830 to 1848. It differs neither in style nor in treatment from the volumes which have preceded it, and like them is distinguished for accuracy, thoroughness, and impartiality and shows a constant revision and extension of existing knowledge derived from the large number of new documents which Professor Stern has unearthed in London, Paris, Berlin, Frankfort, Karlsruhe, The Hague, Florence, Zurich, and Bern. A possible defect may be discerned in the limitation of the subject-matter to political history only, and in the exclusion of social, economic, and religious affairs except as they throw light on political events. A more serious defect is the absence of an index—a defect characteristic of German publications—which, in a work of reference such as this is likely to become, is a very great inconvenience. Unlike many German works it was written in a simple and direct style, wanting perhaps at times in smoothness and elegance, but nevertheless always interesting and suggestive.

The present volume possesses a unity that is due to its treatment of a single theme, namely the Revolution of 1830 in France, its immediate consequences, and the reaction that everywhere followed. Beginning with the publication of the July Ordinances, it carries the history of the July Monarchy to the inauguration of the Périer ministry; and then, following up the effects of the revolution, it deals with the revolt in the Netherlands, the uprising in Poland, the various insurrectionary movements in Italy that mark the second stage in the early history of the Risorgimento, the agitation in Germany, the constitutional struggle in Switzerland, and the attitude of the Powers toward the organizations classed under the general head of Young Europe. In the case of each country except Belgium, where the events in the founding of the young kingdom are traced to 1840, the narrative closes with the events which mark the first stages of the reaction: the passing of the September laws of 1835 in France, the restoration of Russia's power in Poland in 1832, the seizure of Ancona by the French and the withdrawal of the English representative from the conference at Rome in the same year, the Vienna conferences of 1834 that formed the high-water mark of Metter-

nich's influence in Germany, the Münchengrätz treaty of 1833, and the temporary success of the Central European powers in their effort to coerce Switzerland into denying the right of asylum to the members of the secret societies. The remaining chapters deal with Spain and Portugal in the throes of the Carlist and Miguelist uprisings; with Turkey, Greece, and Russia involved in the after consequences of the Greek Revolutions, the assault of Mehemet Ali, and the negotiations that preceded the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi; with England and the agitation for reforms, electoral, parliamentary, industrial, and municipal—states that felt less directly the revolutionary spirit. The volume closes with an appendix of nine documents selected from those examined in the various European archives.

As far as I can judge, Professor Stern's researches have thrown the greatest light on the Belgian revolution and on the dealings of the Powers with Young Europe. Excellent as is his chapter on England, it contains nothing new except in the case of a few details drawn from Graham Wallas's *Life of Francis Place* (1898) which have not hitherto found their way into the general histories. For his treatment of local conditions in England Professor Stern has depended on the writings of Hans von Nostitz, *Das Aufsteigen des Arbeiterstandes in England* (Jena; 1900); P. F. Aschrott, *Das englische Armenwesen* (1886); Carl Hugo (Lindemann), *Städteverwaltung und Municipal-Sozialismus in England* (1897); and Josef Redlich's *Englische Lokalverwaltung* (1901). Except for Wallas's book, noted above, and a German translation of Sidney Webb's *History of Trade Unionism*, he has largely ignored English works on these same subjects.

Turning to the narrative, we are impressed with the tremendous, almost pathetic earnestness with which the reports from Paris were received. A prominent revolutionist in Bologna declared that posterity would place the three wonderful days of July beside the six days of creation, and another in Germany hailed the pavements of the boulevards as "sanctified" by the blood that had been spilled thereon. A Spanish poet welcomed the victory, not as Parisian, but as European. Stern quotes a remarkable statement by a contemporary witness which is of interest to Americans. When Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville hesitated what course to take, the envoy from the United States won him over to the Orleanist cause by saying, "I give you my word that your friends in America will be much more pleased if you aid in the erection of a free constitutional monarchy in France than if you attempt to establish an unstable republic." Of the London Conference of 1830 and its effect on Metternich's policy, Stern writes: "Material help from Austria for the king of the Netherlands was out of the question. At first Metternich had hoped to formulate some common plan of action with the Eastern Powers before an understanding had been reached with France. But instead of this he was compelled to see the Western Powers in agreement with each other behind his back." He gives an excellent account of Louis Napoleon's conspiracy in Rome in 1830, and



has a very appreciative and just comment upon Mazzini based upon the latter's famous remark: "Young Europe! that is the field of freedom in the nineteenth century. Italy must plant her banner in this common field. The Italian legion must take its stand beside the rank and file of France, Belgium, and Poland."

One of his most interesting pages deals with the last days of the Duke of Reichstadt, and he bases his conclusions on the work of Wertheimer, which has been recently translated into English: "Before the Revolution in France [the duke] had revelled in the thought that if the way to France should be forever cut off he would become another Prince Eugene for Austria. The fall of Charles X. opened up a larger world for his reveries. Even with the elevation of Louis Philippe the great drama on the Seine did not seem entirely closed to him. The Belgian revolt touched him only so far that he foresaw the probability of a war. But the Polish revolt roused in him the liveliest ambition to place himself at the head of so brave a people. When his mother fled from Parma, he wished to hasten immediately to her aid. But it was always his faith in his rights as a 'prince of France' that had the uppermost place in his mind." Twice in the summer of 1831 did Metternich make plans for placing the Duke of Reichstadt on the throne of France, and these plans were in full swing when this strange weakling died in 1832. Truly, as Stern says, "Mit ihm verschwand eine der tragischsten Gestalten der neueren Geschichte Europas."

The work is full, not only of valuable information, but of sound historical judgments, and even in its present incompleeted form should be the constant companion of the student of nineteenth-century history.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville, K. G., 1815-1891.* By Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Two vols., pp. xx, 541; xvi, 536.)

ON the last day of March, 1891, the second Earl Granville died, in his seventy-sixth year. For more than a third of a century he had been the official leader of the Liberal party in the House of Lords. Lord Granville was a most exceptionally attractive personality. Meeting him socially only in the most casual way and as a much younger man, forty years have in the case of the present writer quite failed to dim the memory of that ineffable charm. His was a blended fascination of manner, of tone, and of expression which instinctively inspired friendliness and invited confidence. As respects character, ideals, bearing, and achievements he typified all that was distinctively best in the British aristocracy.

Born in 1815, educated at Eton and at Oxford, Lord Leveson, as he was then by courtesy called, took his seat at Westminster, as the newly elected member from Morpeth, in 1836—the last year of the first reform

Parliament. He was then twenty-one. At twenty-five he began official life as Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs in the closing days of the Melbourne Ministry, Lord Palmerston being Secretary. Appointed in early March, 1840, in August, 1841, he found himself, in common with the rest of the Melbourne government, out of office. Translated to the Lords on the death of his father, the first Earl Granville, January 8, 1846, he there soon attracted attention, and the keen-eyed Lord Aberdeen pronounced him from the other side of the House "the best man they've got". Not, however, until the closing days of 1851, and when he was in his thirty-seventh year, did Granville's time come; and it then came very suddenly, and as a result of the historic break between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. Lord Palmerston was curtly dismissed from the office of Foreign Secretary December 19, 1851, and three days later the appointment of Lord Granville in his stead was announced. Exactly two months afterward Palmerston had his famous "tit-for-tat with John Russell", and Granville's first brief tenure of the Foreign Office came to a close. Nearly twenty years were to pass before he regained it. In 1855, however, he became leader on the Liberal side in the House of Lords, and that position he retained, with one brief break, for thirty-six years, and until 1891. In 1859 he was summoned by the Queen and the Prince Consort, with whom he was a favorite minister, to save them from Russell and Palmerston, both of whom they disliked and dreaded, by forming a ministry. The attempt failed; and the memorable Palmerston-Russell-Gladstone administration then came into existence, lasting from June, 1859, to Lord Palmerston's death, October 18, 1865. It thus covered the entire period of the American Civil War; of which, presently. In this administration Lord Granville held the post of Lord President of the Council; but he was also, after the Prince Consort's death in December, 1861, the most trusted personal adviser, and almost the confidant, of the Queen. Going out of office with Lord Russell in 1866, in 1870 Lord Granville returned to it, with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister; and, thenceforth to the end of his life, he looked to Mr. Gladstone as his political chief, and in the Lords was the representative of Mr. Gladstone's policies. At the time of the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, consequently, and throughout the Geneva arbitration, Lord Granville was at the head of the Foreign Office. Going out with Mr. Gladstone in 1874, in 1880 Granville was again summoned by the Queen, and asked to form a government; this time he was appealed to as against Gladstone himself, whose return to power and personal relations with her the Queen shrank from even more than she had before shrunk from contact with Russell and Palmerston. He was again Foreign Secretary in the second Gladstone ministry (1880-1885); and when Mr. Gladstone rode back into power in February, 1886, Lord Granville, ever faithful to his chief, came back with him—but not again to the Foreign Office. He now accepted the

Colonial Office, and acted in it until the fall of that short-lived ministry in the following July. He did not again hold office.

Such was the man depicted by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice in the two bulky but readable volumes under consideration. In every way very competent for it, the biographer has done his work sympathetically. Himself a member of the order of which Lord Granville was the consummate type, he also has had diplomatic, as well as parliamentary and literary, experience; and he thus depicts and writes from the inside. He has an abiding eye for the picturesque, as well as a redeeming sense of humor; and the great historical element of individuality is uppermost. We thus get down to the "true inwardness" of the situation, seeing the actors in their undress and listening to their familiar talk.

Turning to those portions of the book more peculiarly interesting to Americans, some additional light is thrown on (1) the proposed recognition of the Confederacy in the autumn of 1862; and, in consequence, (2) on the Treaty of Washington, and its outcome in the Geneva arbitration. Concerning the first, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice here brings to light the whole of a letter of great interest, a fragment only of which has been heretofore published, a letter written by Lord Granville from Gotha, where he was then in attendance on the Queen, to Lord Russell, then Foreign Secretary. It was dated September 27, and related exclusively to "the present state of the American question".

The Union arms throughout the months of July and August, 1862, had sustained a series, almost unbroken, of reverses. The Confederacy had not only asserted its right to be recognized as a belligerent, but it was a victorious belligerent. Europe was suffering for want of the great spinning staple—cotton; and, in England, Lancashire was bankrupt and starving. The Mexican expedition of the French Emperor had overrun that country, and he was urging on the British Cabinet an aggressive attitude toward the United States; and Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell were very much inclined to give ear to him. At this juncture Palmerston, as Prime Minister, wrote (September 14) to Russell, Foreign Secretary, suggesting that the time for joint action "upon the basis of separation" had come. This suggestion strongly commended itself to the Secretary, and the "two ancient masters" thus concurring, the thing was as good as settled; but Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was then advised of what was proposed, and to it he gave his assent. This made assurance doubly sure; for, as Lord Granville had a few months before, and in another connection, written to Lord Canning, "He [Gladstone] Johnny and Pam are a formidable phalanx when they are united in opposition to the whole Cabinet in foreign matters" (I. 346). And in the present case a large majority of the Cabinet were with the "formidable phalanx". The strangely unexpected now occurred. A meeting of the Cabinet was fixed for the twenty-third of October. Mr. Adams got an inkling of what was on foot, and was greatly disturbed. "For a fortnight", he wrote, "my mind has been running so strongly on all this night and day that it

seems almost to threaten my life." Just then (October 7) Mr. Gladstone delivered that famous Newcastle speech in which he declared that Jefferson Davis had "made a nation", and that the independence of the Confederacy and the dissolution of the American Union were as certain "as any event yet future and contingent could be". That speech, a marvel of indiscretion, though at the moment it caused in the mind of Mr. Adams deep despair, in reality saved for him the situation.

Speaking for himself, Mr. Gladstone had foreshadowed a ministerial policy. The utterance was inspired. In his *Life of Granville* the principle of the so-called collectivity of the British Cabinet is somewhat discussed by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, and the point clearly made that ministers are in no wise free to put forward each "his own views at large public meetings and elsewhere" (II. 322). This Mr. Gladstone had now done. Moreover, it was notorious in ministerial circles that the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were not in general harmony. On the contrary, Lord Palmerston disliked and habitually thwarted Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Gladstone instinctively distrusted Lord Palmerston. A year before, the two had been "in violent antagonism" on financial questions. For two months, Granville wrote, "Gladstone has been on half-cock of resignation".

The embers still glowed hot beneath the ashes. The Newcastle indiscretion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer kindled them into a flame, and the Premier decided that the offending minister must forthwith be disciplined, and that severely. He therefore intimated to Sir George Cornewall Lewis, another and most influential member of the Cabinet, and head of the War Office, that if he (Lewis) did not take this function on himself, it must devolve on the head of the Cabinet in person. On the fourteenth of October, therefore, Sir George Lewis, speaking at Hereford, very pointedly controverted the position taken by his colleague one week before at Newcastle. The blind goddess had intervened for the preservation of the American Union!

And now it was that Lord Granville's influence made itself potently, perhaps decisively, felt. At the time he was in personal attendance on the Queen at Gotha, where she was in the worst stages of that morbid condition following Prince Albert's death which for a time threatened her sanity. There has always been a vague, intangible tradition, based chiefly on household gossip, that at this time Her Majesty was, as Lord Granville on another occasion expressed it (I. 453), "up in her stirrups", and "sternly warned her government against any manner of interference" in the struggle going on in America. This subject has been elsewhere fully discussed,<sup>1</sup> and the conclusion reached that, out of consideration for the Queen's known wishes and critical condition, both nervous and mental, it was deemed best to defer at least the consideration of important questions of policy which might precipitate a crisis. It is now made apparent that such was not the case. There is no evidence

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, XVII. 441-448; XVIII. 123-154.

whatever that, after the Trent affair and the death of the Prince Consort, the Queen showed any personal interest in the American struggle or sought to influence in the slightest the policy of the ministers in regard to it. Had she evinced such interest, or exerted any influence on the ministry, it would have been through Lord Granville. The personal correspondence which took place between the Queen and Granville at about this time and subsequently has already been referred to; it is as curious as it is conclusive on the point under discussion. On her part it is touching in its outbursts—its appeals for sympathy and aid. In September and October, 1862, Lord Granville was then in personal attendance upon her on the continent, and there for the express purpose of communicating with her on questions of business. Lord Russell sent him notice of the Cabinet meeting called for October 23; and, October 1, Granville wrote to his colleague, Lord Stanley of Alderley, familiarly "Ben", that Palmerston had already broached the idea of an offer of mediation and subsequent recognition; and he adds: "I have written to Johnny my reasons for thinking it decidedly premature. I, however, suspect you will settle to do so! Pam, Johnny and Gladstone would be in favour of it; and probably Newcastle. I do not know about the others. It appears to me a great mistake." Here, in a familiar letter, is no reference whatever to the Queen, no intimation that she feels any interest in the question at issue, or the policy to be adopted. In the letter to Lord Russell referred to as already sent, Granville discussed the question of intervention at length and in detail. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice prints the letter in full (I. 442-444). In it also there is no reference to the Queen. The writer refers to further Confederate victories as something "to be hoped"; but advises waiting for them, and regards a change of policy at that time as unwise. This was exactly the view of the matter subsequently taken by Lord Palmerston.

Lord Granville wrote to Lord Russell September 27. The letter probably reached the Foreign Office on the twenty-ninth, and was at once forwarded by Lord Russell to Lord Palmerston at Broadlands. Two days later, October 2, it was returned to Lord Russell with a hesitating comment: "Ten days or a fortnight more may throw a clearer light upon future prospects." Lord Russell, however, was disposed to move forward in the direction agreed upon, and proceeded to prepare the confidential Cabinet circular in furtherance thereof. This was on the third; four days later, on the seventh, Mr. Gladstone delivered himself at Newcastle. In the mood in which the Premier then was, that settled the matter. The Cabinet meeting called for the twenty-third, the probable outcome of which Lord Granville had forecast in his letter to "Ben" of October 1, was postponed, and never afterward notified. Mr. Gladstone had been "called down"—had received an intimation that he was neither the ministry nor yet its accredited mouthpiece.

None the less it was, for the cause of the American Union, a very close thing; and the interior working of the springs and wires which

brought about the final result are now for the first time fully revealed. Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone worked on different lines to one end, and the "two ancient masters" happily paused before taking more "dangerous steps" which, as things then were, could hardly have failed "to set all Europe in a blaze". The most curious feature of the situation, as now revealed is, however, that Mr. Adams was at the moment altogether wrong in his understanding of the influences at work. He thought Palmerston the evil genius of the situation, and the source of hostile machinations; Earl Russell was, on the whole, America's friend. In reality it was, as we now know, the other way. At the critical moment Russell was disposed to go forward; it was Palmerston who hesitated, and stopped.

As respects the Treaty of Washington, Lord Edmond's book is distinctly disappointing. No new or additional light is shed upon it. Throughout the negotiation of the treaty Lord Granville was Foreign Secretary, and from the first step in the negotiation to the Geneva award it bears the unmistakable mark of his handiwork. It was in reality his greatest achievement—a monument of judgment, tact, good temper, forbearance, and foresight. It would seem there must have been many informal letters among the papers of Lord Granville throwing gleams of light from Washington and Geneva on what was then said and done. If so, his biographer has made small use of them. The Washington negotiations are disposed of in four pages; when, however, he comes to the rocks, shoals, and quicksands through which, before it reached the Geneva haven, the treaty subsequently either floundered or was guided, there is more detail, though little that is new.

*Histoire du Second Empire.* Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE. Vols. VI. and VII. (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1903, 1905. Pp. 466, 444.)

THE first volume of M. La Gorce's *History of the Second Empire* was published in 1894, and now, eleven years later, appears the seventh and final volume, closing with the eventful day of Sedan and the erection of the government of the Republic in Paris. Few works on modern French history have won more successfully the favor of the reading public of France, and it is noteworthy that the earlier volumes have already passed into their sixth and seventh editions. Even volume six, first published in 1903, is already in its fourth edition, and we can say with certainty that the final volume, dealing with that terrible month of war from August 7 to September 2, 1870, yields in no way to the preceding volumes in the absorbing interest which it arouses. There is no history of the war of 1870 that can compare with the account given in these volumes, and no history which in my judgment measures out praise and blame in an honest effort to determine the causes of success and failure with greater impartiality than does that of M. La Gorce.

Volume six opens with the ministry of January 2, 1870—*le ministère Ollivier des honnêtes gens*—and traces with fullness and care the auspicious opening of its career; its relations with ultras and irreconcilables; its magnificent but abortive projects of reform; its policy toward the Vatican council and the awkward situation which that gathering engendered—a situation that M. La Gorce treats as a moderate sympathizer, hostile to Veillot and Père Hyacinthe alike; its attitude toward the plebescite of May, 1870, upon which the author has some very suggestive comments; until in chapter 29 it reaches the burning question of the Hohenzollern candidature, that instrument of evil which provoked the final crisis, a question to which M. La Gorce devotes 200 of the 434 pages of his text.

In these pages the reader will find no striking novelties, though much new evidence has been introduced and a number of gaps in the story have been filled. In the main, the account is straightforward and reasonable, rarely containing expressions of opinion that are either harsh or unfair. Bismarck's policy, particularly in relation to the Hohenzollern difficulty, is a difficult subject for a French historian to discuss; not because it worked humiliation for France, but because to a Frenchman it seems dishonorable and unsportsmanlike. M. La Gorce does not hesitate to score his own people for their mistakes, their incompetence, and their hot-headedness; but he constantly lets the reader see that he deems the methods of Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, and even at times those of King William, as lacking in those qualities of honor that are so dear to the Frenchman's heart. He takes the ground that the German leaders did not play the game fairly, or, as one might put it, that they hit below the belt too often. In contrast he calls attention to the fact that both in public and in private the Prussians were making "a perpetual appeal to the Most High. The God whom they invoked was a militant God, a God of war, a just God so long as he served Prussian ambitions. Jesus of the Gospels would have repudiated the conception, which, whether falsified by intention or altered by passion, was sufficient to hold the soldier to his duty and to elevate his soul." To M. La Gorce there is something repulsive in the contrast.

One cannot help feeling that to M. La Gorce the conduct of Prussia throughout the period before and during the war was lacking in nobility and high-mindedness. In reading the account of the Hohenzollern candidature, of the Ems interviews, of the scene about the dinner-table in Berlin when the telegram from Ems was manipulated, of the conference after Sedan, of the treatment of French prisoners in the isthmus d'Iges, we must constantly keep in mind the Frenchman's point of view, and make allowances for the national temperament. At times one gets the impression that M. La Gorce, although nowhere taking the position of a partizan, deems the Prussians of an inferior and grosser breed, parvenus among the nations. Yet he never fails to recognize his historical obligations, and we nowhere meet with such a long-drawn-out piece of special pleading as is to be found in Sybel's twenty-fourth book. M. La

Gorce is the more honest historian: he is willing to admit a great many of the mistakes that the Germans charge against the French, and no one, not even Taine himself, has analyzed with more searching thoroughness the weakness of the national character. On the other hand, from the beginning to the end of Sybel's account there is not a single word of criticism of the part played by the makers of German unity in their dealings with France. German writers should remember the well-known historical axiom of Bishop Stubbs. I think, he says, there are few lessons more necessary for men to learn than this one; namely, that there are few questions on which as much may not be said on one side as on the other, and that there are none at all on which all the good are on one side and all the bad on the other, or all the wise on one side and all the fools on the other. Sybel would have us believe that there is but one side to the question; whereas M. La Gorce, who is vastly more interesting and complete in his account, is willing to present both sides of the case and is therefore by far the more trustworthy.

M. La Gorce has made use of the reminiscences of Major Von Versen, which disclose the fact, unknown to Sybel, that Bismarck in April, 1870, despatched Major Von Versen secretly to Spain to study the situation and to see what were the chances for Prince Leopold, and that the major returned convinced of the desirability of the candidacy of Leopold and became henceforth an active agent in his behalf. M. La Gorce shows further that, through the influence of Von Versen and Lothar Bucher, Prim was won over to the Bismarckian scheme; and, though he well knew the dangerous character of the intrigue with which he was identifying himself, he hoped that the whole matter might be conducted in secret until he should be able to win over Napoleon as Cavour had done at Plombières and Bismarck at Biarritz. This plan explains the adjournment of the Spanish Cortes, which is so inexplicable to Sybel, inasmuch as Prim desired to have his hands free during the summer of 1870. But to Prim's discomfiture the news of the candidacy leaked out, probably through the indiscretion of the zealous Salazar; and the French minister at Madrid, M. Mercier de Lostende, telegraphed the news to his government. Thus the matter which, had it been discussed privately between Prim and Napoleon, might have been settled without serious trouble, fell into the hands of Gramont, minister of *la grande politique*. The Hohenzollern question came before the world, and Gramont was all ready to make it a cause for war. Of Prim's policy, first presented by Léonardon in the *Revue Historique* in 1900 (LXXIV. 287-340), Sybel has not a word.

The instructions sent to Benedetti at Ems M. La Gorce considers sincere but inopportune, and he does not hesitate to commend Benedetti for modifying them even at the risk of Gramont's anger. King William's graciousness, upon which German writers lay stress, he deems too habitual to be significant, and the reply in which King William distinguishes between his functions as head of the family and as king of Prussia M. La Gorce sharply criticizes as the clever evasion of one



who did not wish to commit himself, as another example of the equivocal answers that had emanated earlier from Thile of the Prussian Foreign Office. He deems the demand for guaranties an unfortunate and fatal error, forced upon Gramont by the newspapers and the Duvernois interpellation, which Gramont at first repudiated but afterward appropriated, and in turn with the aid of the Empress forced upon the ministry and the Emperor. How Gramont won over Napoleon, M. La Gorce thinks we shall never know, but he is inclined to throw the ultimate responsibility upon the Empress, of whose share in shaping the policy of the government in those decisive and fatal hours he has but one opinion. "From all the unpublished correspondence and private papers we receive but a single impression—so far as France was concerned she was the artisan of the war." At the same time he gives full weight to *la surexcitation extraordinaire* into which the news of the Hohenzollern candidature threw journals, military leaders, chamber, and court—an excitement due, not to loss of intelligence, as a contemporary once said, but to loss of presence of mind. France of 1870 was after all the France of Boulanger, the Panama scandal, and the Dreyfus affair. Herein lies the secret of Bismarck's motive in adapting the telegram from Ems. The curtailed statement produced, as Bismarck intended it should produce, the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull.

The account of the war covers a volume and a third, and is clear, graphic, admirably arranged, and easy to follow. From the beginning to the end it is a tale of insufficient military preparations and incompetent leadership as far as France is concerned. While praising the bravery and self-sacrifice of the French soldier, M. La Gorce shows that the bravery of the rank and file was everywhere neutralized by the general paralysis which excessive centralization, fear of responsibility, and want of precise instructions brought about in the organization of the army. The illness of the Emperor, due to kidney trouble, was not only demoralizing in itself, but was also a faithful reflection of the destiny of France.

M. La Gorce throws the responsibility of defeat, not only upon the inadequate preparations, but upon the incompetence of the generals as well. De Failly and MacMahon lost the battle of Wörth, Frossard and Bazaine that of Forbach; and with these defeats, hope disappeared. The opinion expressed of Bazaine for his failure at Forbach anticipates the final judgment passed upon him after he became the head of the army (VII. 34-35): "He was irresolute as are all men of mediocre ability, unduly cautious as are all egoists, and affable, though his good nature was somewhat of a snare. He had desires that were weak rather than definite plans that were strong. He adopted subterfuge to avoid showing his embarrassment; dreamed, even amidst the greatest disorders, of saving his reputation and of becoming perhaps the man of the hour. Then when the situation became too complicated for his intelligence, when he himself was wholly entangled in the thread of his own thoughts, he assumed the position of a fatalist, displaying an

almost apathetic indifference which was incredible in the midst of such great dangers. So he remained at Metz, a hindrance to action, hesitating because of timidity or policy, withdrawing little by little into an inaccessible solitude, losing caste by degrees in the eyes of the soldiers, awaiting vaguely any solution that chance might offer, forming designs that were half plans and half intrigues, and allowing the days to slip by one by one when alone safety might be assured." Little wonder that M. La Gorce can exclaim after Bazaine's narrow escape from capture in the battle of Rezonville, "Even to the end fortune followed the Prussians, for Bazaine was saved for the army and for France."

Now that M. La Gorce has completed his history, it is in order for some publisher to consider the possibility of a version in English for the benefit of the English-reading public. Judicious pruning would reduce it considerably in size and bring it within the compass of half a dozen volumes. Sybel's history, which is less popular in style and treatment than is that of M. La Gorce, found a publisher; and there is no reason why a translation of the *History of the Second Empire* should not do the same. It would meet the demand which exists and must always exist for a history of Europe during the eventful years from 1850 to 1870.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Lord Randolph Churchill.* By WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL, M.P. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Two vols., pp. xviii, 564; ix, 532.)

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, judged only by the length of time he was of the Salisbury Cabinets (1885-1886 and 1886-1892) does not occupy a large place among English statesmen. But this fact notwithstanding, the life which Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill has written of his father will assuredly rank among the great English political biographies of the nineteenth century. It will have to be read—nay, even more than read—it will have to be carefully studied by all who would be well versed in the political history of England, especially party history, from the Reform Act of 1867 to the end of the Unionist administration of 1886-1892.

Among biographies of statesmen and politicians of the Victorian era Mr. Churchill's two volumes must be placed next after Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, and alongside Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's *Life of Earl Granville* and Charles Stuart Parker's *Life of Sir Robert Peel*; for it has all the finality and authority of these biographies, because like them it is based on letters and documents. What Parker's life of Peel does for the Toryism of the period between the peace after Waterloo and the break-up of the old Tory party after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, Mr. Churchill's life of Lord Randolph Churchill does for the newer Toryism, for the Toryism which dates from Disraeli's leadership of the House of Commons, and which for the present may be said to have come to an end with the general election of 1906. Lord Randolph

Churchill died in 1895. But before he ceased to be a political force, the Tory and Unionist party was coming under the domination of Mr. Chamberlain, and was entering on the era which came to an end with the complete and utter rout of the party at the general election in the early days of 1906.

Lord Randolph Churchill's place in English political history is not to be measured by the few months in which he was Secretary of State for India or the still shorter period in which he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. In any political history covering the last half of Queen Victoria's reign he must have a prominent place by reason of the enormous influence which he exercised over the Tory party in Parliament and in the constituencies in the years which preceded and in those which immediately followed the Reform Acts of 1884-1885. How Lord Randolph Churchill came to exercise this great influence, what he aimed at as regards shaping the policy of the Tory party, and also as regards legislation, is all detailed in Mr. Winston Churchill's biography; and the career of Lord Randolph Churchill is followed with a detachment that is indeed remarkable in the case of a man who is following out the career of his father. Perhaps this detachment is due to the fact that Mr. Winston Churchill was never associated with his father in the House of Commons; that he was too young to be in political life at all during the few years in which his father was the outstanding figure among the Tories and the Unionists in the House of Commons, and the most popular leader of the Tory party in all the great urban centres of England which at that time were giving their adherence to the Tory and Unionist party.

Whatever the reason may be, the detachment with which Mr. Churchill has written these volumes is as remarkable as the style in which they are written. There are eleven hundred pages, and there is not a page that could be spared. The volumes are much more than a history of the life and times of Lord Randolph Churchill. They form the best history extant of Toryism from Beaconsfield to Salisbury and of Unionism for almost the whole period that the Unionism of 1886 survived. Moreover the history covers many phases of English life from Lord Randolph Churchill's days at Eton and Oxford to the end of Queen Victoria's reign—phases of political, official, and social life in Ireland as well as in England which do not always receive due attention in English political memoirs or political history.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*A History of Our Own Times from the Diamond Jubilee, 1897, to the Accession of King Edward VII.* Vols. IV. and V. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. vii, 320; v, 303.)

As an easy and superficial record of the happenings of the last years of the reign of Queen Victoria, these two new volumes of Justin

McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times* may find a place with American readers. They gather up in readable form that very recent history which, while tolerably fresh in one's memory, is often exceedingly difficult to verify. It is essentially the history of the newspaper files of the years from 1897 to 1901; but these are difficult of access, awkward to handle, and inconvenient to refer to because unindexed. These volumes supply the place of the newspaper files, and must be regarded and criticized rather as the work of a reporter or a journalist than as that of a historian.

There is no evidence of research, no pretense at scholarly writing or verification by means of references in this history. This might be unobjectionable if Mr. McCarthy had kept himself closely to narrating the course of events. But he is nothing if not partizan, and readers are asked to accept not only the facts of recent history, but also the somewhat crude judgments of the historian as to what ought to have been the course of affairs. They are informed in a light and airy manner just how the governments of Great Britain and the great powers of Europe ought to have behaved in such crises as the Boxer trouble or the Cretan insurrection, and how all ensuing difficulties and entanglements would have been avoided had only Mr. McCarthy been appointed adviser-general on these critical occasions. "The policy which the European Powers ought to have pursued", writes McCarthy (IV. 39) of the Cretan question of 1897, "was to declare directly and positively that if Crete really desired by the voices of her Christian populations to be made part of the kingdom of Greece, and if Greece desired the union, the Greek race must have its will . . . Thus the whole Greek question might have been settled without any further effusion of blood instead of remaining for settlement as it does to this very day."

Although these volumes may at times be handy books of reference, they must not be depended upon for fullness or accuracy. Mr. McCarthy is always cordial in his allusions to the United States. Yet in the chapter devoted to the Boxer trouble and the integrity of China, he nowhere mentions Mr. Hay, or gives any credit to him and the American government for the great part he took, first in getting into communication with the legations, and secondly in preserving China from what at one time seemed the inevitable fate of partition among the powers. Several other curious lacks of acquaintance with current American history might be cited. In the account of the war with Spain, Mr. McCarthy speaks (IV. 205) of the "speedy destruction" of "the war array of Spain in the harbors of Havana", leaving his readers to gather the exact meaning of this phrase. He does not mention the victory of Admiral Dewey, nor give any reason for the cession of the Philippines to the United States. He concludes his account of the war by saying (*ibid.*): "Cuba and the Philippine Islands therefore became part of the dominion of the United States . . . , and it need hardly be said that the Cuban population enjoyed from the first the immense advantage of having been made a part of the great Republic."

A large part of both volumes is taken up with the "mainly about people" chat so familiar to readers of McCarthy's newspaper and magazine contributions. Even these sections of the work, where the author ought to be most at home, are frequently lacking in accuracy or completeness. In enumerating the deaths in 1897, he gives a sketch of the life of Henry George, and adds: "He was more than once urged by his followers to put himself forward as a candidate for public office, to which his own inclinations would never have led him" (IV. 225); but not a word is said of his candidature for the mayoralty of New York nor of the tragic circumstance that his death occurred within five days of the election in which many of his followers believed that he had at least a fighting chance.

At the best, as for example in the accounts of Parliamentary sessions and of the course of affairs in Ireland, the history in these volumes is good partizan journalism, readable, superficially accurate, and accessible. Unfortunately it is not uniformly at its best, and at its worst it is very poor journalism and lacks all these recommendations. There is an index; but there is no chronology, and dates are used so sparingly that one may read the whole story of Queen Victoria's death without discovering, except by referring to the previous chapter, in what year of the new century she died.

A. G. PORRITT.

*Russia and its Crisis.* By PAUL MILYUKOV. [Crane Lectures, University of Chicago, 1903.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1905. Pp. xiii, 589.)

It is difficult to know how to describe in a few words the unusual kind of work which is here offered under this title. One might suggest that it seems to be a study in the correlation of institutional history with what, for lack of a better term, may be called political ideology. The scope is certainly very comprehensive, and one can quite agree with the statement in the preface that the book is "the result of long years of study, devoted to the explanation of the Russian present by the Russian past". Professor Milyukov takes as the premise of the discussion a general formula, to the effect that institutional development, in order to be stable, ought never to be divorced from popular sanction; or, to quote the words of the text, "a fact", meaning thereby an institution, "in order to grow into a tradition, must become an idea" (p. 160). This formula Professor Milyukov applies to the whole course of Russian history, both political and religious; and he explains the present strained relations between government and society by tracing the divergence of Church and State from their "real tradition". As an interpretation of the contemporary crisis in Russia, it is certainly very suggestive. As an elucidation of the Liberal theory of this crisis, in all its historical bearings, there is nothing in English more complete.

In regard to the merits of the conclusion which Professor Milyukov reaches, there is, of course, much room for difference of opinion. To

review a long course of history in the light of a single formula, however inclusive, can never be altogether satisfactory except to the one who himself propounds the formula. And this must be particularly true where, as in the present case, the work is controversial and confessedly partizan. One detects a trace of this in Professor Milyoukov's refutation of the "Nationalistic Idea" (chapters II., III., and IV.). As a cosmopolitan liberal and something of a doctrinaire, he is naturally out of sympathy with this "Idea", partly because it springs from an instinctive feeling of pride in national institutions simply because they are national. As a partizan reformer he cannot share in such a feeling, and he would have us dismiss it as "unscientific". Equally open to exception is the conclusion in which he summarizes his study of autocracy in the light of tradition. To quote from the text: "And thus it is, even after centuries of existence, that no legal and moral tradition of autocracy can be found to exist either in institutions or in minds; and so nothing is opposed to its overthrow except the mere fact of its being there, in full possession of power". This is indeed very strange language. One is tempted to cite the case of the election of the Romanovs in the seventeenth century. If there was no such legal or moral tradition in men's minds, why was a new line of czars instituted? Was it simply to offer them *de facto* sovereignty, and leave the question of sovereignty *de jure* unsettled till a crisis? It would seem that according to Professor Milyoukov's theory of sovereignty, the determination of authority *de jure* lies only in the moral sanction of liberal thinkers. Truly a convenient tribunal before which to implead autocracy!

In regard to style, it must be remembered that the author is a Russian and here writing in a foreign language, so that it would be ungracious to quibble over an occasional vagueness of phrase. The book is not free from the national vice of prolixity, which at times renders the reading almost prohibitive. This difficulty is increased by a topical instead of a chronological arrangement. The former was unquestionably the better to adopt, but in the attempt to remedy the detached character of each chapter recourse has been had to a superfluous number of cross-references. These reach the extraordinary total of one hundred and twenty-five, or an approximate average of one to every four pages. It is much to be regretted that Professor Milyoukov has stirred up the vexed question of the transliteration of Russian proper names by inventing a system peculiarly his own. Kiev becomes Keeyev and Bakunin Bakoonin, while the dramatic quality of Ivan the Terrible loses all its national flavor by his being converted into a sort of wax figure with the cosmopolitan label of "John IV." The work would be much improved for American readers if it could be re-edited and rearranged. Although specialized in its treatment, it is altogether too valuable a contribution to English books on Russia to be left unreadable.

C. E. FRYER.

## BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Vikings of the Pacific.* The Adventures of the Explorers who came from the West, Eastward; Bering, the Dane; the Outlaw Hunters of Russia; Benyowsky, the Polish Pirate; Cook and Vancouver, the English Navigators; Gray of Boston, the Discoverer of the Columbia; Drake, Ledyard, and other Soldiers of Fortune on the West Coast of America. By A. C. LAUT. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 349.)

THIS attractive volume comprises a series of essays on topics related to the exploration of the North Pacific coast. The author does not profess to give a complete history of discovery in this region. She says in her preface (p. viii): "The Spaniards of the Southwest—even when they extended their explorations into the Northwest—have not been included in this volume, for the simple reason they would require a volume by themselves. . . . Other Pacific coast explorers, like La Pérouse, are not included here because they were not, in the truest sense, discoverers . . ."

But this explanation is hardly satisfactory. Since she is dealing with the North Pacific coast, which means that portion north of the forty-second parallel, it would have been necessary to describe only the three or four Spanish voyages made subsequent to the occupation of California. These would surely not have required a separate volume if the author had been content to omit the long chapter (more than one-tenth of the book) on Sir Francis Drake (whose voyage has no bearing on North Pacific discovery) and the chapter on Benyowsky, which is equally barren of geographical information.

The inclusion of topics like those just mentioned, at the expense of more legitimate subjects, shows that the author's selections were determined by some test other than the strictly historical; and the reader is left in no doubt as to what this test is. It is perfectly clear that Miss Laut took pains to select a list of highly romantic subjects; and also that she industriously assembled, from the masses of available material, such facts as would enable her to present the most dramatic phases of each subject. In other words, we have here history from which all that is tame or merely commonplace has been carefully expurgated.

This may favor the literary success of the book, but it seriously impairs its value to the historical student. For it cannot be too strongly maintained that the truth of history is violable in the plan of a book just as well as in its execution; and the unwary reader who depends upon this volume for his knowledge of the history of North Pacific exploration will be worse "befogged" than were the early navigators of Alaskan waters, the unnatural principle of selection giving him a wholly false perspective.

In matters of detail the author is fairly accurate; though there are a few errors which argue a lack of familiarity with the best secondary authorities within her field. After making all necessary deductions, it may still be said that the book will furnish to the discriminating student a considerable fund of information not so conveniently accessible elsewhere.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898.* Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XXI., 1624. Vol. XXII., 1625-1629. Vol. XXIII., 1629-1630. Vol. XXIV., 1630-1634. Vol. XXV., 1635-1636. Vol. XXVI., 1636. Vol. XXVII., 1636-1637. Vol. XXIX., 1638-1640. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1905. Pp. 320, 323, 297, 340, 322, 315, 366, 315.)

TWELVE volumes of this the most valuable work ever published in Philippine history were issued during 1905, coming down to volume XXXII. Of these, eight volumes are here reviewed, leaving for separate review the appendix on ecclesiastical and religious affairs which occupies most of volume XXVIII. and the history of the Dominicans in the Philippines by Aduarte, occupying half of volume XXX. and the two succeeding volumes.

This series is to consist of fifty-five volumes, hence is considerably more than half completed. Yet it will be noted that we are brought down chronologically only to 1640, leaving half the seventeenth century, all the eighteenth, and all the final century of Spanish rule to be covered in twenty-three volumes, including also the complete index which we are promised. It is true, however, that some of the old works which have been republished in part or wholly in the series thus far have covered not only events of 1565 to 1640, but also to some extent later happenings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the ecclesiastical appendix in volume XXVIII. republishes documents summarizing matters of this character down to the close of Spanish rule in the Philippines. This form of treatment by subjects, regardless of strict chronological sequence, may be followed in the succeeding volumes with reference to other than ecclesiastical matters; and it is probably the intention of the editors to deal with the nineteenth century, and to some extent with the eighteenth century, by republishing in translation some of the more important works which are so scarce as virtually to be inaccessible to most students. Nevertheless, the question will arise whether or no too much space has not been given to documents of the conquest period merely, leaving correspondingly less space for the bringing out of hitherto unknown documentary sources upon the really more important periods of Philippine history which follow. These subsequent periods are, moreover, precisely those upon which least light has been shed, apart from certain events and controversies of



a striking character which have monopolized the attention of the so-called historians of the Philippines, who have usually confused rather than cleared up the facts regarding them, while leaving large hiatuses in their treatment of Philippine economic history, administrative policy and mechanism, and the larger questions regarding the social development of the Filipinos.

Volume XXI. is entirely occupied with matters ecclesiastical and religious. Among the five documents of 1624, the one of most importance consists of records from the archives regarding Archbishop Serrano's attempt of 1624 to inspect the Paco parish. The royal decrees, etc., all support the jurisdiction of the ordinary against the claims of the regular orders of exemption from episcopal visitation. Serrano yielded, however; the Audiencia would not back him in the little excommunication war which resulted; and this question was not settled till long after. Two-thirds of the volume are given to reprints in abstracts and translations of portions of the histories of the Recollects by Andrés de San Nicolás (1664), Luis de Jesus (1681), and Juan de la Concepción (1788), and we have facsimiles of these old title-pages. San Nicolás's observations on the customs of the primitive Filipinos are hearsay and often suspicious; Luis de Jesus seems more accurate, though rehearsing hearsay that has come down through a succession of unscientific observers. Precisely the things to be accepted with very great caution are the "wonder-tales" of this sort, which are duplicated over and over again in writings on early Philippine history, and are often solemnly quoted as if they were scientifically established facts. In this same category must be put the relation of the Jesuit Bobadilla (1640), reproduced in volume XXIX. from Thévenot's *Relations* (Paris, 1696).

Volume XXII. contains an array of miscellaneous documents. These cover mostly old ground. The editors have selected from the *Laws of the Indies* decrees regarding the Chinese in the Philippines.

Over half of volume XXIII. and half of volume XXIV. are occupied by the translation, partly in synopsis, of the history of the Augustinian order in the Philippines by Father Juan de Medina. It would have been just as well if space had been saved by much more synopsis; indeed, the whole work might be omitted without loss, especially since, though written in 1630, it was published only in 1893 at Manila. It gives little information not elsewhere obtainable in better form, except for its revelations of quarrels, and even murders, in the Augustinian order at Manila. The note on the increase of Philippine population from the period of the Spanish Conquest to 1903 is drawn in part from an entirely uncritical source, the United States Philippine *Gazetteer* (a document which ought never to have been published). Population statistics in the Philippines require careful scrutiny, both as to source and contents, even to the very last year of Spanish rule. Documents published in earlier volumes of this same series have indicated a larger population for the Philippines at the time of the conquest than has ordinarily been estimated; and in the light of some of these documents the in-

teresting study of early Philippine population by Dr. David P. Barrows in *Census of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905, I. 411-491) will have to be revised. The other half of each of the volumes under consideration (XXIII. and XXIV.) comprises miscellaneous documents, containing a good deal of valuable matter. Incidentally we find Governor-general Tavera saying bluntly in 1629, as regards the probabilities of speculations, that the "offices in the Indies are not worth anything unless one steals" (XXIII. 41). From a number of references in volume XXIII. we discover that the one hundred and thirty lepers sent to Manila by the Mikado of Japan in 1631, an incident which has been given its picturesque version in almost every historical sketch of the Philippines, were not exactly the tribute, sarcastic or otherwise, of a "heathen" to Christian charity, but were in reality Japanese who had been converted to Christianity by some of the missionary fathers whose banishment from Japan had long before been decreed.

Data on commerce and the related subject of Philippine colonial finance make up not only the largest part, but also the most significant part, of the documents in volumes XXV., XXVI., and XXVII. Among these, first place must be assigned to the memorials of Juan Grau y Monfalcón, and especially that of 1637, reproduced in translation in volume XXVII. from a printed copy in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, collated with later imperfect copies. Despite the author's involved reasoning and wearisome repetitions, this is one of the most important documents of early Philippine history; and we are indebted to the editors for this painstaking and complete version of it in good English. Grau y Monfalcón was appointed by the distressed Spaniards in Manila their procurator before the court at Madrid to represent the declining state of Spanish commerce in the Orient in the face of Dutch and Portuguese aggressions and of the harsh restrictions put upon their trade with America at the behest of the home manufacturers and traders in Spain. In a large degree the other documents of these volumes are corroboratory or supplementary of the procurator's testimony. Incidentally, we gather interesting evidence as to the poor "trading character" of the Spaniards, revealed as well in these early days as later, and being a fact quite as important perhaps as the bad commercial policy of Spain in her colonial career (a colonial policy which was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries quite similar to that of the nations which succeeded as traders). The grievances against the Portuguese in Macao, who were shutting off Chinese trade with Manila and even ousting Spanish merchants on their own ground at Manila, point most plainly to this poor trading character of the latter; for the Portuguese were not only kindred in race, as the Dutch rivals were not, but they were at that time politically subordinate to the crown of Spain. Another reason, apart from questions of national policy, why the Dutch were ousting the Spaniards (who rested in their purely military strongholds) from the control of the East-Indian archipelago, ap-

appears in Governor-general Corcuera's statement (XXVII. 362) that the Spaniard who had for some years held the post of governor of Ternate had amassed there a fortune of \$400,000 (and less perhaps by unlawful private trading than by abuse of the military funds and authority given to him).

Grau y Monfalcón and the various supplementary data in other documents give pretty full explanation regarding the amount and value of the Manila-Acapulco galleon-trade, and details as to its conduct, the tariff system, the trade restrictions, etc. Incidentally, in connection with the detailed information about Philippine revenues and expenditures, we are shown also what was Spain's military establishment in the Philippines and the Orient generally. This is a very closely related subject, for the Philippine budget included also the establishments in the Moluccas and Formosa. Hence, while we here have plain proof that the Philippine revenues proper (exclusive of some \$300,000 collected in galleon duties at Acapulco) produced at this time only about \$250,000 of the \$850,000 spent from Manila, and \$250,000 to \$300,000 had to be sent annually as a subsidy from the treasury of Mexico, yet Grau y Monfalcón figures the annual cost of the Moluccan and Formosan establishments to be more than the subsidy. Moreover, in years just previous, large expeditions for East-Indian conquest had been fitted out in the Philippines, the money cost falling in part upon adventurers hoping for returns and upon Manila merchants who advanced loans, while in still larger degree the burden fell upon the Filipinos, among whom forced labor was levied, while the more convenient Philippine forests were devastated. The Manila treasury accounts, too, show frauds perpetrated and favoritism extended at the expense of the interests of the royal estate, especially when the vigorous Governor-general Corcuera proceeds to turn things upside down in Manila. He informs the king that Formosa, where a Spanish post was established in 1626, is of no value to Spain, and that the people are too wild to convert. The galleon-trade, restricted to \$500,000 annually, is by many persons testified to mount by secret evasions and official collusion to three or four times that amount; yet the Mexican and Portuguese merchants who encroach upon it, and the Chinese retailers who are too clever for the Spanish traders in Manila, have been getting so much the better of the latter in reaping these illegal profits that Manila is commercially flat upon its back in 1636 and 1637, and the galleon-trade is for the time practically suspended. With all this, the old religio-commercial arguments are still held before the king, he is urged to see that Manila is "the key to the commerce of the Orient", and that if he does not regain and retain power in the Orient, the Dutch and English will press still more disastrously upon his commerce and outposts in the West Indies and the Atlantic Ocean.

The quarrel between Governor-general Corcuera and Archbishop Guerrero occupies the second half of volume XXV. and much of volume XXVI., while echoes of it are heard in volumes XXVII. and XXIX. There is necessarily much repetition, and condensation or

omission of some of the documents could be recommended, though it is all interesting. There are many complicating side-issues; for the Jesuits array themselves with the civil authority, and the friar orders with the archbishop. (In some of the phases of this quarrel, one would be inclined to put it the other way and say that the archbishop took up the cause of the monastic orders, and the governor-general that of the Jesuits; the governor-general was, however, a most independent character, while the archbishop seems to have been rather the tool of others.) Of this quarrel, which grew out of several incidents and involved some spectacular occurrences in the way of violation of sanctuary, a contest of military power with excommunications, a deluge of interdicts from civil and ecclesiastical courts, street brawls between Spaniards with swords and Spaniards with gowns, and finally the banishment of the old archbishop to Mariveles island at the mouth of Manila Bay, the real cause was the independent character of Corcuera himself. He made most vigorous and bitter representations to the king of the determination of the religious orders to rule or to undermine the authority of any governor-general who would not be ruled by them. Partly as a result of this, we find a decided trend toward secularization of Philippine parishes on the part of the Spanish court at this time. But neither this nor the issue involved as to the relative powers of archbishop and governor-general in the control of the royal patronage of religion in the Philippines was definitely decided at this time, as later history shows. There were then far more Spanish secular priests in the Philippines than there were at any time in the nineteenth century, and particularly in its latter half; and in the seventeenth century half-caste sons of Spanish fathers were being ordained as secular priests and admitted to the religious orders.

In an interesting tabulation whereby Corcuera's auditor shows recent frauds in the Manila treasury (XXVI. 152, 172-193), we note evidence (pp. 177-178, 192) that the wages allowed from the royal treasury for the pay of natives forced to work on the churches and convents were collected by the heads of the religious orders for which the work was done, who thus probably received double aid from the king's funds. Despite the abuses of forced labor during twoscore preceding years, the faithful services of the native soldiers, especially the Pampangans, but also the Tagalogs and Bikols, were highly praised by Corcuera and Grau y Monfalcón (XXV. 148, XXVI. 197, 202, 206-208), the latter saying: "Not one of those Indians has ever been found in rebellion, or has wrought any treachery, or deserted to the enemy" (XXV. 148). He recommends that some natives be made officers. We find also that Filipino soldiers, sailors, arsenal workmen, and other mechanics were deemed worth half as much pay as Spaniards in the same places. Corcuera's conquests in Mindanao and Joló (1635-1638) were in considerable degree dependent upon the loyalty and fighting qualities of his Pampangan regiments.

These campaigns are related in various documents in volumes XXVII. and XXIX., notably in letters of Jesuit chroniclers, who, as their order was specially favored by Corcuera, were not at all lax in glorifying him. The completion of the old fort at Samboanga (which still stands) dates from this time, and the Spaniards then first entered the Lake Lanao region, though Corcuera's principal campaigns were in the Cotabato district of Mindanao and on the island of Joló. Corcuera's disregard for law or precedent in his innovating course at Manila is brought out in the jealous charges of Admiral Bañuelos y Carrillo, in a protest from the royal treasurer, and in several decrees of the king. From the many documents of this volume (XXIX.), which is one of the most usefully edited of the series thus far, we get information principally along the following lines: (1) the conflicts between the regular and the secular clergy; (2) the abuse of the natives by Spaniards of both religious and lay estates; (3) the existence in the Philippines of negro slavery in some degree, and the extension of such slavery to the captured Moros, some also being sent to the galleys; (4) the Spanish policy of reprisal and retaliation upon the Moros after the Moros' own fashions, making it on both sides a sort of piratical, bushwhacking warfare which led to no permanent results but increase of mutual hatred and distrust; and (5) the low commercial status of Spanish power in the Orient. We have also in this volume a most interesting anonymous but contemporaneous document describing the Chinese revolt and ensuing massacres of 1639-1640. It appears that this was due to the suspension of the galleon-trade and hence loss of Chinese profits in Manila, the higher taxation of Chinese under Corcuera, and the compulsory measures taken by him to construct by Chinese labor a great royal rice-estate in what were then swamps around Calamba on the Laguna de Bay (estates which the Dominicans afterward obtained, forming part of the land lately sold by them to the Philippine government), malarial diseases decimating the Chinese laborers. On the Spanish side, we are told, the number killed during some three months of disturbances was forty-five Spaniards and three hundred Filipino soldiers, while the execution among the Chinese pike-bearers and spear-bearers, including also flocks of unarmed or disarmed Chinese massacred by official orders, was 22,000 to 24,000, leaving some 8,000 Chinese who finally surrendered.

In the eight volumes just under consideration, ninety documents (many of them made up of separate parts, such as Spanish royal decrees collected by subjects) are produced in translation, as are parts or the whole of seven old printed works. The editorial work upon these documents shows painstaking care and much discrimination (except for the queries raised above as to the space-value of some of the documents, in spite of the interest they possess); the translations—and this is important—appear generally to deserve the same commendation. The illustrations are all good, and some of the old plates reproduced are pertinent and valuable, *e. g.*, the Portuguese Berthelot's map (1635) of

the Philippines, Borneo, and the Celebes, reproduced in volume XXV., pp. 56-57, from an old copy in the British Museum.

JAMES A. LEROY.

*The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut.* By M. LOUISE GREENE, Ph.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 552.)

MISS GREENE has been fortunate in her theme, the gradual broadening and liberalizing of religion in a community where religion has always been of vital interest to the great majority of the population. She has also been most fortunate in the locality in which she was privileged to pursue her studies. Her careful and scholarly treatise bears plain evidence, not only of the abundant material that she has utilized out of the rich accumulations of the Yale Library, but also of the judicious spirit and wise counsels of the distinguished group of historical scholars to whom in her introduction she acknowledges her indebtedness. The city of New Haven, and Yale University itself, are monuments that illustrate the author's theme on every page of their history. Few places in New England could furnish worse examples of religious intolerance in the past; certainly there are none that can surpass them at the present day in the appreciation of an enlightened liberty.

The familiar facts in the introductory chapters upon Puritanism and New England Congregationalism are restated clearly and moderately and without prejudice. The services of the founders of the Connecticut colony to religious liberty at the very outset of its history are noticed and appreciated. The events which led to the adoption of a semi-Presbyterian system of government in the Saybrook Platform are carefully traced and recorded. The extremely interesting and significant story of the growth on Connecticut soil of the Episcopal church, and the startling episode of the declaration of the rector and tutors of Yale College that they intended to seek Episcopal ordination (a revolution that alarmed the whole of New England), are treated with great judgment and care. Connecticut men whose memories go back for only fifty years will recall anecdotes and traditions that they heard in their boyhood that show how bitter and how lasting was the feeling then engendered. It is not the least of Miss Greene's successes that she has discussed this subject with such impartiality.

The most interesting chapter in the religious history of Connecticut, the story of "The Great Awakening", is treated by Miss Greene with great judgment and impartiality. Her interest in it is religious and psychological rather than theological, and, though she explains the mysteries of the Edwardsian and Hopkinsian systems, she dwells, rightly, less on the doctrines discussed than upon the results of the movement on the religious and political life of the community.

With the same colorless impartiality, admirable as it is unusual, the author relates the disagreeable history of the earlier years of the nineteenth century, when union of religious and political privilege took

the place of the former nobler union of church and state, until the forces of liberalism burst their bonds and overthrew at once the Federalist party and the "Standing Order". The desire for a government founded upon the will of the people rather than on the charter of Charles II., joined with a demand for religious liberty and equality, brought on the peaceful revolution of 1818, which restored once more the principles that had inspired the early founders of the commonwealth in their contest for religious and political liberty.

Miss Greene has chosen an important though difficult subject; and her treatment of it will encourage many who have long dismissed the history of platforms and covenants, ecclesiastical discussions and dissensions, as hopelessly arid and jejune, to renew their acquaintance with them as steps in the development of religious liberty in the steadiest and most sober-minded of any of our early commonwealths.

*American Political History, 1763-1876.* By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON. Edited and supplemented by JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. ix, 446; iv, 598.)

NEARLY a quarter of a century ago Professor Johnston of Princeton University contributed to Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States* a series of articles upon various topics in American history and government. These have now been collected by Professor Woodburn, rearranged in order, furnished with sundry additions to fill gaps, and equipped with recent bibliographical references, and are presented as a political history of the United States. On the whole, this was a task well worth doing, since these cyclopedia articles stand almost unrivalled for compactness and clearness, an excellent example of that "histoire explicative", as Seignobos calls it, which discards all extraneous matter and reduces the text to the concentrated analysis of what was significant and permanent in events. The acumen and lucidity with which such subjects are handled as the organization of the federal government, the conduct of party affairs in Congress, the process of secession, and the steps in reconstruction will make the book of unquestionable utility for the student and teacher.

There are certain drawbacks, however, resulting from the topical nature of the material, which impair the perfection of the work, and are not remedied even by the editor's additions, pertinent and useful as these generally are. Since Professor Johnston dealt, naturally, with each subject in all its ramifications, the reprinting together of the separate articles leads to an amount of repetition and a dislocation of chronology which almost destroys unity. When the history of each party and of several aspects of federal activity are studied under such heads as states' rights, secession, etc., the same events reappear in substantially identical form in half a dozen distinct places. On the other hand, subjects which

naturally belong together are widely divided. The chapter on the Constitutional Convention of 1787 does not describe the great compromises, which are left to be dealt with in another chapter in a different volume. The events of Jackson's terms are considered long before the origin of the Democratic party is studied, and the entire history of the Republican party precedes that of the Whigs or Free-soilers. It certainly seems as if the editor might have made a far better piece of work had he taken the liberty of discarding much repetitious matter, dividing long topics, and adhering with some pretense at closeness to chronological order. The cross-references with which the editor makes an attempt to remedy confusion are unfortunately without page numbers, and the index is scanty and contains errors. As it stands the book is hard to use, especially the second volume, and can scarcely be handled except by such as are already familiar with United States history. The narrowly political standpoint of the author gives the work an old-fashioned air.

Another peculiarity which stands out in the collected essays is the fact that they were nearly all written to prove certain favorite theses of the author, whose youth was passed in the crisis of the Rebellion and the Reconstruction struggle and whose opinions are plainly tinged with the feelings of those times. He maintains throughout, with great fervor, the fundamentally national character of the United States, combating the arguments of the states' rights school and showing impatience with the early statesmen for not realizing and asserting his principles. The establishment of the Articles of Confederation he terms a "usurpation" of sovereignty by the states, and of the Articles themselves he says (I. 60) "it is difficult to speak temperately". This assertion of national sovereignty runs through the discussion of every controverted constitutional question, giving the work a distinctly polemic character.

A similar theoretical tendency betrays itself in the treatment of political parties, which he regards as founded purely on opinion. "On this fundamental question of a strict or a broad construction of the Constitution", he says, "all legitimate national party differences in the United States are and always have been based" (II. 225). The persistence with which the author, standing upon this superficial criterion of parties, criticizes leaders and followers for their departures from "proper" views is only atoned for by the real keenness he displays when, neglecting theoretical tests, he devotes himself to the task of interpreting political and party action as it actually took place. Throughout the last part of the work the Southern and Democratic elements receive unsympathetic treatment, and a strong tendency is manifested to justify all acts of the Republican party. Nevertheless the author makes few mistakes and these are mostly in the line of vague or sweeping statements. It is old-fashioned, for instance, to call Hutchinson "unscrupulous" while applying no epithet to his rival Sam Adams; or to class the North Carolina Regulators with the destroyers of the Gaspee. The North Carolina and Virginia electors who voted for Adams in 1796 did not do so from "whim", but because they were elected in Federalist districts; Birney



did not decline the Liberty nomination in 1840; the "great mass" of Southern Whigs were not driven into the Democratic party by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; Maryland was far from "permanently Democratic" after 1852. The strong point of the essays lies in the clearness and vigor with which political action and motives are analyzed, and for this reason the volumes, in spite of their chaotic character, will be of permanent value.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

*The Life of Oliver Ellsworth.* By WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 369.)

A TRUSTWORTHY and well-written life of Ellsworth is a book worth having, and this life has both of these qualities. I cannot venture to say that it is absolutely free from error, for I have not scrupulously sought for blunders; but those I have noticed are trivial. The book is well written because the English style is clear, straightforward, and simple, not over-elaborated or striving for effect.

There has for a time been a supposition that the Ellsworth descendants had in their possession valuable manuscripts bearing on the life of the statesman, but, though Mr. Brown had access to everything, not much was found. One or two manuscript biographies of Ellsworth, written by relatives, and quite as dangerous in their temptations as helpful in their guidance, and a very few unpublished letters of not much significance were all the family treasures he unearthed. One of these manuscript biographies, which was written by Ellsworth's son-in-law, Joseph Wood, appears to have been used by Flanders. The other, the work of the Reverend Abner Jackson, sometime president of Hobart College, who married a granddaughter of the chief justice, has not, Mr. Brown says, been used before. Still these unpublished works were not very important; to have in one's possession the manuscript of a previous writer who tells of things that cannot be substantiated is embarrassing to a conscientious biographer, and there is evidence that Mr. Brown, burdened with at least sufficient courtesy, was at times puzzled in deciding how far he should be influenced by the efforts of his predecessors. He has not infrequently given rumor and hearsay for what they are worth, which may have been wise; but he rarely if ever speaks with a tone of certainty about any fact not fairly well supported by good evidence. More frequently than is desirable he has had to rely on the unsupported statements of Flanders and Van Santvoord. The material on which he had to depend was in no small measure in print—the *Trumbull Papers*, the *Journals of Congress*, the published *Writings* of the statesmen of the time, Maclay's *Journal*, and like sources. There is no indication that the manuscript journals of the Old Congress were ransacked, but it must be said that in all probability the most that could possibly have been gained by this drudgery would have been the discovery of a few formal details.

Considering the limitations under which the author worked, the reviewer must say that he has produced a good book. We would fain know more of the really critical periods in Ellsworth's life: his work in the Convention of 1787; his ideas of the scope and significance of the Judiciary Act; his experience in France in framing the convention of 1800. But these periods are sanely treated, and I imagine we must rest content. Whatever may be the judgment of the reader on this point, one conclusion he will be forced to reach: he will be compelled to admire the skill with which the story is told and to acknowledge that now Ellsworth comes before us a living personality. This is no small achievement for a biographer. For many of us, at least, Ellsworth has been brought out of a hazy background of impersonalness; from being a mere advocate of measures he has become a man and an impressive one. Moreover, I feel confident, the author has estimated aright the character of his subject; it is not likely that future studies will seriously impair the portrait or demand important revision of judgments.

It is not perfectly plain that the author has properly weighed the influence of Ellsworth in one essential and most significant particular—I mean his influence in framing that important clause in the plan of the Small State Party which declared that the Constitution should be the supreme law of the land, the clause which afterward, somewhat modified, became one of the cardinal clauses of the Constitution, and which was the basis in part for the Judiciary Act of 1789, the "Constitution" of the judiciary. I say it is not perfectly plain, because much must rest on conjecture; and yet when one considers the make-up of the Small State Party, remembers that Ellsworth, Luther Martin, and Paterson were fellow-members of the same club while students at Princeton, notices that Martin moved the insertion of this clause in the Constitution, gives heed to the fact that it was Sherman who stated most clearly the fact that an unconstitutional state law would be void and not voidable, gives full weight to the words of Ellsworth in the Connecticut convention (where with a clearness not elsewhere discoverable he defended the new order as one based on law), and when moreover we appreciate, as Mr. Brown has helped us to do, the work of Ellsworth in the establishment of the courts and in securing the passage of the Judiciary Act, we are entitled to a substantial conjecture that Ellsworth was peculiarly responsible for the most striking, perhaps the most important, thing that was done during those days when the institutions of the government were being formed. For it must be noted, of course, that the Revolution and the formation of the Constitution resulted in the establishment of a new kind of imperial state, based upon a new idea, built upon law and not like the old—or the new—empire of England based upon opportunism. This it is that is the most distinguishing trait of the American constitutional system; and any combination of facts that, even by conjecture, will enable us in the smallest measure to lift the process of its creation out of the gloom of uncertainty is a combination worth presenting. Certainly Mr. Brown has not seen quite face to

face the relation between the second clause of article vi. of the Constitution on the one hand (which had its origin, as far as the Convention was concerned, in the work of the Small State Party), and the Judiciary Act on the other.

In dealing with Ellsworth's speeches in the Convention the author has followed Bancroft's method, collating all the reports to be found. This is of doubtful propriety. To be sure we do not know just what Ellsworth said; but we do know what Madison and Yates reported that he said, and the quotation marks are properly used to indicate these reports. The modern historical student has a natural and deeply-rooted objection to any acceptance of Bancroft's methods in handling quotations, even where as in this instance the results are not serious.

The book appears to me in most respects to estimate rightly the work and influence of the Connecticut men in the Convention. It points out clearly that, while Ellsworth desired to preserve the states, he was not unfavorable to a national government; and it does not leave the impression that the great compromise meant the establishment of a confederation of sovereign states. Thoughtlessly, however, the author falls into the trap set in Madison's notes, June 15, and classifies Connecticut with New York. The truth is that the Connecticut trio differed so much from Lansing and Yates, and from Paterson of New Jersey, that we are tempted to doubt whether the former delegation took any part in the formation of the Small State plan, 'despite much testimony as to their participation (Madison's notes, June 15; Martin's *Genuine Information*, in Elliot, I. 349). To the following statement, also, one might make objection: "Ellsworth, however, declared: 'The United States are sovereign on one side of the line dividing their jurisdiction—the states on the other. Each ought to have power to defend their respective sovereignties.' These were words, one fancies, from which comfort might have been drawn by the planners of a New England Confederacy two-score years later, and by the builders of the Southern Confederacy" (p. 163). The subject under consideration was treason; to announce that a state must have the right to punish treason against itself and that it retains a portion of sovereignty certainly gives no comfort to the builders of Confederacy, which was founded on the doctrine of indivisible sovereignty.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

*American Diplomacy: its Spirit and Achievements.* By JOHN BASSETT MOORE, LL.D., Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xii, 286.)

*Historia de la Diplomacia Americana: Política Internacional de los Estados Unidos.* Por MARTIN GARCÍA MÉROU, Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario de la República Argentina. (Buenos Aires: Félix Lajouane y Ca. 1904. Pp. xxix, 398; xxviii, 515.)

THESE two works are at once an evidence and a result of the growing interest, at home and abroad, in the public policy and achievements of the United States. They are written from widely different standpoints and with different ends in view, but each fulfils well the purpose for which it was written. Both writers have established reputations as publicists and each has had practical experience in the diplomatic service of his country.

Moore's book, which is divided into ten chapters, is in the main a reproduction of a series of articles that appeared in *Harper's Magazine*. It is a sketch, rather than a chronological narrative, of American diplomacy. The author adopts the topical method and has shown admirable judgment in the selection of those subjects which illustrate the principles and distinctive purposes of our foreign policy. In attempting to compress within the brief space of three hundred pages a sketch of American diplomacy from its beginnings in the Revolutionary epoch to its present-day tendencies, many important matters have of necessity been omitted and many others passed over briefly; but even in those topics which have been treated more fully by other writers, such as the system of neutrality, the freedom of the seas, the fisheries, and the Monroe doctrine, Mr. Moore clears up many misapprehensions and writes with a precision and clearness of judgment to which few writers can lay claim. This fact is all that redeems the book from the combined faults of brevity and comprehensiveness; for, although this is a very unusual charge to bring, the author has erred in this direction.

Mr. Moore is, apparently, in thorough sympathy with the present tendencies of our foreign policy. He denies emphatically (p. iii) "that the United States has, as the result of certain changes in its habits, suddenly become, within the past few years, 'a world-power.' The United States has in reality always been, in the fullest and highest sense, a world-power." While this view will probably be admitted by the majority of students of American diplomacy as substantially correct, it does not disguise the fact that we have in recent years entered upon a new era of policy and made some radical departures. There is undoubtedly a tendency in Mr. Moore's book to minimize the radicalness of the change, and in one or two instances he is apparently reading into the past the views of the present. He at least lays himself open to this criticism in the following statement found on page 224. In discussing France's renunciation, in the treaty of 1778, of all designs on the remaining possessions of Great Britain in North America and the provision that if they should be wrested from the mother-country, they were to be "confederated with or dependent upon" the United States, he says: "in harmony with this stipulation, provision was made in the Articles of Confederation (Article xi.) for the full admission of Canada into the Union. No other colony was to be so admitted without the consent of nine States; and *unless they consented, the colony, if seized, was to remain in a 'dependent' position.*" The clause which I have italicized does not occur in the Articles of Confederation, as might be supposed

from the context, and can hardly be considered a valid inference even when the article referred to is taken in conjunction with the clause quoted from the treaty.

Throughout the volume Mr. Moore speaks with the authority derived from a thorough mastery of the sources, and with a refreshing disregard of views that have gained currency through mere force of repetition. His general treatment is free from conventional bias. The volume has a short bibliography and an index, but no foot-notes. Only two typographical errors were noted: possession for possessions (p. 224) and Summer for Sumner (p. 270).

Mérou's *Historia de la Diplomacia Americana*, which covers the same period, is, in striking contrast with the above, a chronological narrative. It is the fullest attempt yet made to cover in a single treatise the entire diplomatic history of the United States. There is five times as much reading-matter in Mérou as in Moore, and nearly two and a half times as much as in Foster. The work is subject to two limitations: in the first place, it was written for South-Americans with the aim of giving the rising generation an adequate idea of the place and importance of the United States in world politics; and in the second place, the author felt constrained by his official position as Argentine minister at Washington to refrain from passing criticism or judgment on the events recorded. The work is by no means however a colorless narrative of events, for while the author refrains as a general rule from expressing his own opinions, he quotes at length the opinions of American writers, without, however, always subjecting them to a critical analysis or to the test of a comparison with the sources. Parts of the work are indeed based on sources, and the writer seems familiar with all the more important ones; but too frequently he follows the lead of some one authority whose views he adopts for the topic he is discussing. For example, in discussing the annexation of Texas (II. 21-22) he quotes from Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, p. 321, the opinion of General Grant that "The occupation, separation, and annexation [of Texas] were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave States might be formed for the American Union." In striking contrast with this opinion, Moore (p. 234) says: "By a school of writers whose views have had great currency, the annexation has been denounced as the result of a plot of the slave-power to extend its dominions. But, calmly surveying the course of American expansion, we are forced to conclude that no illusion could be more complete. It would be more nearly correct to say that, but for the controversy concerning slavery, there would have been no appreciable opposition in the United States to the acquisition of Texas."

Again, in discussing the purchase of Alaska Mérou (II. 129) gives expression to the oft-repeated view that the United States paid the purchase-money to Russia for a territory then deemed of little or no value out of gratitude for Russia's friendly naval demonstration in American waters during the Civil War when the intervention of England and

France was feared. Moore, on the other hand, referring to the same view, says: "This explanation may be placed in the category of the grotesque" (p. 236).

In M  rou's references to American politics he sometimes falls into more or less serious errors. For instance, the terms of the Missouri Compromise (I. 245), of the Wilmot Proviso, and of the Compromise of 1850 (II. 80) are inaccurately stated.

The author's attitude is sympathetic, and he writes in a spirit of undisguised admiration of "la gran Rep  blica". Considerable space is devoted to Pan-American diplomacy, but the American reader cannot but wish that the writer had given us a comprehensive discussion from his standpoint of the primacy of the United States in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. In the introductory pages of the first volume he does, indeed, have something to say of the influence of the United States in Central America and in Mexico. He says that in the Central-American states there exists a clearly defined sentiment favorable to annexation to the United States. In Mexico, while American influence is less felt in the political field, it is even stronger in the field of commerce and finance. The opening of the canal, he thinks, is destined to produce fundamental transformations in the political and economic organization of all these nations (I. 6). As to our relations with the countries farther south he has little to say.

In discussing President Roosevelt's canal policy, the author departs from his usual rule and gives expression to his views. While stating that the recognition of Panama establishes an offensive precedent, he nevertheless justifies the action of the American Executive on the ground of Colombia's inability to maintain order. His argument is largely a restatement of the case as presented in the President's message.

The volumes are equipped with appendixes, containing a short bibliography and documents, occasional foot-notes, and quite full references at the end of some of the chapters. The style is clear and interesting, and while the amount of positive contribution is not great, this work is the most complete narrative of American diplomacy that has yet been written.

JOHN HOLLADAY LATAN  .

*The Constitutional Decisions of John Marshall.* Edited, with an introductory essay, by JOSEPH P. COTTON, Jr. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xxxvi, 462; v, 464.)

THE editor of these volumes has performed a useful task in a satisfactory manner. We have here in convenient form the opinions of Marshall, which in themselves constitute so large a part of the constitutional history of the United States. There is a general introduction, and each decision is introduced by an ample note setting forth the historical circumstances in which the case arose, and indicating with precision, without undue technicality of expression, the significance of the principles in the development of American law. Nowhere else is the ser-

vice of Marshall so clearly presented, and nowhere else do we find such a plain and simple tale of the progress of the court and the importance of its decisions in the first thirty-five years of the last century. "Plain" and "simple" may seem strange words to use in connection with a subject like constitutional law; but Marshall's own decisions are so lucid, and the annotations of the editor so clever and sound, that the words are not altogether inappropriate.

It is not impossible to find fault with some of the statements of the editor or with his point of view. One may doubt whether he has sufficiently studied the antecedents of the Convention's work, which resulted in the establishment of the Constitution as the law of the land and in giving to the federal judiciary cognizance of controversies arising under the Constitution. While the case of *Marbury v. Madison* is striking and epochal, it is not difficult, by dwelling on its unexpectedness, to leave the impression that Marshall's decision came from a clear sky and was without historical preparation. It would have been better if the author had shown, if only in outline, the long course of historical development which made the decision natural as well as logically a sound part of American constitutional law. Certainly we should have been given a statement of the principles of *Commonwealth v. Caton*, *Holmes v. Walton*, *Bayard v. Singleton*, *Trevett v. Weeden*, and a fuller and wiser treatment of the extent to which the functions of the courts were considered and appreciated by the men that framed the Constitution. The uninformed reader may easily be misled by the editor's methods in this particular.

One is also startled to find, in the note preceding *Osborn v. Bank of the United States*, the assertion that with *Cohens v. Virginia* and *McCulloch v. Maryland* and the *Osborn* case "Marshall had practically destroyed the immunity from suit which the Eleventh Amendment had granted" (II. 86). Of course the editor does not mean that, even if he does say so; but unfortunately those who use the books may believe what he says. If he is going into that subject, might it not be well to refer to *Hans v. Louisiana*? And might it not be well also to bring out the profound importance of the doctrine that an unconstitutional law cannot protect a state officer or any officer? Assuredly there is no more important doctrine in the whole realm of law than this portion of the old saying that the king can do no wrong—that each person, no matter how august the authority behind him, is responsible for his own torts. If an editor is seeking to trace the development of the really influential principles through these thirty-five years, it appears that this principle should have received attention.

The consideration of the *Dartmouth College* case is forcible and able, but there is one curious minor error, which at the best leaves an unpleasant impression on the mind of one that knows the facts. The case of *Munn v. Illinois* ought not to be cited (I. 349) as illustration of the doctrine that in spite of charter contract the legislature can control the operation of corporations engaged in public or quasi-public callings.

It is true that the principle of this case is applicable to the control of corporations whose business is "affected with a public interest"; Munn was not however a corporation but a person, and the significance of the decision rests not on the fact that a corporation can be controlled, but that a new set of businesses are subjected to public regulation. The error is possibly trivial, but the statement of the principle is not made with such exactness as to preclude misunderstanding.

Possibly it is not unjust to dissent in some measure to the editor's comment on *Gibbons v. Ogden*, though here again the fault, if there be one, arises from a failure to state with perfect clearness some of the principles involved. Indeed the subject is so difficult that a longer and more explicit statement seems to be imperatively demanded. Nor is it quite certain that Marshall's decision in that case was not absolutely sound, especially those portions referring to the exclusiveness of the power in Congress to regulate interstate commerce. Does the doctrine of concurrent power, the power in the state to legislate on local matters even though the legislation may in some manner affect interstate commerce, really run counter at all to the fundamental propositions of Marshall's decision? Does it anywhere appear that such power of regulation as the states possess does not flow from the undoubted reserved rights of the states—from their power to control local commerce and their police power? The extent to which in the exercise of this reserved power they may be allowed to encroach upon the sphere of interstate commerce is necessarily a matter for particular rather than general determination. The editor's short introductory note appears to declare that the doctrine of concurrent power is in actual if not in nominal opposition to Marshall's opinion.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

*The Life and Speeches of Thomas Williams, Orator, Statesman and Jurist, 1806-1872, a Founder of the Whig and Republican Parties.* By BURTON ALVA KONKLE. (Philadelphia: Campion and Company. 1905. Pp. ix, 393; iii, 395-757.)

THOMAS WILLIAMS was superabundantly endowed with a fatal facility for rhetorical speech—a gift nourished and tended with most assiduous care by relatives, teachers, comrades, and friends, who appeared to regard it as a pearl of great price. He may be said to have lisped in figures of speech. "The Professor of Oratory", so writes the youth to his father, "paid me the highest compliment on my last [oration] which has ever been paid to any student"; subjoining the information that he himself has "the reputation of being the best composer that Dickinson College has produced since its revival" (p. 30). He studies law with (as our author states) "a brilliant and cultured bachelor lawyer . . . strong and oratorical—even ornate" (p. 34). His chum, left behind at college, writes him that his "pieces" are being spoken "in the prayer-hall" (p. 35).

Consequently, when this young Roscius steps upon the stage of active life, he is ready to orate on any and all occasions, and revels in



every opportunity. His biography becomes a series of "splendid" orations connected by the merest thread of narrative. First comes "His Notable Eulogy" on President Harrison. Then follows the "Tariff Address" of the Clay campaign of 1844. On the election of Polk, he abandons politics to devote himself to his profession. The interval of ten years that followed, according to the arrangement of the book before us, appears to have been taken up with the preparation of a pamphlet attacking an opinion of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania affirming the validity of the acts authorizing subscriptions by municipal corporations to the stock of railroad corporations; for it occupies virtually the whole of the chapter of seventy pages treating of this period. However, it did not convert the court, for that tribunal finally forced the payment of the tax levied to pay the interest on the bonds by *mandamus*, and by so doing provoked another "scathing" review from Williams. This bitter conflict with the judiciary of his own state was, in all probability, the cause of his distrust of the Supreme Court of the United States in the days of Reconstruction—a distrust which led him to advocate on the floor of the House of Representatives so extreme a remedy as requiring unanimity among the judges to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional (see speech, II. 653 *et seqq.*).

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise summoned Williams from his retirement, and he played an influential part in organizing the Republican party in his state and in the conduct of its first presidential campaign. The decisive struggle of 1860 was signalized by a "Notable Address" on "The Negro in American Politics". One "lofty period" of the peroration is all we have room for: "There is no star in that glorious galaxy that shall perish, but planet after planet, won from chaos by the indomitable energies of *free labor*, shall wheel into our system, until our shield is powdered with stars, and the loftiest of the Cordilleras, seated on his throne of rocks, and soaring, with his snow-crowned diadem, away into the summer heavens, shall, in the language of the poet,

'— o'er earth, ocean, wave,

Glare, with his Titan eye, and see no slave!'" (II. 430).

The orator was elected a member of the lower house of the Pennsylvania legislature, and, on the meeting of that body (South Carolina having already seceded), he delivered a "Notable Speech" on "the Maintenance of the Constitution and the Union", which drew from one of his opponents the acknowledgment that he "was overwhelmingly powerful in oratory" (II. 450). In the fall of 1862 he was chosen a representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress, and, on the meeting of that body, emerged at last into national prominence.

His six years in Congress, according to his biographer, were distinguished by four "great speeches", all of which are given in full: one on "restoration", read in the House in April, 1864, which Judge Grier wrote to him was "*the best of the season or that has ever been made on the subject with a spice perhaps too much of spread eaglesism*" (II.

522); another, a "Notable Eulogy" on Lincoln, delivered in Pittsburgh, which Arnold, the friend and biographer of its subject, called "a grand lyric", and confessed that he read the peroration "amidst blinding tears" (II. 553); a third, on "Reconstruction", delivered in the House in 1866 (covering sixty-two pages of the book); and a fourth, his "Great Final Argument", as one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson, which was followed by the invariable avalanche of praise.

Nevertheless, we venture the prediction that Thomas Williams will not be remembered on account of his "notable orations". Despite "the lofty march of their periods", they no longer have any real life. He will be remembered, if remembered at all, not for what he said, but for what he did: for the leading part he took in the enactment of the short-lived Tenure-of-Office Act which furnished at last the pretext for the impeachment he had advocated, with all the fiery rhetoric at his command and on more substantial grounds, but until then without success; and, more particularly, for his share in the concoction of its famous proviso, which in the end, to the deep discomfiture of its contrivers, made possible the acquittal of the object of so much Ciceronian invective.

DAVID MILLER DEWITT.

*A History of the Civil War in the United States, 1861-5.* By Lieutenant W. BIRKBECK WOOD, M.A., and Major J. E. EDMONDS, R.E., with an introduction by SPENSER WILKINSON. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen and Company. 1905. Pp. xxii, 549, with thirteen maps and eleven plans.)

THIS book, written by English military men, presumably young (since they describe themselves in the preface as attending recent lectures at the Staff College), is plainly the work of well-educated soldiers. It appears to be especially intended for the use of cadets. Though not so technical as to embarrass the general reader, the book is strictly military, making no further reference to matters civil and political than is necessary to a good understanding of the campaigns. It does not appear that the authors have made a personal study of the fields they describe, or, indeed, that they have ever visited America. The list of authorities to which they refer is rather meagre in view of the extent of the literature relating to the Civil War. Yet the authorities are excellent and have been carefully studied. There is no lack of intelligent comprehension of the events described, and the presentment is simple and direct.

By an odd dislocation the accounts of naval operations are given in a single chapter at the end of the book, the main narrative of events containing the scantiest possible mention of the work of the fleets. In the opinion of many men, both North and South, the navy was even more effective than the army in crushing the Confederacy. Its work was at any rate in the highest degree important, and to relegate the

record of it to the background is ungracious and inappropriate. In many actions of the war the operations of army and navy were intertwined like two strands of the same rope, and cannot be separated in the telling without violence. It is hard to account for so singular an arrangement, unless we take it that the authors, having in view as readers army men, felt that the navy might be postponed as having inferior interest.

In the history of our Civil War there are many points upon which men, whether critics or participants, have never agreed, and perhaps never will agree. Messrs. Wood and Edmonds judge without fear or favor as to the merits of commanders and give chapter and verse for their conclusions. In some of these we do not coincide, but shall take up here but one case. The Seven Days' campaign of 1862 before Richmond is described as "of immense value to the Confederate cause, because it established on a sure basis Lee's reputation as a commander in the field" (p. 80). Set over against this statement that of "Dick" Taylor, a Confederate lieutenant-general, an able soldier, a participant in the campaign, and a devoted friend of Lee. In his *Destruction and Reconstruction* (1879) occurs the statement (p. 86) that the Seven Days' campaign from Mechanicsville to Malvern Hill inclusive "was nothing but a series of blunders, one after another, and all huge".

Since McClellan was kept out of Richmond, the campaign in general must be held to have resulted in favor of the Confederates. But examining the details we find on their side much shortcoming. There was little disparity of numbers between the two sides. Of the series of great battles, but one, Gaines's Mill, was a victory for Lee; all the rest were distinctly defeats. Messrs. Wood and Edmonds repeat the familiar slur, that "Lee read McClellan like an open book" (p. 69). Certainly Lee did not read McClellan when, on June 28, believing that the Federals would retreat down the Peninsula, he detached Ewell's corps and his cavalry under Stuart on a wild-goose chase to the east. Between June 26 and July 1 Lee underwent four defeats: at Savage's Station he failed to embarrass the Federal retreat by Magruder's attack; at Glendale Longstreet and A. P. Hill failed to gain the Quaker road along which the main Federal army retired unassailed. At Mechanicsville and Malvern Hill occurred two of the most disastrous and sanguinary repulses of the entire war. In Lieutenant-general Taylor's opinion these misfortunes were largely due to ignorance on the part of the Confederates of the topography of the country. Though within a few miles of Richmond, neither Lee, nor Johnston before him, had caused it to be explored or mapped; while to the Federals it was accurately known. At the end, though Richmond remained uncaptured, Lee had lost in killed and wounded twice as many as his foe; and but for the inertia of McClellan, who however had shown ability of a high order during his change of base, might have been put to rout.

Of this poor showing for the Confederates Messrs. Wood and Edmonds are well aware, detailing with entire correctness the failures

just described. But how can it be claimed that the Seven Days' campaign established Lee's reputation as a commander? The campaign rather showed that Lee, although bold and brave, had yet much to learn in the handling of a great army. However it may be with poets, generals are made rather than born; or, at any rate, to the natural gift experience must be added in order to bring to pass the perfect soldier. This seems to have been true even in the case of a genius as marked as Lee. The Seven Days' campaign was 'prentice work, not that of a passed master in the art of war such as he afterward became.

Though one may here and there find fault with the work of Messrs. Wood and Edmonds, the book is nevertheless a good military account of our Civil War—impartial, painstaking, intelligent. The authors claim to be disciples of Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, one of the most capable and best instructed of our recent military critics, and the earlier chapters of the volume passed, before his death, under his review. The writers have sat at his feet to good purpose and do their teacher credit.

J. K. HOSMER.

*James Gillespie Blaine.* By EDWARD STANWOOD. [American Statesmen, Second Series.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. ii, 377.)

ONE could wish to find the editor of the second American Statesmen series proposing, as one of its objects, the correction of certain omissions from the first. It is hard to see why a gallery of statesmen which includes Calhoun should leave out Jefferson Davis, why it should include Benton and leave out Stephen A. Douglas, why it should include Charles Francis Adams and leave out Garrison. But one infers from the choice of Blaine for the initial number that the editor of the second series (whose identity, by the way, is not disclosed) means it to deal only with men whose careers belong chiefly to the years since Reconstruction.

To write of Blaine is still to provoke controversy, but it is also to arouse interest—at least, among those readers who can remember what a peculiar place Blaine long held in the affections of thousands of thoroughgoing Republicans, and how peculiarly exasperating some other Americans found him. Mr. Stanwood was perhaps better equipped for the work than any other writer in the country. He knew Blaine well—with an intimacy, it appears, passing that of ordinary friendship—and they were closely connected by marriage. He is himself a Maine man. He is a close student of party history. He is a good Republican. He keeps his faith in the man he writes about—an attitude always conducive to the interest of biography. Yet he excels, on the other hand, in the kind of fairness that consists in treating respectfully the men and views one opposes.

He is, one occasionally feels, somewhat at pains to demonstrate his freedom from partizanship by criticizing certain of Blaine's acts and dissenting pointedly from certain of his opinions. For instance, in

writing of the Fourteenth Amendment, Mr. Stanwood takes space enough to question whether the original plan of Thaddeus Stevens, to base the apportionment of representation in Congress directly on voting population, would not have worked better than the plan Blaine championed and which was finally adopted. He likewise points out the impropriety of Blaine's castigation of B. F. Butler in 1871, when the former was speaker, and so gravely deplores the consequences of the earlier quarrel with Roscoe Conkling that he does not quote the famous passage in which Blaine ridiculed Conkling's "turkey-gobbler strut" and scathingly compared him to Winter Davis. On the other hand, Blaine the writer, the historian, receives well-nigh unqualified praise. I fancy that few close students of the period treated in *Twenty Years of Congress* will agree that it is "calmly judicial" (p. 262). It is true that Blaine surpassed most of his party associates in breadth and liberality, but in his book he is, nevertheless, always a Republican, always a Northerner.

In the main, however, Mr. Stanwood's telling of Blaine's story is sensible, reasonable, and not without a good sense of proportion. He writes simply and straightforwardly, with no striving after brilliancy, and has evidently made considerable use of manuscript and other "original" sources, as well as of information obtained at first hand from Blaine himself and from his family and intimates. Most readers will no doubt turn to the treatment of the grave charges brought against Blaine's integrity in 1876, and again in 1880, during his candidacy for the presidency, as the crucial test of his biographer's trustworthiness. Mr. Stanwood protests, rightly enough, that his space does not permit of a thorough résumé, and entertains no hope of satisfying with his conclusion either side in the controversy. He gives, however, a careful statement, in chronological order, of what he regards as the main facts, and his conclusion is that although Blaine may have been guilty of "indelicacy", as well as of the—shall we say, folly?—of trying to conceal, even from the Maine friends to whom he sold Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds, the fact that he was at the time the paid selling agent of the company, he stands acquitted on "the only charge made against his integrity and independence as a public man" (p. 173). There is certainly not space enough here to give the reasons why one does not find Mr. Stanwood's view of the matter convincing. I will merely remark that he does not seem to have sufficiently well considered the inconsistency between the admitted facts of Blaine's connection with the Fort Smith and Little Rock Company and his own testimony that he bought his bonds at the same price others paid. The half-chapter devoted to the episode, brief as it is, will probably remain the most authoritative statement of the view that Blaine's apologists take of the most severely criticized part of his career.

The final chapter is a commendably moderate and candid estimate of Blaine's "contribution". Mr. Stanwood is doubtless right in holding that Blaine's claim to the rank of statesman rests almost entirely on his

work as Secretary of State under Garfield and Harrison and on his "influence upon the general tendency of the political thought of his countrymen" (p. 363), particularly in the field of world-politics. It is a judgment one may approve without approving Blaine's policies, or the ideals which he inculcated. It is chiefly as a jingo that he demands the historian's attention.

The book does not present the man very vividly. Those readers who never saw him in the flesh, who never even felt that peculiar personal effect which so remarkably extended itself far beyond the circle of his actual acquaintance, will perhaps find him unexplained at the end. But most readers, I think, will be left in a much kindlier mood toward him than they would bring from a reading of Gail Hamilton's extravagant panegyric. One finds it hard not to feel some sympathy and liking for Blaine, however strongly one may condemn the things he did and the things he stood for. He was weak with a very human weakness, rather than callous with the cold-blooded callousness of certain public characters with whom reformers have nowadays to reckon. One is particularly impressed with the Irish quality of his personality; in temperament he was as unmistakably Irish as—Mr. Bernard Shaw. That, perhaps, rather than the mere fact that he had much Irish blood in his veins, was the secret of his popularity with the Irish among his countrymen, and of much of his popularity with his countrymen of other races as well. If we choose to consider his career more puzzling than other men's—and unless we do so consider it, do not we deny him something accorded to every man famous enough to have a biography?—there suggests itself, as a possible clue to his mystery, the combination of an Irish temperament with membership in the Republican party and residence in Maine.

WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

*Writings on American History, 1903.* A Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States History published during the Year 1903, with some Memoranda on other Portions of America. Prepared by ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, WILLIAM ADAMS SLADE, and ERNEST DORMAN LEWIS. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. November, 1905. Pp. xiv, 172.)

THIS well-executed, handsome, classified bibliography includes 3,591 titles of books and periodical articles and is a most welcome fulfilling of the strongly felt need for such a guide to the newest literature of American history. The number of titles included is itself an exhibition of the need; and a glimpse at the five pages of abbreviations of periodicals referred to, and the three pages of publishers represented, emphasizes the impossibility of the attempt of the student of American history to keep himself abreast of his material without some such aid.

The scope of the work is the same as that of the Richardson and Morse volume for 1902, but the method as regards detail of inclusion, annotation, arrangement, and typography has been radically changed. The inclusion, though liberal, is more chastened, and the annotation, though reasonable in quantity and admirably well judged, does not attempt to give the substance of reviews and is thus reduced to more manageable proportions. The double column and larger type make a more legible and far handsomer page than its predecessor, and the classified arrangement will be welcomed by many, especially by those cultivating a particular field, as an improvement. The classified versus the alphabetical arrangement must be counted a matter of taste so long as there are so many scholars who are confident of the superiority of the classified library catalogue, the classified cyclopedia, and the classified bibliography for their purposes. The main point in this matter is that if the arrangement is alphabetical the work should also have a good classified index, and if classified, a good alphabetical index; and the more than eighty fine-print columns of index to this volume are an admirable compensation for any deficiencies of the classified system.

As a matter of practical observation, however, it must be said that the alphabetical encyclopedia and the alphabetical subject catalogue seem in general to be winning their way in the world with all except the most special students, and even in that most technical field of technology the alphabetical order has been judged most satisfactory in the *Reperitorium der technischen Journal-Literatur* published by the Imperial Patent Office of Germany—one of the very best examples of the current annual bibliography.

In regard to the typographical form, too, it may be said that if (what is devoutly to be wished) there should be a five-year "cumulation" of this bibliography, the fine-print, long-line style, though less handsome, would lend itself better to cumulation.

To attempt to note detailed errors and deficiencies would be futile. Doubtless there are such, as the chief editor remarks in the preface, but the book belongs to a class of work where a certain amount of error is inevitable except under conditions of precaution which would tend to make publication economically impossible. It is enough to say that this volume is an advance and is unusually well done in this matter. In general the book bears the mark of the careful and competent historical student preparing his work for scholars and attaining thus a higher standard of unity and accuracy than the librarian trying to cater to a larger class of needs and wider classes of users.

No one who has not attempted the task has the faintest idea of the amount of pains required to secure proper inclusion and exclusion and decent accuracy in work of this sort, but every one who writes in this field and every librarian who must guide readers in this field owes profound gratitude to Professor McLaughlin and his colleagues for having performed a service so essential to American historical work.

## MINOR NOTICES

Volume XIX. of the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series (London, 1905, pp. vi, 388), opens with the Presidential Address by Dr. G. W. Prothero. Professor J. F. Baldwin traces the "Beginnings of the King's Council" in the reigns of John and of Henry III., when this body began to assume a definite and permanent character. In its functions and personnel the council during the minority of Henry III. was based upon the council of John; and after the minority had ended, this body retained its influence. This paper has since been supplemented by Professor Baldwin's articles on "Early Records of the King's Council" in this REVIEW, October, 1905 (XI. 1-15), and on "Antiquities of the King's Council" in the January number of the *English Historical Review*. The history of the English occupation of Tangier (1661-1683) is sketched by Miss Enid Routh, who draws her conclusions from English sources which she briefly describes. A communication by C. T. Flower on the Beverley Town Riots, 1381-1382, based on hitherto unpublished documents, of which some are appended, gives interesting details as to the methods employed by rival oligarchic and bourgeois factions in attempting to acquire and maintain political control of the municipality. Miss E. M. Leonard's able monograph on "The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century" is an important contribution to English economic history. She seems to have proved her contention that during the seventeenth century the inclosing movement was not suspended, as has been supposed, but on the contrary progressed rapidly. She also presents strong arguments in support of her opinions that inclosure proceedings as conducted in England tended to destroy the small landed proprietor, and create a class of landless laborers; and that the agrarian conditions peculiar to the Midlands caused the strong opposition to inclosures in that part of England, where, contrary to the opinion usually held, inclosures did not proceed with special rapidity, but were, on the contrary, checked by the restrictive measures of the government. In a very readable paper on "Bartolus and the Development of European Political Ideas", the Reverend J. Neville Figgis shows that the fourteenth-century jurist introduced a wider conception of the civil law, which facilitated its reception at a later period. The Alexander Prize Essay for 1904 is a careful narrative of the "Beginnings of the Cistercian Order", by W. A. Parker Mason. Dr. O. Jensen contributes a learned history of the "Denarius Sancti Petri" in England from the time of Canute to Elizabeth, and appends thereto a considerable number of documents from the Vatican. He concludes that Gregory VII. attempted to connect the obligations of the payment of the pence and the oath of allegiance; and gives interesting details regarding the method of collecting the pence and the papal organization finally established in London for this purpose, to the dissatisfaction of the English. Two brief



communications with accompanying documents relate to "Polydore Vergil in the English Law Courts", by I. S. Leadam, and "The Case of Dr. Crowe", clergyman in the reign of Henry VIII., by R. H. Brodie. Mr. H. E. Malden notes instances of bondmen in Surrey under the Tudors. R. G. Marsden has compiled a list of English Ships in the Reign of James I., giving so far as possible their tonnage, ports, voyages, and in some cases references to the documents in which the ships' names occur.

F. G. D.

The supplement to the ninth volume of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, second series, contains the annual reports of the Council and committees of the Archaeological Institute of America.

The report of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens includes an obituary notice of the late director of the school, Dr. Theodore Woolsey Heermance. He initiated the project of publishing a thorough study of the Erechtheum, which is now well under way; and the report on the excavations at Corinth is nearing completion. Liberal grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington will be applied toward the excavations in Corinth, exploration, and a fellowship in architecture.

Grants from the same Institution to the American School of Classical Studies in Rome will be used for publishing the papers of the school, and for research fellowships. The chairman of the Managing Committee adduces evidences of the value of the school in offering educational opportunities to teachers of ancient history and the classics, as well as in training investigators.

The report of the director of the American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine contains a highly interesting account of several somewhat perilous excursions, including the circumnavigation of the Dead Sea. The results obtained include the correction of errors in published maps, and other additions to geographical knowledge, many photographic and phonographic records, squeezes of Babylonian, Hebraic, Phoenician, Greek, and Latin inscriptions, studies of local customs and ceremonies, and the discovery of hitherto unknown ruins and city sites.

The Committee on American Archaeology reports a grant to secure information regarding the remains of Indian antiquity in the United States, and grants to the Southwest Society. This vigorous organization has recently collected phonographic records of six hundred Spanish and Indian folk-songs, has conducted archaeological explorations, and has obtained or has been promised large collections of artistic and archaeological interest, many of which formerly belonged to the early Catholic missions and churches of Southern California. The collections will be deposited in a great "Southwest Museum" which the Society is now laboring to erect. Dr. A. M. Tozzer, who will soon complete the term of his four-year fellowship in American archaeology, reports a continuation of his field-work in Mexico and Yucatan. A careful comparison of the narratives of early European visitors with the results of

his own observations shows a remarkable survival of ancient customs and culture. Dr. Tozzer is engaged in compiling a full bibliography of Mexico and Central America.

Mr. J. N. Larned's two well-printed volumes, *Seventy Centuries of the Life of Mankind* (Springfield, Mass., C. A. Nichols Company, 1905, pp. 465, 539), is more extended than a book of dates like Ploetz's *Epitome of Universal History*, but is not full enough to take rank as a history of the world. None the less is it a useful book. Mr. Larned has a keen eye for what is salient, and he lays much emphasis upon personal character, with the result that a sketch of the history of the world in two not portly volumes is positively readable. In its reaction against old-time cock-sureness, based on inadequate knowledge, the present age looks with skepticism, at times not unmingled with amusement, upon philosophies of history. The attitude is not wholly reasonable, for the doctrine of evolution is a philosophy of nature, and human society represents a process of evolution too. But for so vast a field we distrust our inductions. Mr. Larned, however, has no misgivings. "The story of the life of mankind is divided naturally, by great changes of circumstance, into six epochs" (I. v). It is true that when we come to survey these epochs they prove very loose indeed. There is not much that is distinctive in the first—the "Epoch of the Earliest Civilizations and Known Empires"; and the other five are hardly more illuminating: "Epoch of the Greeks and Romans"; "Epoch of the New Nations, known as the Middle Ages"; "Epoch of Modernizing Expansions, called the Renaissance"; "Epoch of Political Revolutions"; "Epoch of Science, Mechanism, Democracy, and the Transforming of the World". Mr. Larned does not attempt the difficult task of tracing the vital connection between the epochs. He contents himself with sketching at the beginning of each the "chief characters"—not, be it observed, the chief characteristics—of the period. These sketches are usually accompanied by portraits of the persons concerned, for the most part taken from good sources, and useful. But from the point of view of serious history, we have not much to say in favor of the numerous fanciful pictures of historic scenes which embellish other pages. Mr. Larned's point of view is not wholly impartial or critical, and when he comes down to recent times he cannot conceal his dislike of the German emperor, his distrust of American imperialism, his scorn of the European intrusion into China. He may be right, but his is not the judicial tone of Ranke or of Stubbs. Nor does his list of authorities show very extensive reading even in the secondary sources, and it is confined to works in English. Yet his book is to be praised; it is an accurate and lucid summary of the chief events in world-history put forth in an attractive form.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

The initial number of the twenty-fourth volume of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law is an essay by Dr. Lynn Thorndike on *The Place of Magic in the Intellectual His-*

*tory of Europe* (New York, Macmillan, 1905, pp. 110). As the author himself has the discretion to point out, the present essay is far from being an attempt at a complete treatment of that theme. After merely illustrating the persistence throughout the Middle Ages of belief in magic, he devotes this paper to a somewhat more careful survey of its place in the thought of the Roman Empire. He has dipped for himself into the ancient writers, has gathered much curious information, and has set it forth with gusto and with considerable sprightliness of style; but his study, though intelligent, is sadly lacking in thoroughness, and yet more so in closeness of thought and precision of diction. Of magic itself his conception is confused in the extreme. If the further research which his ambitious title seems to promise is to have a serious worth for scholarship, he must gird himself for a much more strenuous grapple with his subject.

*An Introduction to the History of Sugar as a Commodity.* By Ellen Deborah Ellis. [Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Monograph Series, Volume IV.] (Philadelphia, The John C. Winston Company, 1905, pp. 117.) This monograph is based largely, though not entirely, upon secondary sources and cannot be said to add materially to what was already known. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it is an attempt to analyze and relate historical phenomena in strict accordance to such economic concepts as production, consumption, supply, demand, etc. The economic terminology as used tends to obscure rather than to illuminate the subject. For example, the statement that "the English succeeded in winning for themselves the monopoly in the production of sugar values in exchange" (p. 85) does not at once suggest the meaning which it appears to have—that the English acquired a monopoly of the sugar-trade.

*Lectures on the History of the Middle Ages.* By George D. Ferguson, Professor of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. (Kingston, Uglow and Company, 1905, pp. viii, 634.) Professor Ferguson's work contains a series of thirty-three lectures upon medieval history, delivered before students "substantially in the form in which they are here presented". After a preliminary discourse on the continuity of history, he takes up the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire, discusses principles of law and custom which passed on to later generations, and devotes three chapters to the settlements of the Germanic races in Europe. In the further pursuit of the subject the author has had in mind especially the development of political institutions as affected by feudalism, and has made France the chief source of his illustrative examples.

The literary defects of the lecture form are not very apparent, but it would have been better to eliminate the few traces remaining. The work makes no pretensions to new views of the Middle Ages, nor is there anything novel in the order of treatment. The lectures undoubtedly

served a good purpose in vivifying by the spoken word a complex subject to an audience of students, but in a printed work they do not compare favorably with essays already in the field, like Professor George B. Adams's *Civilization during the Middle Ages*. Both assume the reader to be familiar with the general history of the period, but there is a great difference in the clearness of exposition.

The outward appearance of the work is not agreeable. Owing to the thickness of the paper, the book occupies twice the space it needs, and has a dropsical effect which is not relieved by artistic excellences in printing. The proof-reading deserved more attention from a university professor. The foot-notes bristle with misprints, particularly of foreign words. The author has given evidence of wide reading and much scholarly thought, and yet one may question the advisability of publishing this work.

J. M. VINCENT.

The interest aroused in the controversy concerning Toscanelli and Columbus, originated by the communications of Señor Gonzalez de la Rosa and Mr. Henry Vignaud to the Congress of Americanists held at Paris in 1900, may be measured by the length of the annotated bibliography of the controversy printed by Signor G. Uzielli among the *Atti* of the Fifth Italian Geographical Congress, held in Naples in 1904, and also issued in separate form (*Bibliografia della Polemica concernente Paolo Toscanelli e Cristoforo Colombo*, Naples, A. Tocco-Salvietti, 1905). This bibliography, consisting of references to one hundred and sixty-nine books, papers, and reviews, has been largely compiled by Mr. Vignaud, and much of it was printed by him in 1903 in his answers to Sir Clements Markham and Mr. C. R. Beazley. Signor Uzielli has translated the bibliography, added considerably to it, and prefaced it with an introduction which states the questions at issue and includes two documents discovered by him and previously printed: a note regarding a colloquy held in 1454 between Toscanelli and the Portuguese ambassadors; and a letter written in 1494 by the Duke of Ferrara to his ambassador in Florence, asking him to get from the nephew of Toscanelli notices made by his uncle regarding certain recently discovered islands.

F. G. D.

*The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth as illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, 1582-1589.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the MS. in the Possession of J. F. Gurney, Esquire, Keswick Hall, Norfolk, by Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. (Harvard). (London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1905, pp. li, 105.) In this handsomely printed little volume Dr. Usher has made a contribution to the obscure history of the Puritan attempts to introduce modifications of ministerial appointments, worship, and discipline into the English Church, in the third decade of the reign of Elizabeth, that will be appreciated by students of the ecclesiastical and political history of the time. The Dedham Classis was but one of a number of similar organizations, but its story was doubtless typical of

that of the movement as a whole. And the record of its eighty meetings, here reproduced, brings out in clear light the tentative methods of these early Puritans, their difficulties in enforcing a discipline that had no coercive power behind it, and their shifts to keep out of the clutches of the law while really doing what the ecclesiastical constitution of England, as then established, did not permit. Dr. Usher had added greatly to the value of these Minutes by his introductory bibliography and notes, by a reprint of the pertinent portions of the *Dangerous Positions*, of which the later archbishop, Richard Bancroft, was the author, and by biographical notices of the ministers involved, or referred to, in the transactions recorded in the Minutes. A brief selection of contemporary letters and papers taken from the same manuscript volume increases the worth of the record. The editing, as a whole, is thoroughly well done. One may query, indeed, whether Dr. Usher has not overemphasized the significance of such disagreements and divergences of view as he finds among these early Puritans. They were feeling their way, and it was only in the larger aspects of a modification of the polity of the Church that approximate unity was to be expected. Nor is there anything surprising in the relatively slight popular support for Puritanism which the record reveals. The Puritan ministers were still comparatively a feeble minority, and their educative work among the population at large had but just begun. Dr. Usher's documents and accompanying notes may well serve, however, to modify the claims which have sometimes been made as to the strength of the Puritan movement during Whitgift's tenure of the archbishopric.

WILLISTON WALKER.

*Chatham.* By Frederic Harrison. (New York, The Macmillan Company, London, Macmillan and Company, 1905, pp. vi, 239.) This monograph is from the point of view of an admirer of Chatham's imperialism. Mr. Harrison regards Chatham as the author of the colonial system and the founder of the empire. "For good and for evil, through heroism and through spoliation, with all its vast and far-reaching consequences, industrial, economic, social, and moral—the foundation of the Empire", he holds, "was the work of Chatham. He changed the course of England's history—nay, the course of modern history. For a century and a half the development of our country has grown upon the imperial lines of Chatham's ideals; and succeeding statesmen have based the keynote of their policy on enlarging the range of these ideals, in warding off the dangers they involved, in curbing or in stimulating the excesses they bred" (p. 2). For statesmen and politicians who have stimulated these excesses, Mr. Harrison has little but contempt. He is an admirer of the imperialism which has made this North American continent Anglo-Saxon in its law and its civilization; but he is strong in his condemnation of the imperialism that means small colonies of white settlers holding in serfdom vast masses of some inferior race. There are no footnotes and no bibliography; but there are internal evidences that little in print—memoirs or letters—concerning Chatham has escaped Mr. Har-

rison's attention; and this care coupled with his style has given us a monograph on Chatham of abiding value.

EDWARD PORRITT.

The fourth volume of Poultney Bigelow's *History of the German Struggle for Liberty* (New York and London, Harper, 1905, pp. xvi, 304) does not carry the work much beyond the point previously reached, since it deals only with the eve and the first phase of the revolution of 1848. Social conditions which contributed to the outbreak of the revolution consume about one-third of the space, character-sketches of Frederick William IV., Ludwig I. of Bavaria, Prince William of Prussia (the emperor of later days), and of several minor characters occupy a sixth, leaving about one-half of the book for the narrative of the March Revolutions. Save for a single inadequate chapter upon France, there is no serious effort to connect the revolution in Germany with the great European movement of which it was a part, while for Germany itself attention is focussed almost exclusively upon Munich and Berlin.

Both in conception and in execution this volume is stamped with the same qualities which marked its predecessors. It differs from them chiefly in that the common defects are more conspicuous and the merits less pronounced. A slender thread of history is used to string together a multitude of comments upon all sorts of subjects. Many of these are altogether foreign to the matter which furnished the occasion for them, and seem to be inserted for no other purpose than to show the author's extensive travels, display his supercilious wit, or gratify his numerous personal grudges.

The book is divided into thirty short chapters. Apparently the author intended that each chapter should present a portrait, a social study, or the story of some significant event. Taking *en bloc* the chapters devoted to each of the three themes, it cannot be said that he has altogether succeeded with any of them, although portions of each have considerable value for a discriminating reader. The portraits are caricatures; the social studies are mere jumbles of data leading to no definite results; the narratives, owing to digressions, the omission of some essential matters, and overemphasis of others, fail to give a clear and definite idea of what actually occurred, although an exception must be noted for the story of the March Revolution at Berlin.

In the details of book-construction the volume is unusually faulty. A large proportion of the text, probably a third, consists of quotations worked in with so little skill that the volume suggests the note-book rather than the finished production. As is proper in a popular work, most of the quotations are given in translation. Unfortunately their utility for the majority of readers is destroyed by the author's trick of leaving every few lines a sentence or two untranslated. The style is increasingly familiar and journalistic, while badly constructed sentences are numerous. The bibliography is worthless, as it consists of nothing but titles, without even an alphabetical arrangement. The worst feature of the book, however, is its unfortunate tone. In attempting to add

piquancy to his pages the author has gone far afield to drag in *risqué* matter until he has produced a vulgar tone which in places goes perilously close to indecency. The offense against good taste is not mitigated by leaving the worst passages in French, German, or Latin.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*Le Carte d'America di Giacomo Gastaldi: Contributo alla Storia della Cartografia del Secolo XVI.* Per Stefano Grande. (Turin, Hans Rinck, 1905, pp. 167 and 6 facsimiles.) Mr. Henry Harrisse performed a better service than he expected, when he remarked that Italy had no consequential part in the discovery of America. It may be that he realized that Italian students were already coming to the forefront as investigators in the field of historical geography, and that they were soon to challenge his leadership in this direction. He succeeded, at all events, in furnishing them with an incentive to search out the facts concerning many matters whereon had long been based his reputation as a master of historical lore. It would not be fair to Professor Grande to suggest that his study of Gastaldi's American maps, any more than his previous book on the geographer's life and works (1902), was the result of a desire to disprove Mr. Harrisse's statement. The critical reader may be pardoned a feeling, however, that the work owes to Mr. Harrisse some of its excellence.

Professor Grande has made a detailed study of the maps of America drawn by Gastaldi between 1546 and 1562. He shows that they are derivatives from the well-known Ribero maps, although Gastaldi's intimate acquaintance with Ramusio, for whom he prepared the maps in the *Viaggi*, gave him access to many other sources of later information. Previous to the work for Ramusio, Gastaldi had drawn the modern maps for the edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* published at Venice in 1548, the delicate engraving of which contrasts most curiously with the coarse but effective woodcuts in Ramusio's *Viaggi*. In regard to these, Professor Grande makes one slip, due doubtless to some confusion in his notes on the editions of Ptolemy of 1548 and 1561, in both of which Gastaldi's maps were used. It is in the later, and not the earlier, edition that Yucatan is represented as a peninsula instead of an island, a correction much more creditable to the geographer. Professor Grande also seems to be unaware of the existence—important chiefly as a matter of bibliographical interest—of an earlier state of the plate of the large planisphere of 1546, lacking some of the features of the map as reproduced by him in facsimile.

G. P. WINSHIP.

*A History of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1635-1904.* By Elihu S. Riley. (Baltimore, Nunn and Company, 1905, pp. vi, 423.) This work is one of those which have come into existence because of the generosity of a state legislature, which appropriated part or all of the sum needed for purposes of publication. Maryland thus began the

encouragement of her historical students eighty years ago, by an appropriation to Bozman's scholarly and accurate study of the early years of the province. The author of the *History of the General Assembly* is a well-known Annapolis journalist and antiquary and is also the author of a history of the state's capital (1887). His plan in this book has been to treat the sessions of the Assembly in chronological order, giving a brief abstract of the proceedings and of some of the important acts passed. He carries the narrative down to the removal of certain election officials by the governor in July, 1904; and the fact that he devotes over a page to this event shows that he does not always confine himself to occurrences which happened during the sessions of the legislature. The proceedings of the Assemblies which met during the first eighty years of Maryland's history are printed in full in the *Maryland Archives*, and a convenient compendium of many of the important matters contained in the volumes of the *Archives* will be found here. For the eighteenth century the book has more value for the student, as the proceedings of the sessions during this period are not easy to obtain. Out of the 423 pages of the book, 304 treat of the events prior to 1776. This apportionment of attention to the provincial and state periods is a common but unfortunate one, as it does not give room for proper discussion of the important developments of the nineteenth century. In this work the treatment of the Assemblies of the state period is also imperfect, in that the author has almost entirely used the *Statutes* as sources, to the neglect of the *Journals of Proceedings*. The treatment of the period between 1776 and 1860 is especially inadequate. The sessions from 1777 to 1785 are given only five pages. Those from 1812 to 1815 receive only one page. Mr. Riley was state printer in 1861, and his knowledge of men and events of the last half-century has enabled him to intersperse the later pages with a number of interesting anecdotes, character studies, etc., of the men whom he has known. It is a pity that he did not give a longer time to the composition of the work, making it more philosophical and accurate and supplying it with an index, for want of which it loses half its usefulness. There is not even a table of contents.

*The Maryland and Virginia Boundary Controversy (1668-1894)*. By Louis N. Whealton. (New York, Albert J. Leon, [1905], pp. 55, vi.) In these days of frequent boundary disputes and settlements it is interesting to find such a scholarly and eminently satisfactory presentation as that given us by Mr. Whealton in this dissertation presented at Johns Hopkins University. For, although not an international affair, the question of this boundary will always be of interest to the American historian, embracing as it does so much of the history of the settlement and subsequent growth of the two colonies. The student, perhaps more than any one else, will appreciate the amount of research and labor involved in this dissertation, which presents in logical, condensed form facts and laws only to be gleaned from remote and often practically buried sources.



There are described: I. Charters and Grants, 1606-1632; II. The Work of the First Boundary Commissioners, 1632-1668; III. First Fountain of the Potomac, 1698-1776; IV. Compact of 1785; V. Ineffectual Legislation, 1785-1860; VI. Settle[ment] by Arbitration, 1860-1884; VII. Fishery Rights in Common Waters and the Oyster Troubles to 1894. These show, step by step, the cause of each dispute, its discussions, and final settlement.

The first section shows how James's grant to the London Company, following that of Elizabeth to Raleigh, marks the beginning of this boundary question, for "Under this grant, Jamestown was settled in 1607. Here we find Virginia's first boundaries, which, on the north and south after 1607 were each fifty statute miles distant from Jamestown" (p. 6). This and the subsequent grants led to the work of the first boundary commissioners, as "The grant to Lord Baltimore, in 1632, was regarded as an infringement upon the Virginia Charter of 1609, and during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Colony settled by the London Company strenuously asserted its claim to the Maryland territory. This was the beginning of a long dispute" (pp. 12-13). It is shown how the first commission was followed by one dispute after another with partial adjustments, until the final settlement by arbitration, 1860-1884, and the agreement upon the "Fishery Rights" in 1894.

*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Vol. IV. 1776, January 1 to June 4 (Washington, 1906, pp. 416). In arrangement and mode of editing this fourth volume, naturally, follows the same system which Mr. Ford has established in the first three. The workmanship is of similarly high character, the text of the actual journal being supplemented by the texts of the reports and other documents, derived from the papers of the Continental Congress in Mr. Ford's official custody. John Adams's autobiography, Force's *Archives*, and other authorities are drawn upon for notes. While the main transactions of 1776, those relative to the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the negotiations with France fall into the next volume, many matters of civil and military interest find here a much more ample and perfect record than they have ever had hitherto.

*State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781*, by Beverly W. Bond, jr. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 3-4] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 118), is a thorough and painstaking research based upon original sources. The task of organizing the state government with the separation of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial functions is fully described; the chief innovations being the substitution in place of the governor and upper house of the Assembly, formerly proprietary or

crown appointees, a Senate chosen by the people through the indirect method of county electors, and a governor and council annually chosen by the Assembly.

Considerable attention is given to the attitude of the state government toward the Continental Congress and the question of state sovereignty; and this is emphasized in the controversy over the cession to the United States of the "back lands" claimed by Virginia. New light is thrown by the author upon this controversy, not hitherto revealed in Adams's *Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions to the United States*, and it is shown (p. 24) that Maryland as early as October 30, 1776, had put herself upon record in demanding that the so-called "back lands" "be considered common stock to be parcelled out at any time into convenient, free, and independent governments"; and by unflinching adhering to her position, and refusing to ratify the Articles of Confederation, Maryland forced the Virginian cessions, saved the union, and prepared the way for the organization of the Northwest Territory.

The author has described also the aid rendered to the Continental army, the currency situation in the state, commercial relations, the confiscation of British property, internal disturbances, and the treatment of the Tories. He has pointed out repeatedly the disposition of the state to brook no coercion or interference in internal administration by Congress, and to reserve to herself the rights of a sovereign state, until the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, in foreign as well as in her domestic concerns; as seen, for example, in her ratification of the treaty with France.

Ample references to the *Maryland Archives*, contemporary letters, and other sources are given in the foot-notes and the appended bibliography. At times there is a lack of clearness; and much of the matter in the foot-notes might better have been incorporated in the text. A more varied and interesting style, with fewer short sentences and with a more adequate interpretation of events, would have improved the work.

J. W. B.

*Democracy in the South before the Civil War.* By G. W. Dyer, M.A., Instructor in Economics and Sociology in Vanderbilt University. (Nashville, Tenn., Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1905, pp. 90.) This is a controversial essay in the interpretation of social history. While its substance is of very uneven value, the style and thought are vigorous, and the book deserves attention as a product of its time—as one of numerous protests from the thoughtful youth of the South against the injustice done their people by the general American historians. The introduction is good and strong, and, except for a somewhat excessive belligerency, the general attitude of the author is well taken. He breaks down at times, however, when making concrete applications of his sweeping charge of error in the work of the general historians; and as is true of many other controversialists, his fault here lies in his failure to apply his own precepts. He complains

of the amateurishness of the historians in societary interpretation due to a lack of proper technical training, and to a disposition to generalize too widely from given data. Mr. Dyer himself is not perfect in either historical or statistical method; his statements are sometimes rash and his reasoning faulty. For example, he contends (pp. 41-43) that there was no tendency in the South to the monopolizing of land and slaves, because from the nature of agriculture a relatively small farm must have a differential advantage over a large one. Here he has failed to realize that the production of the southern staples was an exceptional sort of agriculture, in which unintelligent labor could be used with profit on a large scale under expert supervision, and that the plantation system furnished a method of organization and control which gave the relatively large producer a decisive advantage. He attempts (p. 60) to prove that the market value of the slaves should be incorporated in any comparison of per capita wealth North and South. His reasoning here, if not in a circle, is certainly in a tangle. In several instances the author commits the fallacy of proving too much. These are, of course, the faults of his controversial method. The author shows himself, in spite of his temporary faults, to be a student of distinct power and promise. Many of his ideas are genuine contributions, in accord with the best philosophy of the Old South. He has evidently secured a number of valuable facts and statistics from local records and other unique sources, and the further publication which he has promised in his preface will be awaited with interest. Meanwhile he is entitled to our thanks for very justly emphasizing the existence and importance in the South of a powerful though hampered democracy in industry, society, and politics.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

*Antonio López de Santa Anna: Mi Historia Militar y Política; 1810-1874; Memorias Inéditas.* (Mexico, Librería de la Vda. de Ch. Bouret, 1905, pp. viii, 281.) The second volume of the collection called "Documentos inéditos ó muy raros para la Historia de Mexico", edited by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra, contains the hitherto unprinted autobiography of Santa Anna. This autobiography is disappointing both as a human document and as a source for history. While in exile at Nassau, New Providence, between 1870 and 1874, Santa Anna wrote the story of his life with the purpose of "rebutting the infamous calumnies of his enemies with an exact statement of fact". The autobiography, therefore, is in no sense a confession. It is a vainglorious appeal to his countrymen for justice in the tone and temper of a revolutionary *pronunciamiento*, in the writing of which he had had long experience. All of the narrative was written from memory, as the author admits that his private papers had been destroyed many years before. What mistakes he might have made during his long career were, he asserted, due to excess of zeal for his country's welfare, and he felt that he had fairly earned the title of

patriot. This being the case, he believed that posterity would do him justice. By such an elimination of modesty, Santa Anna's narrative passes out of the reach of historical criticism.

His test of the patriotism and ability of his contemporaries is the assistance or opposition given him personally by each. For the disaster of the Texas campaign he blames the disobedience of General Filisola. Only by a traitorous disclosure of his plans was Taylor saved from annihilation by Santa Anna just before Buena Vista. The cowardice of General Alvares, the "Panther of the South", was responsible for the Mexican defeat at Molino del Rey. The result of the fight at the Belén gate is ascribed to the same quality in General Terres. These instances of Santa Anna's point of view are taken almost at random. Circumstantial description of the military events of the war between Mexico and the United States is wholly lacking. No comment, save by denial, is made concerning his relations with Polk. Not a word is said about the understanding had in July, 1846, at Havana, with Polk's emissary, Alexander Slidell Mackenzie. For Santa Anna's justification of his campaign during the war, one must turn to his *Apelacion* or vindication, published in 1849. Enough has been said to show that Santa Anna's autobiography is the product of a vainly ambitious and conscienceless adventurer, who after all his efforts confesses that "the man is nothing, power everything". The typography of the book is poor; the proof-reading execrable.

JESSE S. REEVES.

*John Fiske*. By Thomas Sergeant Perry. [The Beacon Biographies.] (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company, 1906, pp. xii, 105.) This brief biography cannot be commended for accuracy, abundance of information, discriminating judgment, or literary merit. On p. vii we learn that John Fiske was born at Middletown; on p. 4, that Hartford was his birthplace. The author discusses the learning of the historian, the lucidity of his style, the relation of his evolutionary philosophy to his historical method, and his interest in re-grouping known facts rather than in discovering new. The temper of the book is sufficiently illustrated by a single quotation: "Those who disapproved of Fiske instinctively, tried to persuade themselves, and others, that it was because he did not work in the archives. . . . One is always glad of an excuse for hating one's kind; and this excuse could serve as well as another . . . Still there is something to be said in favour of the method which lets the store of information filter through an intelligent mind on its way to the reader" (pp. 66-67). The book is prefaced by a chronology of Fiske's life and writings, and concludes with a brief bibliography.

F. G. D.

## TEXT-BOOKS

*A History of Mediæval and Modern Europe.* By HENRY E. BOURNE, Professor in the College for Women, Western Reserve University. (New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xxii, 502.)

*Essentials in Mediæval and Modern History (from Charlemagne to the Present Day).* By SAMUEL BANNISTER HARDING, Ph.D., Professor of European History, Indiana University, in consultation with ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., Professor of History, Harvard University. [Essentials in History.] (New York: American Book Company. 1905. Pp. 612, xxxi.)

It is safe to say that those of us who have not written a text-book in any field of history can have no adequate idea of the difficulty of writing a suitable manual for the high-school course on the mediæval and modern periods. At the same time, any experienced teacher of history should find it easy to see that the authors of the two manuals named above have done their work with no mean appreciation of the magnitude of the task. And yet, with all the pains those books have evidently cost, one must still wonder whether either of them offers a quite satisfactory solution of the problem in view.

Professor Bourne's volume—which is understood to be the first in a new series of such texts—begins with "The Roman Empire in the Fourth Century" and goes from there on, in a series of chapters which have in total but four hundred and seventy-six pages. Brevity is thus one of its special features; and a feature which should be reckoned with by those who may contemplate using the book. It has been gained largely by "the omission of many facts which are ordinarily explained or at least mentioned"; yet the number of subjects treated is so large that the omitting of "facts", whatever else it has accomplished, has emphasized generality of statement. And the question comes up whether, for the average youth of the second year of the high-school, a specially brief text-book is after all in the best way to have advantage over longer ones if its brevity be not gained by a more rigorous restriction not so much of "facts" as of subjects than is practised here. In any case, there can hardly be doubt on this point: the use of so short a manual involves relying in a special degree upon sources of information outside of the text-book; it demands a good supply of books for supplementary reading. It is rightly observed that such books "are constantly increasing in numbers and utility"; but the point at present is, no teacher should think it feasible to use this manual unless his classes can actually have access to a good many of such books. And be it said forthwith that Professor Bourne for his part shows the way into these books, if they are but at hand: he gives references at the end of each chapter, classifying them, some for "general reading", others for reading on the various sections of the chapter, a third lot for "additional reading", and occasionally still others "for review".

A further feature of this text is the one which arises from "the attempt . . . to narrate the history of the more important countries together in chronological order, instead of giving to each a separate treatment". So, for example, the titles of chapters relating to the Middle Ages after Charlemagne run, "Beginnings of Feudal Europe", "The New Europe, its Rulers and its Foes", "The Rise of the People", "The Ruin of the Empire: The Growth of England and France", "Wars of Nations and Races: The Cry of Reform in the Church". The justification offered for proceeding thus is that while the other plan obliges "the reader to move forward and backward along the chronological series" and involves "an unusual effort of attention" to "make the necessary correlation of events" and "gain an adequate conception of the progress of Europe as a whole", this method of exposition "should possess the advantages of a larger unity, making intelligible what might otherwise seem the consequence of individual caprice or of chance", and "should also accustom the pupil to group events, in order by discovering their relations to gain more of their meaning". But whatever reasons may be advanced in favor of this method in general, the cardinal query arises here, Does it justify itself in this particular case? Is it practised in this instance in such a way that it contributes to the framing of a course which is adapted to children of the second year of the high-school? Is it true that our teachers of history in this grade can best stir the interest and understanding of their pupils concerning Europe in 936-1154 by using a chapter which will lead them successively to the eastern and northern borders of the old Frankish empire, to England under the Danes and William the Conqueror, to Germany and Italy from Otto's revival of the emperorship through the pontificate of Gregory VII., to the East in the time of the first crusade, then back to Germany for the compromise upon investiture, then to France and England for the first Capetians and the rise of Henry II.? This chapter, to be sure, is hardly a fair example of the twenty-nine others, but what it illustrates in a special degree is sufficiently characteristic of the book as a whole to give importance to the practical question already suggested: Is the principle of exposition here followed, however reasonable it may be in theory, actually applied by Professor Bourne in a way to make his outline clear and definite enough for the uses designed for it? The reviewer wishes only to raise the point; it would be idle for him to do more. The decision upon it should rest with those who have charge of classes in history in the grade in view.

As for the illustrations, they occupy a modest, though it would seem sufficient proportion of the space, and they are appropriately chosen. Further they have the distinction of being accompanied each by an explanation or description, after the manner of some similar manuals in Europe.

Turning to Professor Harding's volume: though it differs in various particulars from its competitors, it is constructed on the same general principles as the other numbers of the now well-known series in which

it is the last to appear. Accordingly, the form and more mechanical features of the book call for no description here; teachers will be asking rather whether it promises well as a practical working-guide, whether it treats medieval and modern history with an eye appropriately single to pupils of the second year of the high-school.

It deals with the period before Charlemagne in only an introductory chapter—thus conforming fully with the plan of the Committee of Seven—and then gives upwards of five hundred and fifty pages to the time since about 800. And the matter of these pages, spite of the pedagogical suggestions of their title, is set forth rather more after the manner of history than of the school-room. To an extent by no means usual in such books, things are here told in a way to let one see that they came about quite naturally, quite as human beings might do them. Also, the text is frequently assisted by interesting and well-produced illustrations; and by maps, a considerable number of which are exceptionally effective.

At the same time—and here possibly is the first entrance for doubt—the number of subjects handled in this book is very large; some of the chapters seem indeed quite encyclopedic. One may wonder whether it is wise, in a manual for pupils of the second year of the high-school, to introduce for treatment in a score of pages on “The Age of Frederick the Great (1748–1786)”: three or four subjects concerning France in the first half of the reign of Louis XV.; the rearrangement of alliances and the opening of the Seven Years’ War in 1756, the course of the war in Europe, its antecedents and outcome in America, its antecedents and Great Britain’s victory in India, the close and the results of the war; growth of England’s sea-power; “The Eastern Question (1683–1792)”; partitions of Poland; England under George III.; Europe and the American war; the “enlightened despots”, with special reference to Frederick the Great and Joseph II.; eclipse of the Jesuit order; and eighteenth-century literature. This much at least is true: if consideration of what is “essential” has not permitted the author to leave some of these many subjects out of the text-book, then the responsibility of making omissions is simply passed on to the teacher; and if the teacher does not happen to be equal to this responsibility, the pupil must gulp down a great deal of intellectual food which he will not be able to digest.

Again, one may wonder whether the things said upon the subjects here introduced are not, either by their content or their manner, too often much above the heads of the pupils in view. Can it be, for example, that the account Professor Harding gives of the feudal system is within the reach of the average boy or girl of fifteen to sixteen years? The reviewer, for his part, knows hundreds of college students who should find many places in this book none too easy for them; its paragraphs, and sentences, and words, are often exceeding substantial. And this is not to imply that our high-school pupils should be fed their history with a golden spoon. It is rather to suggest that this guide, if it were less weighty, would possibly have more assurance of stimulating interest and work on the part of those who may use it.

In the matter of scholarship neither of these manuals deserves any indictment. Any one possessing special knowledge of European history could easily find statements which he would not make in just the way they appear here. But teachers may feel assured that if their pupils get possession of as straight knowledge of a great part of our past as is to be found in either of these volumes, they will have, to say the least, a perfectly safe foundation for further study. The spirit of them, too, is above reproach; the impression they leave is wholesome. The open question about them rather is, Are they too difficult? With all their virtues, are they yet out of the range of the immature folk they are meant to help?

EARLE WILBUR DOW.



## COMMUNICATION

### *The Philippine "Situado" from the Treasury of New Spain*

REFERRING to the previous communications to the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on the above subject, viz., one by Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne (X. 459-461) and one by me (X. 929-932), I wish now to call attention to the subsequent publication in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XXVII., of the 1637 *Memorial* of Juan Grau y Monfalcón, and to acquiesce in Professor Bourne's judgment that the data as to the Philippine budget in this document entirely prove the case for the contention that the subsidy from the treasury of Mexico to that of the Philippines was in net cash, and amounted to about a quarter of a million pesos annually. At the time of my previous communication, I had never had a chance to see the Grau y Monfalcón memorial, which Professor Bourne had consulted in *Collección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias, América y Oceanía* (Madrid, 1866). Grau y Monfalcón's statements are not only clear enough, but the figures he adduces are conclusive on the particular points which were under discussion in the communications referred to above. The citations from the new and first English version of this memorial which are especially pertinent are to be found on pages 121 and 136 to 141 of volume XXVII. of *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. This and the preceding two volumes also contain other data corroborative as to the amount of the subsidy, the manner of its calculation and payment, etc.

It is still true, however, that we lack evidence of the payment of this subsidy every year, especially throughout the eighteenth century. The citations from various authorities down to the early part of the nineteenth century, made by Professor Bourne in his communication in question, create very much more than the presumption that the subsidy became a recognized feature and that it acquired a fixed value of 250,000 pesos annually. Doubtless, consultation of the budgets of Mexico and the Philippine Islands, so far as they are available, would be necessary to prove the practice to have been constant up to the earliest years of the nineteenth century. There may have been, and probably were, lapses in the practice, as there were interruptions to the rule of annual communication by the trading galleons between Mexico and the Philippines.

I only ventured in my previous communication to question the definiteness of our knowledge as to the subsidy's being paid in the manner and amount ordinarily accepted by Philippine historians as being established fact. Grau y Monfalcón settles that question, at least for the first half of the seventeenth century. The considerations which I raised as regarding Spanish settlements and attempts at conquest in the Mo-

lucas and the Orient, using the Philippines as the base and the source of equipment and maintenance, are given yet more point by the Grau y Monfalcón memorial. He makes out the annual cost for merely the maintenance of such settlements to be more than the subsidy from Mexico, let alone the cost in money, labor, and timber, of various expensive expeditions then quite recent. Of course, any fair balancing of accounts as between Spain and the Philippines must take these things into account.

JAMES A. LEROY.

DURANGO, MEXICO, January 23, 1906.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### GENERAL

The work of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution progresses along the lines described in the last issue of this journal. An addition to the series of "aids and guides" has been projected, to assist in meeting the desires of those students of church history who wish that greater activity might be shown in the United States in the publishing of documentary materials for its religious history. As a necessary preliminary, and with the hope of encouraging such a movement, the Department has undertaken the preparation of a systematic inventory of the unprinted materials for American ecclesiastical and religious history to be found in the archives and libraries of denominations, missionary societies, theological seminaries, and colleges. The Protestant repositories will first be taken up. The work in them has been confided to Professor William H. Allison of Franklin College, formerly fellow in church history in the University of Chicago and instructor in that subject in the Pacific Theological Seminary at Oakland. The director of the Department sailed for Europe in the latter part of March, chiefly to inspect establishments of similar nature and objects. He will return early in July. Mr. Waldo G. Leland has at the same time undertaken a briefer tour of investigation in the Southern states. Miss Davenport goes to London in July, chiefly to gather for Professor Andrews additional material toward the completion of his Guide to the Materials for American History in the London Archives.

General Bartolomé Mitre, former president of the Argentine Republic, and author of several important historical works, died on January 19 at the age of eighty-three. Among his writings were *Historia de Belgrano y de la Independencia Argentina*, first published in 1857, and a history of the emancipation of South America of which a condensed translation was published in 1893.

Émile Boutmy, the founder and for more than thirty years the director of the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, died on January 25, at the age of seventy-one. His writings were mostly studies in comparative constitutional law and in national psychology. One of his best-known books is his *Développement de la Constitution et de la Société Politique en Angleterre*, and his most important recent works are his *Essai d'une Psychologie Politique du Peuple Anglais, au XIXe Siècle* (1901) and *Éléments d'une Psychologie Politique du Peuple Américain* (1902), in which he treats of national institutions as the expression of national personality. While he sometimes depended too largely upon deduction, his writings are always interesting and suggestive. He was

an intimate friend of Taine, of whom he wrote in a volume entitled *Taine, Scherer, Laboulaye* (1901).

Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, who died on January 12 in his seventy-seventh year, was a man of broad interests and manifold activities. Between the years 1868 and 1886 he served as Under-secretary of State for India, Under-secretary for the Colonies, and Governor of Madras. From 1889 to 1893 he was President of the Royal Geographical Society, and he was President of the Royal Historical Society from 1892 to 1899. His writings include lives of Sir Henry Maine and Ernest Renan, political studies, *Notes of an Indian Journey* (1876), and his voluminous *Notes from a Diary* (1897-1904), which covers the fifty years from 1851 to 1901, but does not treat much of politics.

The literary remains of the late Professor York Powell, together with selected letters and a memoir, are to be published by the Clarendon Press under the editorship of Professor Oliver Elton, who has made an appeal for the loan of letters and for biographical material.

An account of the life and character of Ranke, with special reference to his visit to England, has been written by his son General F. von Ranke for the *Temple Bar* for March.

On December 15 the history tutors of Balliol College gave a dinner in honor of Mr. R. L. Poole and of the completion of the twentieth year of his connection with the *English Historical Review*, which he helped to found and of which he is now the editor. Nearly one hundred and fifty of the contributors to the *Review* were present. Addresses were made by Mr. James Bryce, Professors C. H. Firth, H. F. Pelham, and others. A general index and index of the articles, notes, documents, and selected reviews of books contained in the first twenty volumes of the *Review* has been published by Longmans (pp. 59).

Professor Hermann Oncken, who has been teaching modern German history at the University of Chicago during the first two quarters of the present academic year, has been appointed professor of modern history in the university of Giessen.

Mr. H. E. Egerton, M.A., the author of *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, has been appointed to the Beit Professorship of Colonial History at Oxford.

Mr. J. G. de R. Hamilton has been elected assistant professor of history in the University of North Carolina.

Professor C. Oman's *Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History* has been published by Frowde (pp. 32).

The house of Weidmann of Berlin has recently issued the second volume of the collected writings of Theodore Mommsen, which contains his essays on the Roman jurists and the Roman law-books. The same house has published a bibliography of Professor Mommsen's writings, compiled by K. Zangemeister and E. Jacobs and entitled *Theodor*

*Mommsen als Schriftsteller* (pp. xi, 189), and the historian's *Reden und Aufsätze* (pp. viii, 479).

A *List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress* in American universities has recently been printed and distributed. One hundred and seventeen dissertations, in preparation at thirteen universities, are included. Of these seventy-two are in the field of American history, of which one relates to the West Indies and one to Canada. The remaining seventy, relating to the United States, may be classified roughly as follows: political history, forty-three; economic history, twelve; social history, seven; religious history, five; culture (educational) history, two; biography, one. Only twelve relate, either in whole or mainly, to the period prior to 1787, while sixty are in the period since that year. Of those dealing with political history, six are local in character, six deal with the history of political parties, five with territorial administration, four with reconstruction, three with nullification, states' rights, and secession, and two with the Civil War, the remainder being scattered. Of the theses outside the American field, all but two relate to the medieval or modern history of western Europe. The exceptions are one in Assyrian history and one on the diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan. Thirteen treat of the Middle Ages, and seven of these of the church. The theses relating to modern times fall into the following groups: the Renaissance, two; the period of the Reformation, eight; the period of Religious Wars, four; French Revolution, six; modern economic history, five; modern institutional and constitutional history, two each; diplomatic history and the history of thought, one each. Nineteen theses relate to England, eight to France, four to the Netherlands, three to Germany, three to Spain, and to Austria, Italy, Sweden, and western Asia, one each.

Professor E. Bernheim has contributed a volume to the *Sammlung Götschen* entitled *Einleitung in die Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, Götschen, 1905, pp. 156) which is mostly an abridgment of his *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* but also contains some new matter addressed to the less advanced student.

Drs. S. Widmann, P. Fischer, and W. Felten are editing an *Illustrierte Weltgeschichte* in four volumes, published by the Allgemeine Verlagsgesellschaft, Munich, which is publishing the *Illustrierte Kirchengeschichte*.

Dr. Edward Westermarck, author of *Human Marriage*, has completed the first volume of his book on "The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas", which is about to be published by Messrs. Macmillan.

Dr. G. Schuster has published through Leibing, Leipzig, a work of two volumes entitled *Die geheimen Gesellschaften, Verbindungen und Orden*.

The Grand Prix Gobert has been awarded by the French Academy to M. E. Daudet for his *Histoire de l'Émigration*.

The subject of Lord Curzon's Romanes lecture will be "Frontiers", which he will discuss from historical, political, legal, and other aspects.

The first volume of *Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire du Christianisme en Orient* (Paris, Picard, pp. 200) has been edited by Father A. Rabbath, and contains a portion of the mass of documents that he has collected from the archives of Paris, the Vatican, and other depositories.

Professor E. H. Parker of the Victoria University, Manchester, has published a book on *China and Religion* (London, Murray, 1905, pp. xxv, 317), which treats of "the whole history of the religious question as it has affected the Chinese mind", beginning with China's primitive religion, and discussing each of the various religions which have had root in the country.

The fourth annual meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland was held in Trenton, New Jersey, on March 9-10. Three principal topics were considered and discussed: "The problem of correlating the work in history in the elementary school, high-school, and college"; "Differentiation in treatment of the American Revolution in elementary school, high-school, and college", and "The training of teachers for the teaching of history."

The *Proceedings* of the North Central History Teachers Association at its seventh annual meeting, a year ago, have recently been published. The papers and discussions relate mainly to two subjects: "What can the college expect from the high-school course in history?" and "Should civics and United States history be taught together or separately in the high-school?"

An *Atlas of European History*, containing some forty-eight maps, has been published by Professor Earle W. Dow through Holt and Company.

Doubtless most teachers of European history have already become acquainted with the second volume of Professor Robinson's valuable *Readings in European History* (Ginn and Co., pp. 624), which was published early in the year. An abridged edition of the *Readings* (pp. 573) has been issued in a single volume, many of the extracts and portions of the bibliographies contained in the two-volume edition being omitted.

The *Teachers' Bulletin* (University of Cincinnati) for November is devoted to a short but suggestive article by Professor Merrick Whitcomb on "Aids in the Teaching of History."

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. H. Sabine, *Hume's Contribution to the Historical Method* (Philosophical Review, January); Ronald McNeill, *Froude and Freeman* (Monthly Review, February); A. Lang, *Freeman versus Froude* (Cornhill Magazine, February); E. Lavissee, *Alfred Rambaud* (Revue de Paris, January 15); H. Oncken, *Albert Schäffles Lebenserinnerungen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 2); H.

Grauert, *P. Heinrich Denifle O. Pr. Ein Wort zum Gedächtnis und zum Frieden* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVI. 4); L. Lévy-Brühl, *Émile Boutmy* (La Revue de Paris, February 15); A. D. Xénopol, *La Notion de "Valeur" en Histoire* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October); E. Michel, *Le Sentiment de la Nature et l'Histoire de la Peinture de Paysage* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October); P. Hermant, *Les Mystiques, Étude Psychologique et Sociale, concl.* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October); L. Barrau-Dihigo, *L'Enseignement Supérieur de l'Histoire*, I., II. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October, December); H. Beschorner, *Wesen und Aufgaben der historischen Geographie* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, February); P. Caron, *Des Conditions Actuelles du Travail d'Histoire Moderne en France* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); Ch. V. Langlois, *La Question de l'École des Chartes* (Revue Bleue, January 27); G. Monod, *La Chaire d'Histoire au Collège de France* (Revue Bleue, December 9, 16, and 23); Émile Durkheim, *L'Évolution et le Rôle de l'Enseignement Secondaire en France* (Revue Bleue, January 20); H. Oncken, *The Study of History in the University of Berlin* (The [Chicago] University Record, January).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Three series of source-books, planned by the late President W. R. Harper, are to be published by the University of Chicago Press: *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, edited by Professor R. F. Harper; *Ancient Records of Egypt*, edited by Professor J. H. Breasted, whose *History of Egypt* was noted in the last number of the REVIEW; and *Ancient Records of Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria*, edited by President W. R. Harper. The second of these series is now being issued in four volumes, and forms a complete collection of the literary sources of Egyptian history to the Persian Conquest, 525 B. C., translated into English and elucidated by introductions and notes.

The lectures delivered last November at the Collège de France by M. Édouard Naville on the subject of the religion of ancient Egypt will be published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, and later by the Musée Guimet.

Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, who has had a prominent part in Syrian explorations, is the author of a volume on *The Development of Palestine Exploration* (Scribners, 1906), which presents in amplified form lectures delivered before the Union Theological Seminary in 1903. The book treats of the progress made in the art of identifying sites, of the shifting point of view of travellers of different times, of Edward Robinson, Renan and his contemporaries, and of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the exploration of the future.

Dr. J. G. Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough, a Study in Magic and Religion*, has published a volume of *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (Macmillan, 1905, pp. 309), which treats of the sacred character and magical functions of kings in early society.

In his volume on *Greece from the Coming of the Hellenes to A. D. 14*, in the "Story of the Nations" series (Putnams), Dr. E. S. Shuckburgh lays stress upon "the political, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Greeks, rather than on the history of the military operations".

In her book on *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* (Cambridge University Press) Dr. Jane E. Harrison of Newnham College sets forth a new view of the character and limits of the ancient city, based upon the ancient literary evidence and the recent excavations of the German Archaeological Institute. Numerous plans and drawings are given in support of her argument.

Mr. H. Stuart Jones, formerly director of the British school at Rome, has attempted to give a popular presentation of the results of recent research in his volume on *The Roman Empire, B. C. 29-A. D. 476*, which will be issued in the "Story of the Nations" series (Putnams).

In a volume entitled *Studies in Roman History* (Macmillan, 1906, pp. viii, 349) Dr. E. G. Hardy, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, has reprinted with a few alterations his *Christianity and the Roman Government*, essays on the *Movements of the Legions*, *The Provincial Concilia*, a portion of his introduction to Plutarch's *Lives of Galba and Otho*, and several shorter papers formerly printed in the *Journal of Philology*.

Under the title of *Dio's Rome* (Troy, Parfraet's Book Co., 1905) Dr. H. B. Foster, of Lehigh University, has issued an English translation of the history of Dio Cassius, with introduction, lists of dissertations, recent magazine articles, and notes on Dio, and gleanings from his lost books.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Glotz, *Les Ordales en Grèce* (*Revue Historique*, January-February); V. Henry, *L'Histoire avant l'Histoire: Les Italiotes* (*Revue Bleue*, February 17); G. S. Ramundo, *Nerone e l'Incendio di Roma* (*Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXVIII. fasc. III.-IV.).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

*The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* is the subject of a recent contribution by Dr. W. K. Boyd to the Columbia University Studies in History and Economics (Macmillan, pp. 122). The monograph treats of the conflict between paganism and Christianity; heresy and ecclesiastical institutions; the relation of the church to the social organization of the empire; the episcopal courts and the influence of the ecclesiastical edicts of the code upon early medieval jurisprudence.

*Antipriscilliana: Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Texte aus dem Streite gegen Priscillians Irrlehre*, by Dr. K. Künstle (Freiburg, Herder, 1905, pp. xii, 248), throws much new light on a chapter of dogmatic history.



Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Ermoni, *L'Essénisme* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Fr. X. Funk, *La Question de l'Agape: un dernier Mot* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); F. Prat, *Origène et l'Origénisme*, I., *Origène dans l'Origénisme*, II., *L'Origénisme après Origène* (Études, December 5, January 5); M. M. Hassett, *Constantine the Great and the Church* (Catholic University Bulletin, January); Adhémar d'Alès, *Limen Ecclesiae: Note sur l'Ancienne Pénitence Publique* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's *List of Cartularies (principally French) recently added to the Library of Congress; with some Earlier Accessions* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905, pp. 30) is arranged alphabetically under names of towns.

A general bibliography of Rome (Rome, Loescher) is being compiled under the direction of E. Calvi. The first volume covers the period 476-1499 and is comprehensive in its scope; it contains indexes of subjects and authors.

The celebrated *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum ex Diversis Codicibus Collectae*, by Boninus Mombritius, will be re-edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes. Subscriptions (60 fr.) should be sent to Dom A. Brunet, Appuldurcombe House, Wroxall, Isle of Wight.

Professor F. Schupfer in his work on *Precarie e Livelli nei Documenti e nelle Leggi dell' Alto Medio Evo* (Torino, 1905) discusses the legal character and the economic bearing of these forms of contract.

The latest volumes in the series of *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* are *Annales Mettenses Priores* (pp. 119) and a fifth edition of *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni* (pp. 52) (Hanover, Hahn).

A volume of *Quatrièmes Mélanges d'Histoire du Moyen Âge*, published under the direction of M. A. Luchaire through Alcan, Paris (pp. 235), contains *Annales de la Vie de Joscelin de Pierzi, 57e Evêque de Soissons (1126-1152)*, a critical edition of *Courtois d'Arras*, and a note regarding a new manuscript of the chronicler William of Puy-laurens.

*Der Sachsenspiegel und die Stände der Freien* is the subject of the second volume of Phillip Heck's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stände im Mittelalter* (Halle, Niemeyer).

Two recent publications in the series of *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven* are J. Haller's *England und Rom unter Martin V.* (pp. 60), and Hans Niese's *Zur Geschichte des deutschen Soldrittertums in Italien* (Rome, Loescher, pp. 36).

Two works of value on Byzantine history are A. Pernice's *L'Imperatore Eraclio, Saggio di Storia Bizantina* (Florence, Galletti and Cocci, 1905); and Charles Diehl's *Études Byzantines* (Paris, Picard, 1905), of which all but two have already been printed in various journals.

Documentary publications: A. Monaci, *Regesto dell' Abbazia di Sant' Alessio all' Aventino* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXVIII. fasc. III.-IV.); G. Arias, *Per la Storia Economica del Secolo XIV. Comunicazioni d'Archivio ed Osservazioni* (ibid.); Abbé G. Mollat, *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII.*, II. (Paris, Fontemoing, 1905); Plazid Bliemetzrieder, *Abt Ludolf's von Sagan Traktat Soliloquium Schismatis* [1409] (Studien u. Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner und dem Cistercienser Orden, Ier trimestre, 1905); Abbé H. Dubrulle, *Bullaire de la Province de Reims sous le Pontificat de Pie II.* (Lille, R. Giard, 1905, pp. x, 259).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Fournier, *Études sur les Fausses Décrétales*, I., *Le But et l'Auteur des Fausses Décrétales* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); L. Havet, *Que doivent à Charlemagne les Classiques Latins?* (Revue Bleue, February 3); Dom J. M. Besse, *L'Ordre de Cluny et son Gouvernement*, III. (Revue Mabillon, November); *St. Thomas Aquinas and Medieval Thought* (Dublin Review, January); J. M. Vidal, *Les Derniers Ministres de l'Albigéisme en Languedoc: Leurs Doctrines* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); P. Richard, *Origines des Nonciatures Permanentes: La Représentation Pontificale au XVe Siècle (1450-1513)*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); L. Delisle, *Vers Français sur une Pratique Usuraire abolie dans le Dauphiné en 1501* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July-August, 1905).

#### MODERN HISTORY

The first part of the fourth volume of Professor Ludwig Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, Herder, 1906, pp. xviii, 609) treats of the pontificate of Leo X. The second part, on the pontificate of Adrian VI. and Clement VII., will soon be published.

The account of *Christine de Suède et le Conclave de Clément X.* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit) by the Baron de Bildt is based on the correspondence of the French, Spanish, and Venetian diplomats, and on the letters which were daily exchanged between Cardinal Azzolino and Queen Christina, and which throw light on the customs of the sixteenth century. Many documents are appended.

H. Nagaoka, attaché of the Japanese Legation at Paris, has written a *Histoire des Relations du Japon avec l'Europe aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles* (Paris, Jouve, 326 pp.), which includes an introductory sketch of Japanese history, and some original Japanese documents and reports of Japanese officials at European courts.

The first volume of *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (Paris, Leroux) by le Comte Henry de Castries is a comprehensive collection from the archives and libraries of France, England, Austria,

Spain, and other countries of unpublished documents relating to the history of Morocco from 1530 to 1845.

A volume by I. P. Dengel on *Die politische und kirchliche Tätigkeit des Mons. Josef Garampi in Deutschland (1761-1763)* (Rome, Loescher, 1905, pp. 196) deals with the Peace Congress in Augsburg, and the suspension of the abbot of the monastery of Salem and his new investiture by Garampi; it includes an index of the sources in the Vatican archives for the history of European peace congresses from that of Westphalia to 1763, and letters of Maria Theresa and of Clement XIII.

A publication that should be of great value to students of international law and diplomacy is the *Recueil des Arbitrages Internationaux* (vol. I, 1798-1855) (Paris, Pedone, 1905), in which MM. de Lapradelle and Politis set forth the history of each arbitration with the most important texts and an analysis of the memorials presented. Analytical, chronological, and alphabetical indexes are included.

Documentary publications: Schornbaum, *Zur Geschichte des Reichstages von Augsburg im Jahre 1530* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 1er trim., 1905) [appendix to report of the delegates of Nuremberg and a writing of Melanchthon]; K. Graebert, *Konsilium für den 1531 zu Speier angesetzten Reichstag* (ibid.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Braig, *Der Friedensplan des Leibniz* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVI. 4); Comte d'Hauterive, *Rapports à S. M. l'Empereur sur les Affaires de Rome (1809-1810)* (Revue Bleue, December 2, 9, and 16); E. Rossier, *L'Affaire de Savoie en 1860 et l'Intervention Anglaise* (Revue Historique, January-February).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Methuen and Company have recently published *The Student's Historical and Modern Atlas of the British Empire*, containing sixty-four maps and edited by Mr. C. G. Robertson, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, F. R. G. S. The volume includes historical and modern maps, physical maps, commercial maps and diagrams, and a historical gazetteer and bibliography.

A new book by the late Bishop Stubbs, entitled *Lectures on Early English History*, edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A., has been recently published by Longmans. Some of the lectures contain elucidations of difficult passages in Stubbs's *Select Charters*.

An annotated translation of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (pp. viii, 83), made from the text of Mr. W. H. Stevenson's edition by Professor Albert S. Cook of Yale University and published by Ginn and Company, presents in convenient form a valuable document whose authenticity is now generally conceded.

A complete record from the earliest time to the present of the knights of all the orders of chivalry in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors, has been compiled by Dr. William A. Shaw

in two large volumes entitled *The Knights of England*, which will be published by Sherratt and Hughes for the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's Palace. Hitherto such a work has been impossible because some of the most important sources from which it must be derived were closed to investigators. Mr. Shaw, however, has been granted access to all the official records. The lists of knights dubbed in Ireland has been compiled from the records in Dublin Castle, by Mr. G. B. D. Burtchaell.

Mr. N. T. Hone's *The Manor and Manorial Records*, which includes examples of the various classes of records, and many illustrations, facsimiles, plans, and views, has been issued in the series of "Antiquary's Books" (Methuen, pp. 376).

Professor Charles Gross in an article on the Court of Piepowder, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for February, urges the exploiting of early English archives for data concerning this court, not only because of its wide-spread and long-continued activity, but also because "the careful investigation of its history will throw needed light on the organization of medieval commerce".

The first volume of *The Records of the City of Norwich*, which date back to the twelfth century, has been compiled under the expert editorship of Reverend W. Hudson and Mr. J. C. Tingey, and is published by Jarrold, London. The work will be complete in two volumes.

The *Chronicles of London*, edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by C. L. Kingsford and published by the Clarendon Press (1905, pp. 368), are three fifteenth-century chronicles in English, hitherto unpublished, which form the foundation on which Fabyan, Hall, Holinshed, and others have built.

In *A History of the Post-Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire with an Account of the Families Connected with them* (London, Frowde, 1906, pp. 371), Mrs. Bryan Stapleton has attempted to trace the descent of the older Catholic Missions in the country from the latter days of Queen Elizabeth. The history of the various parishes is considered separately, and much original material is included.

David Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata* (Macmillan), a series of views of the university and colleges and of Eton College, first published in 1690, has been edited with a life of Loggan, an introduction, and historical descriptive notes by Mr. J. W. Clark, the learned Registrar of the University of Cambridge.

M. Paul Mantoux's *La Révolution Industrielle au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, Cornély, 1906, pp. 502) contains an extended discussion of the economic antecedents of the revolution, of the general inventions and industrial enterprises, and of the immediate consequences of the revolution. The book includes a number of maps, and a classified and critical bibliography of over thirty pages.

The centenary of William Pitt's death in January of this year has been appropriately marked by the appearance of a new biography of the statesman written by Charles Whibley, and published by Blackwood (pp. 354).

Professor G. M. Wrong's life of *The Earl of Elgin* (London, Methuen, 1905, pp. vii, 300) is largely based on material not used by Lord Elgin's former biographers, and is an attempt to show the significance of his career in Canada and in the East, especially in Japan.

Recent volumes in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London, Constable) relate to the counties of Durham, Derby, and Sussex.

Mr. Murray announces the publication of an abridged *Official Account of the Second Afghan War, 1878-1880*.

British government publications: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, vol. V.; *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward III., 1348-1350*; *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N. S., 1599-1600; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. XX.; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, 1 Nov., 1600-31 July, 1601*; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, 1610-1613*; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle*, vol. IV.

Other documentary publications: F. W. Maitland, *Year Books of Edward II.*, vol. III., 3 Edward II., 1309-1310 [Selden Society, vol. XX.] (London, Quaritch, pp. xciv, 244); *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: Letter-Book G., 1352-1374* (printed by order of the Corporation); F. J. C. Hearnshaw and D. M. Hearnshaw, *Southampton Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, vol. I., part I. [Southampton Record Society] (Southampton, Gilbert, pp. 23); F. Collins, *Wills and Administrations from the Knaresborough Court Rolls* [Surtees Society, vol. CX.] (Durham, Andrews, 1905); C. B. Gunn, *Records of the Baron Court of Stitchill, 1655-1807* [Scottish History Society, vol. I.] (Edinburgh, 1905, pp. xxxix, 248).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. F. Baldwin, *Antiquities of the King's Council* (English Historical Review, January); Sir C. P. Ilbert, *The History of English Parliamentary Procedure* (Contemporary Review, January); Hume Brown, *The Scottish Nobility and their Part in the National History* (Scottish Historical Review, January); Andrew Lang, *Portraits and Jewels of Mary Stuart* (Scottish Historical Review, January); W. C. Abbott, *The Long Parliament of Charles II.*, I. (English Historical Review, January); H. Bingham, *The Early History of the Scots Darien Company* (Scottish Historical Review, January); J. F. Chance, *The Mission of Fabrice to Sweden, 1717-1718* (English Historical Review, January); Graham Wallas, *From the Second to the Third Reform Bill* (Independent Review, February); P. Thureau-Dan-

gin, *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au Dix-Neuvième Siècle*, I., *Manning à l'Archevêché de Westminster*, II., *Manning et Newman* (Le Correspondant, January 10 and 25); E. E. Kellett, *Mr. Justin M'Carthy's "History of Our Own Times"* (London Quarterly Review, January).

## FRANCE

The last volume of the *Répertoire Méthodique de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France*, compiled under the direction of G. Brière and P. Caron, and published by the Société d'Histoire Moderne through É. Cornély in 1905, is a well-classified and indexed list of the books and articles on French history after 1500 which appeared in the year 1903. The sections on the history of the sciences, literary history, and the history of art include the publications of 1902 as well as of the following year. The total number of titles is nearly 6,000. Critical reviews are noted.

Reports of the sessions of the special Commission on Libraries and Archives appear regularly in *La Révolution Française*. The subcommission on archives is considering the relation of the autonomous archives of Foreign Affairs, War, Colonies, and Marine to the National Archives, and brief reports of visits of the commissioners to the autonomous archives are printed in the January number of the journal. The February number contains a report by M. Aulard on the personnel of archivists.

*Monuments* of the history of the Abbeys of Saint-Philibert have been edited in a most thorough and scholarly manner from the notes of M. A. Giry by M. R. Poupardin, as one of the series of *Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Picard, 1905, pp. 137). The volume includes four narrative texts dating from the ninth to the eleventh centuries and a list of the diplomas of the Carolingian kings and of the bulls relating to the abbeys. The texts contain an account of the life of this seventh-century saint, his interment in his monastery in the island of Noirmoutier, the incursions of the Normans, the building of a new monastery on the mainland at Grandlieu, the removal of the saint's body thither, and the miracles wrought on the crowds that thronged to touch the bier, the progress of the Normans up the valley of the Loire, and the forced retirement of the monks from place to place across Poitou and Auvergne until in 875 they found a permanent residence at Tournus in Burgundy.

Two recent important additions to the series of the publications of the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Renouard) are *Lettres de Louis XI. (1481-1482)*, edited by J. Vaesen, and *Mémoriaux du Conseil de 1661*, edited by J. de Boislisle. Another publication of a kind different from those hitherto published by the society is *Rapports et Notices sur l'Édition des Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*.

The work of the Commission on the Economic History of the French Revolution may be followed in the reports of its sessions printed in *La Révolution Française*. The December number of this journal contains an *aperçu* of the forthcoming volume of documents relative to the committee on feudal rights and the abolition of the seigniorial régime (1789-1793); and a circular issued by the Minister of Public Instruction which sets forth the rules to be followed in the editing of the dossiers of the sale of national property. It is now proposed to publish the *procès-verbaux* of the committee of agriculture for the period of the Legislative Assembly and of the Convention as well as for that of the Constituent Assembly, and also to publish the unique cahiers drawn up in 1789 by the corporations of Marseilles, and a collection of documents relating to industry in the department of Vaucluse from 1789 to 1800.

An important study on poor-relief during the period of the great republican assemblies is the volume by M. Ferdinand-Dreyfus entitled *L'Assistance sous la Législative et la Convention (1791-1795)* (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1905).

A catalogue of the collection of autographs, broadsides, drawings, maps, and other historical documents relating to Napoleon I. and his times, formed by Mr. A. M. Broadley, has been published by Mr. W. V. Daniell under the title *Collectanea Napoleonica*.

Professor Max Lenz has added a new volume entitled *Napoleon*, containing more than one hundred illustrations, to the series of *Mono-graphien sur Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, Velhagen, 1905, pp. 199).

A source-book for the use of the upper classes of lycées and normal schools has recently been compiled by L. Cahen and A. Mathiez and published under the title *Les Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1906, pp. xvi, 312).

J. Tchernoff's work entitled *Associations et Sociétés Secrètes sous la Deuxième République (1848-1851)* (Paris, Alcan, 1905, pp. 396) contains many documents hitherto unpublished relative to the republican societies of the period.

M. Paul Sabatier has written a book, *A propos de la Séparation des Églises et de l'État*, which may be had for one franc from the Librairie Fischbacher. A translation by Mr. R. Dell will be published by Mr. Unwin under the title *Disestablishment in France* and will include a special preface by the author, an introduction by the translator, and the full text of the separation law, with explanatory notes.

The *Guardian* will publish Mr. Bodley's two recent lectures at the Royal Institution on the Church in France.

Documentary publications: Sébastien Locatelli, prêtre bolonais, *Voyage de France: Mœurs et Coutumes Françaises (1664-1665)*, Bibliothèque de la Société des Études Historiques, fasc. iv. [translation, introduction, and notes by A. Vautier] (Paris, Picard, 1905, pp. lxxiv, 349); Simon Gruget, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé en Anjou* [Memoirs of the Revolutionary Period, published by F. Uzureau]

(Paris, Picard, 1905, pp. 235); A. de Saint-Léger and P. Sagnac, *Les Cahiers de la Flandre Maritime en 1789, publiés avec une Introduction et des Notes*, vol. I. (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. liv, 472).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Camille Jullian, *La Vie et l'Étude des Monuments Français*, I., II. (Revue Bleue, January 6 and 13); J. Viard, *La Chronique de Jean le Bel et la Chronographia Regum Francorum* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, September-October); L. Davillé, *Le "Pagus Scarponensis"*, I. (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, January); M. Juselin, *Notes Tironiennes dans les Diplomes* [with plate] (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July-August, 1905); René Poupardin, *Notes Carolingiennes*, I., *Un Nouveau Manuscrit des Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July-August, 1905); J. Finot, *La Paix d'Arras (1414-1415)*, I. [Pièces justificatives, pp. 61-80] (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, January); J. B. J. Ayroles, *La Vénérable Jeanne d'Arc, Prophétisée et Prophétesse* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); V. Carrière, *Nicole Tilhart, Secrétaire et Général des Finances de Louis XI.* (Le Moyen Âge, July-August); Ch. de Calan, *La Bretagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Revue de Bretagne, August, September, October); P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme.—Le Gallicanisme et la Restauration Papale. La Préparation du Concordat de 1516* (Le Correspondant, November 25); J. Nouaillac, *La Fin de la Ligue, Villeroy Négociateur des Politiques: Essai d'Histoire des Négociations de 1589 à 1594* (Revue Henri IV., September-October); L. Delisle, *Les Heures de Blanche de France, Duchesse d'Orléans* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, September-October); M. Dumoulin, *Qui a composé les Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu?* (Revue Bleue, January 6); Andrew D. White, *The Statesmanship of Turgot* (Atlantic, February and March); *Religion under the French Revolution* (Edinburgh Review, January); P. Sagnac, *Les Comités des Droits Féodaux et de Législation et l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial* (La Révolution Française, December); A. Tuetey, *L'Église Constitutionnelle de Paris et les Communautés Religieuses en 1791 et 1792* (La Révolution Française, December-January); P. Sagnac, *Le Concordat de 1817: Étude des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État sous la Restauration, 1814-1821*, I., II. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, December, January); M. Poëte, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de Paris et les Historiens de Paris*, II. (Revue Bleue, November 18 and 25).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN

*Les Rapports de la France avec l'Italie du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle à la Fin du Premier Empire, d'après la Série K des Archives Nationales* (Paris, Champion, 1905, pp. 165) is one volume of a series projected by the Abbé E. Sol, which will contain inventories of documents in archives relating to the history of Italy. Extracts from the texts are included.

The *Athenaeum* of February 3 contains an account by G. Biagi of some of the more important recent Italian historical publications.



Among the books noted are the reissue of Pompeo Molmenti's masterpiece, *Storia di Venezia nella Vita Privata*, which has been entirely recast. The work will be translated by Mr. Horatio F. Brown and will be published by McClurg, Chicago. Among other works on the Middle Ages are B. Capasso's *Napoli Greco-Romana esposta nella Topografia e nella Vita*, a new edition of P. Villari's *First Two Centuries of the History of Florence*; and Saverio la Sorsa's *L'Organizzazione dei Cambiatori Fiorentini nel Medio Evo*. L. Pullè has reviewed the military, religious, and knightly orders of the world in his work *Dalle Crociate a Oggi*, and G. Berthelet has published *Rivelazioni e Storia del Conclave del 1903: L'Elezion di Pio X*.

The third number of the *Archivio Muratoriano* (Città di Castello, Scipione Lapi, 1906), the organ of the new edition of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, contains a monograph by P. Torelli on the Milanese chronicle *Flos Florum*, notes relative to manuscripts of original narratives relating to Italian history, to the progress made in editing the collection, etc.

On the occasion of the Tenth International Congress of Navigation the Ministry of Marine of the Italian government published a *Monografia Storica dei Porti dell'Antichità nella Penisola Italiana* (Rome, Officina Poligrafica Italiana, 1905, pp. vii, 398).

Professor G. Bonolis in his monograph *I Titoli di Nobiltà nell'Italia Bizantina* (Florence, Seeber, 1905, pp. 85) traces in an interesting manner the history of titles of nobility from the time of the Roman Republic to the eleventh century, giving most space to the period of Byzantine rule. He shows how the changing character of titles was the outcome of altered social, political, and economic conditions. With the development of the state the aristocracy of blood yielded to the aristocracy of public office, and when the crumbling state could no longer control its powerful officials and wealthy citizens, aristocracy came to be based upon the possession of the prevalent form of individual wealth—land. The titles of *Dux* and *Comes* are discussed with special fullness.

In his valuable work on the *Sistema della Costituzione Economica e Sociale Italiana nell'Età dei Comuni* (Rome, Roux and Viarengo, 1905) Professor G. Arias devotes a chapter to papal finance.

Much light is thrown not only upon the Venetian craft-gilds but also upon the general life of the city of Venice by the second volume, parts 1 and 2, of *I Capitolari delle Arti Veneziane* by Signor Giovanni Monticolo published under the direction of the Italian Historical Institute of Rome, 1905.

In his study *Zur Entstehung des Kapitalismus in Venedig* (Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1905, pp. 129) [Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien], R. Heynen endeavors to prove that the wealth of Venice was derived from trade, and not, as Sombart has argued in his *Der moderne Kapi-*

*talismus*, from other sources. Two eleventh-century documents from Venetian archives are included.

Father Paschal Robinson, F. M., has translated into English with an introduction and notes *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Philadelphia, Dolphin Press, 1906). The translation of the Latin writings is based upon the critical Quaracchi edition of the text, but the writings that are not in Latin are also translated in this volume.

Professor Nino Tamassia's book on *S. Francesco d'Assisi e la sua Leggenda* (Padua, Drucker) contains some revolutionary criticism of the sources.

Mr. Fisher Unwin is to publish a new volume of *Historical and Critical Essays* by Professor P. Villari, dealing mainly with the Italian Renaissance.

The thirteenth volume of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, Tello, pp. ix, 976) contains a prize essay by F. I. Simonet entitled "Historia de los Mozárabes de España deducida de los Mejores y más Auténticos Testimonios de los Escritores Cristianos y Arabes."

The first of the four volumes of Dr. Henry C. Lea's new work entitled *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* has recently been published by Macmillan. It rests on a vast mass of documents from Spanish archives, some of which are included in an appendix, and treats of the origin and establishment of the tribunal and of its relations with the state.

The third and final volume of R. Altamira's *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española* (Barcelona, J. Gili) was announced for publication at the beginning of this year.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Rodríguez Villa, *Correspondencia de la Infanta Archiduquesa Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria con el Duque de Lerma* (desde Flandes, años 1599 á 1607 y otras cartas posteriores sin feca) [con.] (Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, November); R. Reuss, *Le Général Dupont et la Capitulation de Baylen, d'après un Ouvrage Récent* (Revue Historique, January-February).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A contribution to medieval historiography is made by H. Schneider in his monograph on *Das kausale Denken in deutschen Quellen zur Geschichte und Literatur des zehnten, elften und zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Gotha, Perthes, 1905).

Lectures delivered by Professor Felix Dahn in the summer of 1904 at the Salzburg *Historikertag* and forming a brief epitome of his voluminous works have been collected into a volume entitled *Die Germanen: Volkstümliche Darstellungen aus Geschichte, Recht, Wirtschaft und Kultur* (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1905, pp. viii, 116).

The first volume of A. Werninghoff's *Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung Deutschlands im Mittelalter* (Hanover, Hahn, 1905, pp. vii, 301) summarizes what is known on this subject. It begins with the constitution of the church in the Roman period and ends with the beginning of the Reformation.

A series of *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Stadtverfassung* has been opened by an important book by the editor of the series, Professor Rietschel, entitled *Das Burggrafenamt und die hohe Gerichtsbarkeit in den deutschen Bischofsstädten während des früheren Mittelalters* (Leipzig, Veit, 1905, pp. xii, 344).

A contribution to the history of thought in the Middle Ages is Dr. J. Schmidlin's *Die geschichtsphilosophische und kirchenpolitische Weltanschauung Ottos von Freising* (Freiburg, Herder, pp. vii, xii, 168) in the series of *Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte* under the direction of the Görres Gesellschaft.

The fifth and latest volume in Ludwig Pastor's *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* is Dr. W. van Gulik's *Johannes Gropper (1503-1559)*, a contribution to the church history of Germany, especially of the Rhineland in the sixteenth century. (Freiburg, Herder, pp. 278).

The twelfth and closing volume of the highly interesting series of *Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte* is Paul Drew's *Der Evangelische Geistliche in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Jena, Diederichs, 1905, pp. 145). It includes over a hundred illustrations, mostly from wood and copper engravings of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. A general index and atlas to the series will shortly be issued.

In the bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February M. Philippon treats of the writings of the year 1904 relating to the history of modern Germany.

A prize work by E. Schaumkell entitled *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturgeschichtsschreibung von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Romantik in Zusammenhang mit der allgemeinen geistigen Entwicklung* has been published by Teubner, Leipzig.

A new collection of Bismarck letters, dating from the time when he represented Prussia in Frankfurt, is to be edited by H. von Poschinger and published by E. Trewendt, Berlin.

Dr. Vancsa has brought out the first volume of a *Geschichte Nieder- und Oberoesterreichs* (Gotha, pp. 646). Much attention is paid to economic conditions and to the history of civilization as well as to political history. The book covers the period from pre-Roman times to the year 1283.

The second volume of the *Forschungen zur inneren Geschichte Oesterreichs*, entitled *Das oesterreichische Landrecht und die böhmischen Einwirkungen auf die Reformen König Ottokars in Oesterreich* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1905, pp. 154), is by Dr. M. Stieber.

A new volume in the illustrated series *Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern* (München, Kirchheim) is on *Die Begründung der Grossmachstellung Oesterreich-Ungarns: Prinz Eugen*. The author is K. von Landmann.

Professor I. Goll continues his discussion of writings on Bohemia published between 1899 and 1904 in the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February.

The second volume of A. Bachmann's *Geschichte Böhmens* (Gotha, Perthes), which has been published in the Heeren and Ukert series of national histories, covers the period from 1378 to 1516.

The fifth volume of the *Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia* contains the *Acta Urbani VI. et Bonifatii IX.*, part 2, 1397-1404 (Prague, Rivnác).

The review by M. V. van Berchem of publications relating to the historical sources of the history of medieval Switzerland is concluded in the bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February.

Professor J. M. Vincent's paper on *Municipal Problems in Mediæval Switzerland*, an abstract of which was printed in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1902, I. 213-221, has been issued in extended form in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., nos. 11-12 (pp. 32).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Tumbült, *Wie wurde Elsass französisch?*, II. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVI. 4); A. Hofmeister, *Rostocker Studentenleben vom 15. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, I. (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 1); R. Koser, *Brandenburg-Preussen in dem Kampfe zwischen Imperialismus und reichsständischer Libertät* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 2); P. Haake, *Die Wahl Augusts des Starken zum König von Polen* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, February); P. Matter, *Bismarck à l'Exposition de 1867* (Revue Bleue, December 2); H. Welschinger, *La Diplomatie Allemande de 1870 à 1890* (Revue Bleue, January 6).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Professor T. Bussemaker of the University of Leyden, who was entrusted by the Netherlands government with researches in the principal archives of Spain and Portugal for documentary material relating to the history of the Netherlands, has published his report under the title *Verslag van een voorloopig onderzoek te Lissabon, Sevilla, Madrid, Escorial, Simancas en Brussel naar Archivalia, belangrijk voor de Geschiedenis van Nederland* (La Haye, Stockum, pp. viii, 207).

MM. Misch and Thron of Brussels announce for publication a collection entitled *Codices Belgici Selecti: Fac-similes des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Belges*. The manuscripts will be reproduced in phototype and will be edited under the general direction of Father J. Van den Gheyn, of the Section of Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale. Volumes now in preparation are the homilies of St. Cesarius of Arles, a

seventh-century manuscript of "lives of the fathers", etc., *Jehan Bras de Fer de Donmartin* and *Pamphile et Galatée*, a fourteenth-century manuscript.

M. H. Pirenne traces the history of the woollen industry in Flanders from the thirteenth century in his monograph entitled *Une Crise Industrielle au XVIe Siècle: La Draperie Urbaine et la Nouvelle Draperie en Flandre* (Brussels, 1905, pp. 35).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

All the papal acts relating to the history of Denmark for two centuries before the Reformation are to be published by L. Moltesen under the title *Acta Pontificum Danica* (1316-1536) (Copenhagen, Gad). The first volume includes the text or the analysis of documents relating to the Avignon period.

R. Waultrin writes on "Un Siècle d'Union Suédo-Norvégienne et la Fondation du Royaume de Norvège" in *Annales des Sciences Politiques* for January.

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

The *Suggestions for the Printing of Documents relating to American History* mentioned on a previous page (p. 510) as having been presented by the Historical Manuscripts Commission at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, have been printed in a separate leaflet, in advance of publication in the Association's annual volume; copies can be had by applying to J. F. Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

From henceforth the United States will be regularly represented in the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, the annual account of historical writings to be contributed by Mr. W. G. Leland of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The report to appear in the next volume will include the writings for 1904 and 1905.

We are glad to note the publication of part III. of the catalogue of *State Publications*, edited by R. R. Bowker. In this volume of over six hundred pages are included the publications of the states and territories west of the Mississippi, including Alaska and Hawaii, but exclusive of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, which belong to the group of southern states to be covered in part IV. The compilation of the present volume has been performed by Mr. W. N. Seaver.

A complete index to the *Magazine of American History*, 1877-1893, is to be published by William Abbatt. It will be a subscription volume of about 350 pages.

The October and November issues of the *Magazine of History* have just appeared. Among the articles worthy of special note are "The

British Navy in the Revolution", by R. P. Bolton, "Sullivan's Great March into the Indian Country", by W. E. Griffis, commencing in the November number, and a number of documents, including letters of Washington, John Dickinson, James McHenry, and Edmund Munro.

A new magazine devoted to general American history and genealogy has been inaugurated, the *American Historical Magazine* (Publishing Society of New York). It is a bimonthly, appearing on the fifteenth of January, March, May, July, September, and November. The first number contains "The Board of Proprietors of East New Jersey", by Cortlandt Parker, "The Morris Family of Morrisania", by W. W. Spooner, "The Fur Trade in the Early Development of the Northwest", by Henry M. Utley, "Early New England Exploration of our North Pacific Coast: the Columbia River", by Horace S. Lyman, and "The Charter and Constitution of Connecticut", by Lynde Harrison. The new periodical promises to fill a distinct place among historical publications; its scope is wider than that of magazines devoted to local history, and it can print articles which are not sufficiently special for professional magazines, yet which are not sufficiently general for the literary or popular periodicals.

It is announced that Dr. Francis N. Thorpe, formerly professor of American constitutional history in the University of Pennsylvania, has been associated with Dr. Guy Carleton Lee as joint editor-in-chief of the *History of North America*, hitherto edited by the latter. The circular which conveys this information attributes to the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW the following general commendation of that series: "Will have a permanent value as an encyclopedia . . . worth the reading of historian and layman alike." In a notice of the first four volumes of the work a reviewer in this journal (X. 377) said of Mr. Thomas's *The Indians of North America*, the second volume of that series, after commenting on its deficiencies as a history, "The book will have a permanent value as an encyclopedia of Indian tribes and wars". Some distance below, speaking of Mr. Hamilton's *The Colonization of the South*, he characterizes it as "a book worth the reading of historian and layman alike." We do not think it needful to comment upon the process by which the general commendation we have quoted above was evolved from these materials.

J. W. Garner and H. C. Lodge are collaborating in the preparation of *The History of the United States* (Philadelphia, J. D. Morris and Company). The first two volumes, bringing the narrative to the close of Van Buren's administration, have appeared, and are bountifully illustrated, albeit many of the pictures are of the imaginative type. The work is professedly for popular consumption, not for the historical specialist. The chapters dealing with the Revolution are a condensation of Mr. Lodge's *Story of the Revolution*.

Two text-books for elementary schools, somewhat similar in scope and plan, have recently appeared: *The Making of the American Nation*,

by J. W. Redway (Silver, Burdett), and *School History of the United States*, by H. W. Elson (Macmillan).

*American Literature in History* (Ginn and Company, 1905), by Martha A. Lane and Mabel Hill, is a compilation for use in elementary schools, of "a number of simple literary excerpts which illustrate the leading events and the characteristic conditions that have marked the development of the United States". Undoubtedly such selections will aid in fixing events and making them stand out with greater vividness in the mind of the pupil. There is, however, the probable danger that merely picturesque events, and unhistorical aspects of these, will be thus overemphasized.

The Historical Publishing Company of Topeka, Kansas, has put forth a volume of *Forty Maps Illustrating United States History* compiled by E. G. Foster.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has published (Bulletin 29) *Haida Texts and Myths*, recorded by John R. Swanton. They are in the Skidegate dialect, and were obtained on the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia.

The twenty-third annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which we have recently received, is accompanied by a six-hundred-page account of *The Zuñi Indians, their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies*, by Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson. The work, abundantly illustrated, is based upon observations made during a long period of residence among the Zuñi, and deals with religion, social customs, history, arts and industries, medical practices, etc.

A beautifully printed little volume is produced by the Burrows Brothers in their Narratives of Indian Captivities: *Incidents Attending the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnston of Virginia*, reprinted from the original edition of 1827, with introduction and editorial notes by Edwin Erle Sparks. Johnston, a Virginia attorney, was captured in 1790 during a journey to the Kentucky country, and was carried north to the Indian village of Upper Sandusky, where he was ransomed by an Indian trader and taken to Detroit. He did not write the account of his experiences, however, until thirty-five years later.

In the December and February numbers of the *German American Annals* are continuations of the list of articles relating to Germany in American periodicals; the January issue contains another instalment of the Moravian diary of travel, previously described in these pages.

*A History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, by Father Thomas Hughes, is announced by Longmans, Green, and Company. The first two volumes will cover the years to 1645. The whole work is expected to consist of eight. It promises to be of the highest authority.

A fourth edition of Thomas's *History of the Friends in America*, revised and enlarged by A. C. Thomas, has been put forth by the J. C. Winston Company.

Mr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe is preparing to publish the *Life and Letters of George Bancroft*. All the material in the possession of the Bancroft family has been placed in his hands, and he is anxious to see all letters of important bearing on Bancroft's life and work. Manuscripts sent to him will be promptly copied and returned. His address is 26 Brimmer Street, Boston.

The autobiography of General Lew Wallace is announced for early publication by the Harpers.

#### ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

It was expected that the first two volumes of the series entitled *Original Narratives of Early American History*, edited by Dr. J. F. Jameson, would be issued this spring. Delays have however occurred. It is now intended to issue the first three volumes in the autumn. The first two have already been described in these pages. The third, of which the special editor is Dr. Henry S. Burrage of Maine, will embrace narratives of the early English voyages, taken mostly from Hakluyt, and preceded by Hakluyt's Cartier texts—the narratives of Hore, Hawkins, Drake, Haies (Gilbert), Barlow, Lane, White, Brereton, Pring, and Rosier, and the *Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc*. The fourth volume, edited by Mr. W. L. Grant of Toronto, and published in the spring of 1907, will contain Champlain's *Voyages*, editions of 1613 and 1619. The fifth volume, devoted to narratives of early Virginia, will be edited by President Lyon G. Tyler of the College of William and Mary. It will contain Percy's *Observations*, Smith's *True Relation*, his *Map and Proceedings*, the fourth book of his *Generall Historie*, Delaware's *Relation*, the journal of the Assembly of 1619, letters of Molina, Biard, Rolfe, and Pory, the Answer of the Old Planters, the Tragical Relation of the Virginia Assembly, and the Discourse of the Old Company. Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation* will constitute Vol. VI.

E. Grant Richards (London) expects to publish in the fall a *Life and Account of the Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, in preparation by Mr. Filson Young. Mr. Young is desirous to have the co-operation of persons who may possess material relating to Columbus.

An important work, announced some time ago, has been published by Dodd, Mead, and Company: *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier*, by James Phinney Baxter. This volume contains a new translation from the original French of Cartier's *Voyages* in 1535-1536 and 1541, and the first translation of the manuscript, discovered in 1867 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, of the voyage of 1534. A bibliography and a collection of all the pertinent documents thus far discovered in the French and Spanish archives are included, as well as an exhaustive memoir of Cartier.

The second volume of Avery's *History of the United States* (Burrows Brothers) deals with the period from 1600 to 1660. The pub-



lishers announce that the plan of the work has been enlarged, and that fifteen volumes will be published instead of the twelve as at first announced. Volumes III. and IV. are expected to follow shortly.

The bicentenary of Franklin's birth is responsible for a considerable output respecting him. His autobiography has been reprinted in several editions, some of which have already been noted. Another, inexpensive in form, has been published by Longmans, Green, and Company, while an illustrated, limited edition is announced by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. Three *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 161-163, have been recently issued, being respectively selections from the autobiography relative to Franklin's boyhood, his "Letters on War and Peace", and his "Plan for Western Colonies". The *Independent* for January 11 is devoted to Franklin and contains articles bearing on the various aspects of his life, character, and achievements, by John Bigelow, John W. Foster, E. E. Hale, W. C. Ford, A. H. Smyth, and others. The Franklin papers acquired about two years ago by the University of Pennsylvania are described in the *Outlook* for January 20, and also in the *Alumni Register* of the University of Pennsylvania for February-March, which latter periodical contains also an article on "Franklin and the University". A complete calendar of the collection has been prepared by Mr. A. C. Boggess, which it is hoped can be published in the near future. Finally should be mentioned the fourth volume of Professor Smyth's edition of *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, which has just appeared, covering the years 1760-1766.

*The Correspondence of William Pitt, while Secretary of State, with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commanders in America*, prepared from the manuscripts in the Public Record Office at the charge of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, and edited by Miss Gertrude S. Kimball, is now ready for printing, in two volumes octavo. The publication will embrace nearly five hundred letters, and will make a signal addition to the material for the history of the French and Indian War.

The British War Office has acquired the four important volumes of manuscript copies or extracts of Orders, Returns, and Capitulations relating to the Revolutionary War which Messrs. Hodgson discovered when cataloguing the books from the library of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

The second volume of *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, edited by H. A. Cushing (Putnams, 1906), has just been issued. It covers the years 1770-1773.

*Americans of 1776*, by James Schouler (Dodd, Mead, and Company), is "an original study of life and manners, social, industrial and political, for the revolutionary period". It comprises in substance occasional lectures given at Johns Hopkins University during the years 1901-1905.

Under the title of *Letters and Recollections of Washington*, Doubleday, Page, and Company are publishing Washington's correspondence with Tobias Lear, together with Lear's diary covering the last years of Washington's life.

Professor W. E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College and Mr. W. G. Leland of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution have undertaken to collect and publish the writings and correspondence of John Marshall. Inasmuch as there is no single large collection, so far as is known, of Marshall papers, in existence, it is necessary that an extensive search should be made, particularly among the papers of Marshall's contemporaries. The compilers earnestly hope that persons having in their possession any material bearing on the life and writings of the Chief Justice will be willing to communicate either with Professor Dodd at Ashland, Virginia, or with Mr. Leland, at the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

The two most recent additions to Professor Hart's *American Nation* are *The Federalist System, 1789-1801*, by John Spencer Bassett, and Edward Channing's *Jeffersonian Democracy, 1801-1811*.

We have received a reprint of Dunlop's *Recollections of the American War, 1812-1814* (Toronto, Historical Publishing Company), prefaced with a biographical sketch of the author by A. H. V. Colquhoun. Dr. William Dunlop was a Scotchman who was attached to the Connaught Rangers as surgeon and engaged in the campaigns of 1812-1814 along the Canadian border.

Four of the British war-vessels sunk in the Battle of Lake Erie have recently been discovered and one of them has been raised. It is a craft built of logs, about eighty feet long and capable of carrying six or seven guns. Mr. C. M. Burton is undertaking the work of bringing the other vessels to the surface.

Mr. C. F. Adams has printed in advance from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, Volume XIX., a paper on "John Quincy Adams and Speaker Andrew Stevenson of Virginia; an Episode of the Twenty-second Congress", in which, after discussing the relations of John Quincy Adams as chairman of the Committee on Manufactures to the tariff adjustment of 1832, he prints considerable portions of his diary for the summer of that year, not included in the published *Memoirs*, and reprints from the *National Intelligencer* a formal letter of Adams to the speaker dated July 11, 1832, arguing the constitutionality of protective tariffs.

Among the publications called forth by the recent Garrison centenary may be noted *Garrison, the Non-Resistant*, by Ernest Crosby (Chicago, Public Publishing Company), and *The Abolitionists, together with Personal Memories of the Struggle for Human Rights, 1830-1864*, by John F. Hume (Putnams).

Volumes XXII.-XXIV. of Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, also  
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published separately, contain "Travels in the Interior of North America", by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, translated from the German by Hannibal Evans Lloyd, reprinted from the London edition of 1843, with an appendix containing Indian vocabularies and other material omitted from the London edition. Maximilian was in America from July, 1832, to July, 1834, spending the larger part of the time along the Missouri.

*Across the Plains in '65*, by Frank C. Young (Denver, privately printed, 1905, pp. 224), is described in its subtitle as "A Youngster's Journal, from 'Gotham' to 'Pike's Peak'". The author was one of a party of young men who left New York in March, 1865, arrived in Atchison after five days of railroading, and in Denver on the forty-second day from Atchison. A map shows the location of the road along the Platte which was followed in the journey.

*Some Phases of the Civil War*, by Charles Francis Adams, "An appreciation and criticism of Mr. James Ford Rhodes's fifth volume", is reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Mr. Adams points out that Confederate historians have greatly understated the fighting strength of the South in putting it at 600,000 men; urges that greater attention should be paid to the element of sea-control as a factor in Federal success; dwells upon the extreme severity of Sherman's Atlanta campaign; and discusses the influence of General Butler on the Wilderness campaign.

A publication of first importance bearing on the history of the Confederacy is *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, including the Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861-1865*, edited by J. D. Richardson (Nashville, Tenn., United States Publishing Company, 2 vols., 1905). This compilation, for the publication of which permission was given by resolution of Congress, contains the messages and proclamations of President Davis, a few acts of the Confederate Congress, the provisional constitution, the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederate State Department, and biographical sketches of Lee, Davis, A. H. Stephens, Toombs, R. M. T. Hunter, and Judah P. Benjamin. This material is taken, according to the prefatory note, from the archives in Washington, presumably from the captured Confederate archives in the War Department, and from what are known as the "Pickett Papers" in the Treasury Department.

*The Ku Klux Klan: its Origin, Growth, and Disbandment* (Neale Publishing Company) is a reprint of an account by J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson, published over twenty years ago. Major Lester was one of the six original members of the parent chapter, and his narrative, edited with introduction, notes, and valuable appendixes by W. H. Fleming, is an important source of information respecting the organization.

## LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The new library building for the Maine Historical Society, erected on the Longfellow estate on Congress Street, Portland, is now nearly completed and will be occupied during the present year. It is of fire-proof construction, with mosaic floors, steel book-stacks, and vaults for the society's archives.

By the recent death of Mrs. John S. H. Fogg of Boston the Maine Historical Society has come into possession of the famous collection of autograph letters and documents bequeathed to the society by Dr. Fogg in 1893. This is one of the most complete collections of autographs of representative Americans in existence. It is arranged in fifty-nine folio volumes, and includes two complete sets of autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, autographs of members of the Continental Congress, of members of the Annapolis Convention, of signers of the Constitution, of colonial governors, of Revolutionary officers, of presidents of the United States, of statesmen, literary personages, and many others.

We have received an attractive pamphlet of sixteen pages: *The Depredation at Pemaquid in August, 1689*, by Victor H. Paltsits, being a paper read before the Maine Historical Society in 1900, and now privately printed. It deals "specifically, with Pemaquid during the last months of the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, and with the capitulation and destruction of Fort Charles under the new Boston government".

*Sebastian Ralé* [sic]; *a Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, Heintzemann Press) by J. F. Sprague, deals with Father Rasle's work among the Indians, and his death in the destruction of Norridgewalk in 1724. The ethical aspects of the affair are chiefly dwelt upon, a chapter or so is included respecting the Maine Indians, and four original documents are printed: three letters from Father Rasle, 1720-1723, and Lieutenant-governor Dummer's letter to Governor Vaudreuil of January 19, 1725.

A new publication in which history is to have a place is the *Granite State Monthly*, edited at Manchester, New Hampshire, by G. Waldo Browne. It is apparent from the prospectus, and from the contents of the first number, that while the magazine will have many articles of historical flavor, there will be few of first importance to the student. Nevertheless, the first instalment of a good document should be noted, "Wheeler's Narrative", an account of Captain Thomas Wheeler's expedition to Quabaug, now Brookfield, Massachusetts, in 1675, edited by William Plumer, jr.

In the *New Hampshire Genealogical Record* for October, 1905, is printed an entertaining document: "Journal of Rev. John Pike, 1678-1709". John Pike was the ninth minister of Dover, New Hampshire, and his journal (the original is in the possession of the Massachusetts

Historical Society) is divided into three parts: "A Memorandum of Personal Occurrences", "Observable Seasons", and "Observable Providences", the last being an account of the principal happenings in Dover and vicinity from 1682 to 1709, with special attention to the frequent murders and depredations by the Indians.

A modest volume which seems admirably to serve its purpose is *A History of Norwich, Vermont*, by Henry V. Partridge (Hanover, N. H., Dartmouth Press). The book, which is published by the town, was commenced by the late M. E. Goddard. It is in two parts, historical and biographical, the sketches in the latter being of individuals no longer living, a feature which might well be copied in other local histories of like character.

The Essex Institute has issued a subject and author index in ninety-one pages, prepared by Mr. G. F. Dow, to the first forty volumes of its *Historical Collections* (1859-1905).

We have received from the publisher, Eben Putnam, Boston, a sumptuous genealogical work in two volumes: *The Converse Family and Allied Families*, by Charles Allen Converse. Aside from the purely genealogical material, which appears to be well arranged, and is profusely illustrated with portraits, there are documents of more general interest included in the several appendixes. Among these may be mentioned a letter from Ferdinando Gorges to Sir Richard Edgcumbe, one of the patentees of New England, dated April 17, 1623. Another interesting document is a deposition by William Kellogg of Nobletown (July 9, 1766) respecting "an Affray which happened the 26th of June between John Van Ranslaer Esq. and a number of the Inhabitants of a place called Nobletown and parts adjacent". A large amount of material from parish records and other English sources has been included.

The *Vital Records of the Town of Halifax, Massachusetts*, have been published by the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.

The *Governors of Connecticut*, by Frederick C. Norton (Hartford, Connecticut Magazine Company), is a reprint in book form of the biographical sketches of Connecticut's fifty-nine governors that have been appearing in the *Connecticut Magazine*. The sketches are very short, but are well illustrated with portraits, and the volume is of most attractive appearance.

Henry Holt and Company announce *A Political History of the State of New York, 1777-1861*, in two volumes by Hon. D. S. Alexander.

A history of the New York Historical Society has recently been published: *The New York Historical Society, 1804-1904*, by Robert H. Kelby. It is illustrated with portraits of the founders and presidents of the society, and contains lists of the society's officers and members from its organization. A valuable feature of the book is a complete list of

all the publications of the society, giving the contents of each volume of the *Collections*.

*The Minute Book of the Committee of Safety of Tryon County*, announced in these columns some months ago, has been published by Dodd, Mead, and Company. As a product of the press it has unusual merit. The document is now printed verbatim for the first time, and extends from August 27, 1774, to November 24, 1775, the last few pages of the manuscript being lost. An introduction has been provided by J. Howard Hanson, and notes by Samuel L. Frey.

A volume entitled *Memorials of Peter A. Jay* has been edited by John Jay and printed for private circulation. Peter A. Jay, the son of John Jay, was born in 1776; he was a member of the New York constitutional convention of 1821 and a prominent New York lawyer. The volume consists largely of correspondence.

The United States Catholic Historical Society has published as the third number of its Monograph Series a *Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Provincial Seminary* at Troy, New York, by the Right Reverend Henry Gabriels. Two short articles by Charles G. Herbermann serve as introductory matter: "Life of Bishop Henry Gabriels", and "Early New York Seminaries".

Among the contributions in *Year Book No. 10* of the Oneida Historical Society, 1905, may be noted "The Mohawk Valley: a Channel of Civilization", by A. L. Byron-Curtiss, "Colonization of Civil Government in the Tropics", by S. L. Parrish, and "The Genius of Anglo-Saxon Law and Institutions Contrasted with the Latin Civilization of Imperialism", by W. T. Gibson.

Volume XXV. of the *New Jersey Archives*, consisting of extracts from American newspapers relating to New Jersey, for the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, is in the hands of the binders, and is expected to be issued within the next month or two. These newspaper extracts chronicle the contemporary agitation for the repeal of the Stamp Act, the demonstrations by the "Sons of Liberty" in New Jersey in connection with and subsequent to the repeal of that act, and the manifest tendency of public opinion toward American independence of Parliamentary control.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, 1905, is printed the first instalment of Washington's household account-book, 1793-1797, recently purchased by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "The Narrative of Marie le Roy and Barbara Leininger", who were captured by the Indians in 1755 near Fort Schamockin and held in captivity for three years, is translated from the rare German pamphlet of 1759. Among other contributions in this number should be noted a group of letters selected from the "Peters Papers", of dates between 1741 and 1743, and 1753 and 1755, and the first part of the orderly-book, 1776, of Anthony Wayne's Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.

In Notes and Queries are selections from the correspondence of Clinton and Haldimand, 1781, respecting Benedict Arnold. An interesting document is a report by Charles Thomson, of the ceremonies in Congress May 13, 1782, attending the official notification of the birth of a Dauphin of France. This account was suppressed and does not appear in the printed journal. In the January number should be noted the frontispiece, a portrait in colors, beautifully executed, of Benjamin Franklin. The leading article is by Hampton L. Carson, "William Penn as a Law-Giver", while in Notes and Queries are several letters from Timothy Pickering to James and John McHenry, contributed by Bernard C. Steiner, and some correspondence of Anthony Wayne.

Of works relating to Pennsylvania should be noted *A Pioneer Outline History of Northwestern Pennsylvania*, by James W. McKnight (Lippincott), and *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, by A. K. McClure, to be published by John C. Winston in two large and well-illustrated volumes.

In the last biennial report of the Commissioner of the Land Office of Maryland it is stated that the Public Records Commission, appointed in accordance with an act of 1904, has practically completed its examination of all the public records of the state, Baltimore city, and the various counties, and that a detailed report has been deposited in the Land Office. The recommendation is made that the legislature order the printing of this report and establish the office of State Archivist. The Commission consisted of Mrs. H. C. Richardson, Dr. Louis Steiner, and Mr. S. K. Dennis.

Under the editorship of Wilbur F. Coyle the earliest records of Baltimore have been published in a small volume: *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town, 1729-1797*. An exact copy of the first record-book has been printed, illustrated with facsimiles and maps. It consists of the proceedings of the commission which selected the site for Baltimore, and had charge of the laying out of streets, the disposal of lots, etc. The records for Baltimore extend from 1729 to 1747; those for Jones' Town from 1732, when it was laid out, to 1741, when it was united with Baltimore.

Of most historical interest in the January *South Atlantic Quarterly* are a biographical sketch of John Motley Morehead, governor of North Carolina, 1841-1845, by Professor C. A. Smith, and the second part of "Some Facts about John Paul Jones", by Junius Davis, in which further evidence is produced to show the intimate relations between the naval hero and the North Carolina brothers, Allen and Willie Jones.

In the *Sewanee Review* for January is an interesting contribution of documents by Bernard C. Steiner: these are selections from the letters of William Smith, United States minister to Portugal, written to his intimate friend James McHenry, Secretary of War during the years 1797-1799. They are interesting for the "glimpses they give of society at

the Portuguese court, the report of events which were occurring in the great war then being waged between France and England, and the reflections on American politics, as they appeared to an ardent partisan in European surroundings".

The Virginia State Library will very shortly publish its second volume of the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, edited by John P. Kennedy. The years covered are those from 1768 to 1772 inclusive. Another publication by the library, which will appear within a few days, will contain a complete list of the transcripts and abstracts from the British archives, some six thousand in number, in the possession of the library, as well as a report on the public records preserved in the State Library and on the records of the various counties.

More extended notice will be given in a later issue to *An Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company of London*, by Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, published by the Library of Congress. A bibliographical list of the records of the company is included as an appendix.

Aside from continuations, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for January contains a reprint of a pamphlet published at Williamsburg, by order of Governor Dinwiddie, in 1756, containing the treaty, and the proceedings relative thereto, negotiated with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians in February and March, 1756. During the coming year the publication of important Revolutionary orderly-books, in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, will be commenced. At the October meeting of the society it was decided to establish an annual prize, in the name of the society, for the best monograph by a student in any Virginia college or university, based on researches in Virginia county records.

In the course of a recent investigation in the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, several thousand papers belonging to the state archives of North Carolina were brought to light. Among them were found a petition from the outlawed Regulators praying Governor Martin for protection, letters from delegates to the Continental Congress and from the first representatives and senators, a part of the missing journal of the Council of State, 1777-1780, papers relating to the assumption of the North Carolina debt, drafts of bills and resolutions, petitions, reports of committees, and miscellaneous papers and letters. The documents cover the years 1755-1835, but are mainly from 1775 to 1795. It is not known how this material came to be in the Department of State, but it is not improbable that it was taken from the state capitol during the Federal occupation of Raleigh. A resolution directing its return to North Carolina was introduced into Congress, and the material has been given back to the state.

Of rather more historical value than is usual in the case of such publications is the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, edited by Samuel A. Ashe (Greensboro, N. C., C. L. Van Noppen). This two-



volume publication contains biographical sketches of about one hundred and fifty of the most prominent North-Carolinians from colonial times to the present. The selection appears to have been made wisely, on the whole, and many of the sketches have been prepared by historical writers of reputation.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for October contains a number of interesting letters from Henry Laurens to his son, written from Congress during 1779. We note a plea by the South Carolina Historical Society for historical manuscripts. There are many such in private hands in South Carolina, and it is to be hoped that their owners will respond in generous fashion.

*Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877*, by John S. Reynolds (Columbia, S. C., The State Company), first appeared as weekly contributions to the Sunday edition of the *State*. A vast amount of information has been gathered together, taken in large part, apparently, from newspaper files.

Volume VI. of the *Collections* of the Georgia Historical Society, published during the last year, contains the letters of James Habersham, 1756-1775.

Of most historical interest in *The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* for January, 1906, are three biographical articles: "Jeremiah Morrow", first representative to Congress from Ohio, United States senator, and governor, by Josiah Morrow (to be continued); "Captain Benjamin Brown", an account of his Revolutionary service, by W. E. Gilmore; and "General Arthur St. Clair", by W. H. Hunter.

The larger part of the January issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is devoted to an illustrated article on the "Baum Prehistoric Village" in Ross County, Ohio, by William C. Mills.

The *Centennial History of Butler County, Ohio*, edited by B. S. Bartlow and others (B. F. Bowen and Company), is distinguished from the majority of publications of its class by the inclusion in its historical section of an original document of considerable value. This is the diary, now first printed, by Winthrop Sargent, colonel and adjutant-general on General St. Clair's staff during the expedition of 1791. The earlier part of the diary, to October 7, was lost in the battle of November 4, but Sargent utilized his memory and such material as he had to furnish an account from August to October 7. From the latter date, however, until November 19, the original diary with its detailed daily entries was preserved. A narrative of the defeat of November 4 follows the entry for November 19.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* has completed its first year with sufficient support to warrant its continuation. One may perhaps express the hope that circumstances will allow the magazine to develop a rather more substantial historical character. In the last number of the first volume "Historic Houses and Personages of Center-

ville" and "The Richmond and Brookville Canal" may be mentioned, while "Recollections of Early Brookville" is from a manuscript of John M. Johnson, written some twenty-five years ago.

The first *Circular* of the Illinois State Historical Society is by the librarian, Mrs. Jesse P. Weber: *An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History*, to which is added a "reference list from the books, and other historical material" in the library.

The Chicago Historical Society has recently acquired by purchase a collection of 206 documents and letters in French dated in the seventeenth century, and containing grants, deeds, and other legal instruments, business papers, accounts, etc. Signatures of many of the well-known French pioneers are to be found in the collection, which has considerable value historically. Another recent purchase is a portion of the Kingsbury Papers. These consist of post returns, correspondence, and letter-books of Colonel Jacob Kingsbury, who was for many years stationed at Detroit, Mackinac, and Bellefontaine. The papers are particularly interesting on account of letters from Captain John Whistler, Captain Nathan Heald, and Lieutenant Helm, while they were stationed at Fort Dearborn. There are some 300 pieces in the collection, covering the period from 1804 to 1811.

The Kaskaskia records, for years believed to have been destroyed, have been discovered safely stored on the top of the bookcases in the circuit clerk's office in Chester, Illinois. The Illinois State Historical Library sent C. W. Alvord of the state university into the field last summer to search in the local archives for historical material, and this find was the most important among several of great interest. The collection contains about 3,500 papers and books, representing nearly one-half of the documents redated at Fort de Chartres and Kaskaskia during the years 1720 to 1790. The majority consists of private instruments drawn up by notaries; but besides these the court records, private and public letters, and political papers are numerous and important. So scarce have been the local sources for the history of the Northwest during the eighteenth century that this large collection coming from the most important centre of the French communities will throw light on many hitherto obscure events and institutions. The greatest number of the records date from the period of the French régime, but both the period of the British and that of the Virginia occupation are fully represented by papers of every description dating from almost every week until the year 1790. The collection is at present in the library of the University of Illinois, and its contents will be made public as soon as possible.

*Historic Illinois*, by Randall Parrish (Chicago, A. C. McClurg, 1905), does not pretend to merit as an original piece of investigation, but is an attempt to present the more interesting and picturesque features and incidents of Illinois history, with a view to making that history attractive "to the many who seldom discover it to be so".

The Wisconsin Historical Society, being about to publish a descriptive catalogue of its own extensive manuscript collections, recently proposed to other libraries, societies, and private collectors in its neighborhood to append thereto similar descriptions of such of their manuscripts as bear upon American history. Favorable responses were received from the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the Old Northwest Genealogical Society, Mr. C. M. Burton, of Detroit, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Public Library, the Newberry Library of Chicago, Mr. Edward E. Ayer of Chicago, the Minnesota Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Iowa, the Missouri Historical Society, the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, Mr. Louis Hauck of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, the State Historical Society of Missouri, and the Kansas Historical Society. The publication of these lists of manuscripts under one cover and commonly indexed will prove helpful to students of American history by enabling them to ascertain the strength of nearly all the several collections in the upper Mississippi basin, at the minimum expenditure of time and effort.

The Wisconsin society has recently received the papers of the late Moses M. Strong, territorial surveyor of Wisconsin, plotter of several of the earliest cities of the state, and author of a *Territorial History of Wisconsin*. The collection is especially rich in manuscript maps of town-sites, details of early land transactions, and political documents.

The Minnesota Historical Society will resume work in April on the very extensive archaeological collections of the late Honorable J. V. Brower, which he had gathered during several years of field explorations in Minnesota and other states of the Northwest for this society's museum. Professor N. H. Winchell, who from 1872 to 1902 was the Minnesota state geologist, will have charge of this work, to arrange the collections for exhibition, and to prepare a volume for publication by the society in its series of *Historical Collections*. This volume is designed to treat of the mound-builders, with maps of many groups of mounds in this state, and of the Dakotas (Sioux) and Ojibways (Chippewas), who occupied the area of Minnesota from the period of European discovery until the settlement by white immigrants.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January contains an elaborate study by S. C. Nelson of "Presidential Influence on the Policy of Internal Improvements". In appendixes are listed in tabular form all the appropriations for internal improvements through Buchanan's administration, the presidential vetoes of internal improvement bills, and the principal acts of legislation for the promotion of railroad enterprise. In the same number is an account by Charles Aldrich of "Incidents Connected with the History of the Thirty-second Iowa Infantry". Under the heading "Historical Societies", in the back part of the issue, is much interesting information relating to recent historical activity, mainly in the West.

Among the contributions to the *Annals of Iowa* for January may be noted a sketch of Colonel Thomas Cox, by Harvey Reid; "The Dunkers in Iowa", by J. E. Mohler; and "Acquisition of Iowa Lands from the Indians", from the State Census Report of 1905. In the editorial department is a timely plea for the preservation of local archives.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received from the estate of the late Melvin L. Gray an important collection of manuscripts known as the Sublette Papers. There are about six hundred documents ranging in date from 1827 to about 1860, or a little later. They relate to the Upper Missouri fur-trade and to the Santa Fé trade. Among other accessions should be noted a collection of twenty-six manuscripts relating to the early settlement and later history of Ste. Genevieve, the oldest town in the state of Missouri; the papers and minutes of the State Union Club of Missouri, bearing on the history of the Civil War; and ten volumes of correspondence between the Wilt Brothers in St. Louis and their uncle, Joseph Hertzog, in Philadelphia during the years 1812-1815. The letters are largely concerned with business affairs, but contain a good deal of material of historical interest.

The Arkansas History Commission, created by an act of April 27, 1905, has in preparation a full report on the sources of Arkansas history, similar in scope and plan to those published in Alabama and Mississippi. It will be printed as the first volume of the Arkansas Historical Association publications.

The October *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association is mainly devoted to an elaborate article by Herbert E. Bolton on "The Spanish Abandonment and Re-Occupation of East Texas, 1773-1779". The January number contains three biographical sketches: "Valentine Bennet", by Marie B. Urwitz; "Captain John Sowers Brooks", by General John E. Roller; and "Colonel William G. Cooke", by Harry Warren. Of these, the latter two are composed mainly of letters.

Some documentary material relating to Texas has been published by H. P. N. Gammel of Austin: *Speeches and State Papers of James Stephen Hogg*, edited by C. W. Raines. A sketch of Governor Hogg's life is included.

The State Historical Society of North Dakota is about to publish its first volume of *Collections*. This will appear as one of the public documents of the state, and will contain considerable material relating to the Indians.

*A Brief History of South Dakota* (American Book Company), by "Doane" Robinson, is a text-book adapted to the higher grades in elementary schools. The history is in the form of successive narratives, based on important historical events.

The first volume of an *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, begun under the editorship of the late J. S. Morton and continued by Albert Watkins and Dr. G. L. Miller (Lincoln, Neb., J. North and Company), contains

a detailed account (over 570 pages of double columns) of the territorial history of Nebraska. In the second volume will appear the later history of the state, and the historical accounts of its various institutions.

In *University of Colorado Studies*, vol. III., number 1, is a short paper by Professor F. L. Paxson, in a field hitherto unworked, "The Territory of Jefferson: a Spontaneous Commonwealth". Another contribution by the same writer, "The Historical Opportunity in Colorado", is a general survey of the accessible materials for Colorado history, with some account of what has already been done in that field.

We note in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for September articles on "The Unity of History", by H. W. Scott, and on "Aspects of Oregon History before 1840", by E. G. Bourne. In the same number Dr. John Scouler's "Journal of a Voyage to N. W. America", noted before in these columns, is completed, as is in the December number the reprint of the papers of David Douglas. In the March *Quarterly* appear the first instalments of the Oregon material in the *Annals of Congress*, and of the reprint from the 1846 edition of Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter's *Route Across the Rocky Mountains with a Description of Oregon and California*. Johnson and Winter were in the migration of 1843, contemporary records of which are very rare. Among the recent manuscript acquisitions of the Oregon Historical Society should be noted the correspondence of Addison C. Gibbs, governor of Oregon from 1862 to 1866 and, several years later, United States district attorney.

*Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, by S. A. Clarke (J. K. Gill Company, Portland, Oregon), is a two-volume work dealing with the history of Oregon from the discovery to the establishment of territorial government. Much material not of strictly historical character has been incorporated, such as the recollections of missionaries, trappers, fur-traders, and others, Indian traditions, and accounts of romantic or picturesque events.

We note the recent organization of the Santa Clara County Historical Society in California. Its first meeting was held in San José in December, at which Reverend Father Gleeson, President of Santa Clara College, read a paper on "The Founding of Santa Clara Mission". Professor C. A. Duniway is president of the new organization, and Agnes E. Howe secretary.

*Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, by Najeeb M. Saleeby, is printed as the first part of volume IV. of the *Publications* of the Ethnological Survey in the Department of the Interior. It deals with the history, genealogy, and mythology of Magindanao (Mindanao) and with the laws of the Moros, giving in full the two Sulu codes. A number of facsimiles of manuscripts are presented, and literal translations of various documents are included.

A convenient compendium is A. P. Cockburn's *Political Annals of*

*Canada, 1608-1905* (Toronto, W. Briggs). The provinces are treated separately until the union of 1841, then follow the history of the Province of Canada to 1867, and the history of the Dominion from 1867 to 1905. A list of important dates, a copy of the act of 1867, and lists of the first members of the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments are included in appendixes.

A fifth edition of F. X. Garneau's *History of Canada*, revised by his grandson, M. Hector Garneau, is to be published. M. Garneau will also publish the correspondence of his grandfather and of his father (Alfred Garneau), and a study of his own on the French families that came to Canada in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

*Canadian Life in Town and Country*, by H. J. Morgan and Lawrence J. Burpe, has been added to the interesting series published by George Newnes (London). Of most historical interest are the chapters on the political and judicial systems, and the bibliography.

The latest addition to "The Makers of Canada" series (Toronto, Morang) is *John Graves Simcoe*, by Duncan C. Scott.

A bibliography of Quebec has been published by Dr. N. E. Dionne, Librarian for the Legislature of Quebec: *Inventaire Chronologique des Livres, Brochures, Journaux et Revues Publiés en Langue Française dans la Province de Québec, depuis l'Établissement de l'Imprimerie au Canada jusqu'à nos jours, 1764-1905*. This is to be followed by a list of all the books, pamphlets, newspapers, and reviews published in English in Quebec and by a list of all published works relating to the province.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has published a volume of documents relating to the blockade of Quebec in 1775-1776 by the American Revolutionists. The documents included are Ainslie's "Journal of the most remarkable occurrences in the Province of Quebec from . . . September 1775 until . . . the sixth of May 1776" (the original is among the Sparks Papers in the Harvard Library); "Journal of the most remarkable occurrences . . . since . . . the 14th November, 1775", by an officer of the garrison (the same, with some variations, as that printed in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society, 1880); the orderly-book kept by Captain Anthony Vialar and continued by Captain Robert Lester; a list, compiled by L. H. Irving, of the officers of the First Battalion of Royal Highland Emigrants; and two French muster-rolls of the Canadian militia. The documents are edited by Frederick C. Würtele.

An important work on Cuban history should have received earlier attention in these volumes: *Introducción a la Historia de las Instituciones Locales de Cuba*, by Dr. F. Carrera y Justiz (Havana, 2 vols., 1905); it is a thorough treatment of the development of local institutions in Cuba from the earliest settlement until the end of Spanish control.

Under the title of *El Conde de Raousset-Boulbon en Sonora* (México, Museo Nacional, 1905, pp. 90) Señor Genaro García has edited with an introduction and a number of appended documents a hitherto unpublished narrative written by Colonel M. M. Giménez in 1862 regarding the expedition to Sonora in 1852 (undertaken by himself and Count Raousset-Boulbon in behalf of the Compañía Restauradora del Mineral de Arizona) and the results of the expedition. The narrative gives numerous details not known to be elsewhere recorded and is of special interest as the work of the nominal chief of the expedition.

Hurst and Blackett (London) are bringing out a life of Porfirio Díaz, by Mrs. Alec Tweedie.

Students of South-American history should note a recent French publication: *Joseph Dombey, Explorateur du Pérou, du Chili et du Brésil, 1778-1785* (Paris, E. Guilmoto), by Dr. E. T. Hamy.

We have received a carefully prepared paper by Assistant Professor Albert G. Keller on "Portuguese Colonization in Brazil", reprinted as a separate from the *Yale Review* for February.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. McCarthy, *The Presentation of American History* (Catholic University Bulletin, January); *Catholics and the American Revolution* (American Catholic Historical Researches, January); John Hay, *Franklin in France* (Century, January); Mary C. Crawford, *Franklin and the French Intriguers* (Appleton's Booklovers Magazine, February); Emlin McClain, *Written and Unwritten Constitutions in the United States* (Columbia Law Review, February); *The Growth of American Foreign Policy* (Edinburgh Review, January); William S. Rossiter, *The First American Imperialist, M. C. Perry* (North American Review, February); Charles W. Stewart, *Early American Visitors to Japan* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, December); Frederick T. Hill, *Lincoln the Lawyer* (running in the Century); Emerson D. Fite, *The Agricultural Development of the West during the Civil War* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); James Schouler, *President Johnson and Negro Suffrage* (Outlook, January 13); Joseph B. Bishop, *A Friendship with John Hay* (Century, March).

The

# American Historical Review

## THE ÉCOLE DES CHARTES

IN the classroom at the École des Chartes the lecturer looks over the heads of his pupils to a fresco on the wall behind them, representing the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The subject was aptly chosen. For the École des Chartes, although housed now in the new Sorbonne, has nothing in common with the traditions of the old University of Paris, depicted in the colors of romance upon the walls of the central arcade. The École des Chartes is an intruder, still preserving its autonomy, and linked more closely both in ideals and in actual history to the great Maurist monastery than to the ancient centre of rhetoric and scholasticism which gives it a home. It was created with the definite purpose of continuing the work begun by d'Achery and Mabillon and has been true to its purpose.

The loss to history resulting from the dissolution of the monasteries in the French Revolution was felt almost immediately. The creation of the Institut failed to supply what had been destroyed, and Napoleon in his concern for the decadence of literature extended his interest to the study of history as well. Though not destined to become the founder of the École des Chartes, he outlined a project by which the Collège de France was to undertake the practical instruction in historical research and the encouragement of that side of literature which would lead to the production of works of real utility. On the nineteenth of March, 1807, when stopping at the castle of Finckenstein between the battles of Eylau and Friedland, Napoleon received from the Duc de Cadore the outline of an institution which was to play the part of a Port-Royal, rather than of a Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in the revival of literature. This plan, drawn up by Cadore's secretary, Baron de Gérando, exhibited some of that quality of its author's mind which enabled him, in the words of Sainte-



Beuve, "to turn out books like macaroni". Napoleon's terse comments transformed these propositions into practical terms;<sup>1</sup> but the strenuous life of the First Empire did not furnish good soil for such an enterprise, and the Collège de France was left to go its own more or less peaceful way, cut off from the main educational forces which have since then transformed the system of higher education in France.

The proposition of Baron de Gérando was not destined to be realized in connection with either the Collège de France or the Sorbonne. With a conservatism worthy of England, these two historic institutions were left unmolested by the innovators, while alongside of them new and independent schools were founded to meet the demands of the scientific spirit. The École des Chartes and later the École Pratique des Hautes Études were founded for a definite purpose and conducted with a complete disregard of the traditionalism of their environment. Naturally in the course of time the steady pressure of their influence transformed the methods of the ancient institutions, at least of the Sorbonne; and the triple confusion which is the result offers a threefold advantage if one but learns its reason and its meaning—advantages of which the American student who comes to Paris has seldom any clear idea.

The present École des Chartes was founded in 1829, after an abortive effort in 1821 to give effect to the ideas of Baron de Gérando. Refounded in 1846 and remodelled in 1869, the school was moved from its quarters in the Archives in 1897 to the new Sorbonne, where in the centre of all the educational activity in Paris it maintains its own autonomy and pursues undisturbed its own aims. Its former students, formed into alumni societies, maintain a spirit of loyalty which recalls that of the early days when the contributors to the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* established the right of the school to exist in spite of the indifference of the monarchy of July. Although the students may supplement the slight curriculum of the school with courses in surrounding institutions, they remain through life stamped with the indelible impress of the École des Chartes.

Outwardly there is little in the curriculum to explain the important part which this school has played in the history of French historiography and in the development of historical research in general. It is in form merely a technical school for the training of archivists and librarians. Its courses are planned with that distinct purpose:

<sup>1</sup> See "Notes et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'École Royale des Chartes", by M. A. Vallet de Viriville, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, second series, volume IV. (1847-1848), pp. 153-176.

Admission as a regular student is accorded to about twenty successful candidates selected each year by a competitive examination. For three years these students must be in regular attendance upon all the lectures, signing the roll at every *conférence*. Upon graduation the government opens for them the position of archivist either in Paris or in the provinces.

There are only three courses a year, although one runs over from the second into the third. Compared with the imposing prospectus of an American university, the programme of the *École des Chartes* makes but a poor showing. Yet when one looks over the roll of distinguished scholars who have been trained in its scientific methods of research, one cannot but recognize in its scanty programme a force which has few parallels in the history of modern culture. Though the high renown of the school is due rather to the subsequent achievements of its alumni than to any clear appreciation by outsiders of what they were taught while students, still its graduates themselves have attributed the success of their later work to the simple but strict training of its courses, in which the traditions of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur have been preserved amid the routine of a practical curriculum. Those traditions and their results are well known. But the actual process by which they are achieved and maintained has escaped the chronicler. In order to indicate it, however, we shall have to renounce the easy path of generalities and enter the classroom itself.

No American student has ever taken the full three years at the *École des Chartes*, and it is not likely that any ever will. To do so, one would divorce himself entirely from the needs and the resources of American universities and libraries. The degree *archiviste paléographe* which the state accords to the graduate of the school is of value only to those who live in Europe, where there are archives to catalogue and medieval documents to publish. The courses which directly interest the historical student may be taken easily in a year—or could be if the time-table of *conférences* were rearranged. Even some of these courses need not be followed closely; for they are rather for the training of those whose investigations pave the way for the historian by the preparation of texts than for the historical student who will, as in America, be limited in his researches by whatever texts are at hand. In short, it would be a mistake in almost every instance for the American student either to devote himself to the entire course of studies at the *École des Chartes* or, in view of other courses at the Sorbonne or the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, to devote himself entirely to them even for a year.

He will therefore likely enter as an auditor, taking any course or courses which appeal to him. If his purpose is sufficiently serious to warrant such a favor, he will also be permitted, by the courtesy of M. Paul Meyer, the director, the free use of the library, with its perfect equipment of sources, manuals, and facsimiles. This is a rare privilege, for no lordly *appariteur* stands between him and the books; and the little workroom is the place where he will become acquainted with the *élèves*, and enter in part at least into that remarkable confraternity, where it is the unwritten law for the students of the third year to help those of the second, and those of the second in turn to place their erudition at the service of those of the first. The solidarity of the *élèves* of the École des Chartes becomes a tradition from the first lecture of M. Élie Berger in the first year, and remains unbroken through life.

There are three courses in the first year: one in Romance languages by M. Paul Meyer, one in paleography by M. Élie Berger, and one in bibliography by M. Charles Mortet. While M. Meyer himself would advise the student of history not to take his course in philology, the *élèves* of the school all regard it as one of their rare privileges. It is of course philology at its best; and if one has never taken up Old French or has any need of Provençal or Gascon sources, it is well worth while to watch the care with which the phonetic laws are traced through multitudes of examples. The bibliographical indications and incidental references to other subjects give the course a special value and breadth. One would certainly take it if his work in history lay within the range of its results, not otherwise.

Although not recommending itself by such vast stores of erudition, the course in paleography by M. Élie Berger, the successor of M. Léon Gautier, will be much more useful, because it is the practical study of the essentials of text-reading. M. Berger enlivens the *conférences* with comments in which his keen sense of humor sometimes leads to short digressions. But he has ample ground for it in the diverting revelations of the students' ignorance of church history—as when for example one of them declared that Saint Peter and Saint Jerome were the two favorite apostles. Each recitation consists in the reading (by members of the class) of a facsimile of some medieval manuscript from the collection in the library. This practical drill is accompanied by questions upon the subject treated in the text; but as these facsimiles are chosen for the handwriting only, the comments are of a most general nature. There are also frequent references to Latin grammar, sometimes to the discomfiture of members of the class. In addition to the recitations, part of the time is

devoted to correlative subjects, especially to the history of ancient and medieval handwriting. The great value of the course is in the practice, the continual and unremitting study of the facsimiles which it involves. The student who wishes to benefit fully by it should by all means have free access to the library and the facsimiles for his regular preparation.

Historical bibliography, as taken up by M. Charles Mortet, is the indispensable introduction to all of the mechanism of research. After the preliminary practical survey, it develops the subject historically, and touches in places upon the same ground as the parallel subject-courses. In some ways it is perhaps too special for the foreign student; but he may be attracted by the interest of a subject which, when conceived historically, develops into hardly less than the explanation of how the written records of the past have been preserved to us. Yet absorbing as it is, one cannot but wonder if it would not have been possible for the École des Chartes to have developed more directly the practical duties of librarians to-day. The *érudit*, trained himself in the methods of research, is not sufficiently reminded of the duty of a librarian to perfect the instruments of work for those who are not specialists in his subject. In this respect the utility of the École des Chartes has fallen short of the ideal of Napoleon, as all workers in the Bibliothèque Nationale will confirm.

Of the courses in the second year, by all means the most important is that on diplomatics by M. Maurice Prou. Indeed this is, from the historian's point of view, the most important course of the school. M. Prou is a worthy successor of the lamented Arthur Giry, whose memory is still reverently cherished by his former pupils. It is in this course that one comes upon that minute and keen analysis which is the basis of the scientific method. The manner of conducting the work is approximately the same as in the course in paleography. The facsimiles are read this time, however, for their content, not for the handwriting; and all the auxiliary sciences necessary to the interpretation of medieval documents receive sufficient treatment to put the student in a position to rely absolutely upon himself when he takes up independent research, special emphasis being laid upon chronology. The students hand in exercises at the recitations, and each receives a generous proportion of red-ink corrections and suggestions. M. Prou gives himself up to the work before him, drudgery as some of it is, with a zeal which is rewarded by the grateful tributes of every student of the École des Chartes. Giry's manual and Prou's portfolio of facsimiles should open the opportunity for some attempt in American universities to repeat the work which

most of all lies at the basis of what is unique in the training of the *École des Chartes*.

The course in French institutions by M. Jules Roy is of a distinctly different character. It involves no research beyond the study of well-known manuals, and will disappoint any one who comes to the *École des Chartes* expecting to do research work in history proper. It is fortunate that there are other institutions at hand to supplement the instruction of the school in this respect. M. Roy's course covers the field in a painstaking way and it insures a knowledge of the elements of the institutions of the Middle Ages, but it involves no research among the original sources. M. Roy's research course is given at the *École des Hautes Études*.

The "Service des Archives", to which M. Eugène Lelong devotes a weekly *conférence*, is intended for the practical training of archivists in French archives, yet the long historical introduction contains not a little valuable history. The actual description of present conditions of work in the archives does not begin until the close of January. The manual by Langlois and Stein, tested by actual investigations at the archives, will largely compensate for the loss of this course if for any reason it proves difficult to attend it; for, although of the greatest value to the French student, it is perhaps too special for the American, unless he intends to work extensively in France. The same remark is true of the course on the "Sources of French History", which cannot in the nature of things contain much of independent value since the publication of Molinier's *Répertoire*. M. H. F. Delaborde pursues this subject through both the second and the third year, with enlargements upon Molinier. But nowhere else does one obtain such a keen realization of the loss to historical research by the untimely death of Molinier as in the classroom where his work took shape. The course remains much what Molinier made it, a survey of the narrative sources of French history; and it gains still from a sense of his prodigious labor, for Molinier followed true French traditions and did the work himself instead of exploiting his students. It is interesting in this connection to refer to Molinier's own comment on the importance of this course. He tried in it to save the *École des Chartes* from neglecting the chronicler and annalist for the exclusive study of charters. The tendency of the student trained in diplomatics under such masters as Girard and Prou is instinctively away from the literary sources. Molinier's work was in a sense more difficult than that of Girard, for his materials were both vaster and of more uncertain value. His

manual is a lasting witness to the way he faced his responsibilities at the *École des Chartes*.<sup>1</sup>

In the third year, besides the second course of M. Delaborde, there are two others: one on the history of civil and canon law in the Middle Ages, by M. Paul Viollet; and the other by M. Robert de Lasteyrie on the archaeology of the Middle Ages. M. Viollet evidently recognizes that the day of the canonist is doomed in France, for the history of the canon law itself is finished before Christmas, and then the course shifts into a history of French law through the Middle Ages. The historian of French law and institutions has fortunately already published much of what he gives in the classroom; but, in spite of a delivery difficult for a foreigner to follow, the students regard his course with the respect due to so distinguished a master, and speak with reverent affection of his genial personality.

In medieval archaeology one naturally places next to the name of Jules Quicherat that of Robert Comte de Lasteyrie—master and pupil. M. de Lasteyrie's task as the successor of Quicherat was naturally a heavy one, but he in turn has imparted to his pupils the inspiration which has produced a manual like that of Enlart, and an interest in medieval archaeology which has extended much beyond the classroom of the *École des Chartes*. The history of art has received from this course a legitimization which should find some echo in the serious programme of historical studies in America. One cannot there, it is true, take his class in the spring on excursions to Coucy and Blois; but a well-equipped history department can in other respects follow the method of instruction of the *École des Chartes*. M. Lasteyrie's health prevents him from conducting his *conférences* regularly, and they are often taken by his former pupils Enlart or Lefèvre-Pontalis.

Such are the courses at the *École des Chartes*. One must remember that their great value consists in the steady and close application which they demand of the student. Recitations which are real tests, and which are faced with the sense of their importance, develop a spirit of work which is the distinctive mark of the "Chartist".

After the examinations on the courses, a thesis has to be written. This must be ready for the formal defense in the January following

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Moliner, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, V. clxxvi: "Toutefois, il faut reconnaître que dans cette sévère école, trop fidèle à certaines traditions bénédictines, on a longtemps montré plus de prédilection pour l'étude des documents diplomatiques du moyen âge que pour celle des sources narratives; beaucoup des excellents érudits qu'elle a formés ont donné de remarquables éditions de chroniques et autres textes historiques, mais aux temps déjà lointains où l'auteur du présent ouvrage en suivait les cours, on n'y parlait guère des historiens latins ou français du moyen âge; on s'occupait exclusivement de chartes et de diplômes."

the completion of the three years' work. The student therefore spends all the summer and fall of his third year upon the completion of a thesis which he has begun during the regular terms. It generally involves practical investigations in the national or provincial archives, and one can see the serious character of the work by a glance at the synopsis published yearly under the title "Position des Thèses." In more than one case the thesis has been made the basis for a contribution of the first importance.

The defense of the thesis is a public function; and the examiners consist of a "Conseil de perfectionnement", including besides the professors the administrators of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Director of the Archives Nationales, the Director of the École des Chartes, and five members of the Académie des Inscriptions elected by its members. The president is the venerable Léopold Delisle. His rugged Carlylean features are lighted up by a genial sympathy as he comments upon the work of the young students who one after another are called to the table facing the jury. The presence of the aged and distinguished historian lends dignity to a scene marked by the utter absence of formality. The unsuccessful candidate is simply told by his professor that he must do his thesis over again; the successful learn their order of merit in a list posted up after the tests are over. It is an anxious period of waiting, for the first on the list is sent by the government to the École Française de Rome.

One naturally asks what there is in this limited curriculum to yield such important results. The very limitation of the studies to a single field is no doubt an important factor; but since the students generally take courses in the Sorbonne, the École des Hautes Études, or the École de Droit as well, this cannot be the main reason. It lies rather in the thorough practice which is exacted of every student in the subjects which are covered. There are no superficial courses along the gilded margin of attractive subjects. The work is intensive and severe. The discipline is as valuable as the knowledge acquired. This seems to be the secret of the power of the École des Chartes. "Not eager for quick returns of profit", it has reaped more largely of the years that followed.<sup>1</sup>

J. T. SHOTWELL.

<sup>1</sup> A distinguished alumnus thus sums up the reasons for the success of the École des Chartes: "L'École doit sa valeur: (1°) au petit nombre d'élèves, (2°) à l'obligation stricte de suivre les cours, (3°) à l'entraînement auquel les examens de semestre et annuels soumettent les élèves, (4°) à l'obligation de toujours recourir aux originaux, d'apporter des documents inédits, bien lus, bien ponctués, bien compris, prêts pour l'impression, (5°) à la sévérité de l'examen des thèses, et à la terreur qu'inspirent certains professeurs ou membres du conseil; et ces messieurs sont inaccessibles aux recommandations extra-scientifiques. *Viri boni, discendi periti.*"

## THE ENGLAND OF OUR FOREFATHERS

THERE is one period of English history that is to us Americans of more significance than all the centuries which preceded and have followed it; for it is the pit from which our nation was digged and the rock from which it was hewn. It covers a part of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth, but its earliest portion is of the greater importance. Some eighty years, say from 1580 to 1660, covered the adult life of the whole body of early emigrants from England to New England, Virginia, and Maryland. Every man who came from England to America to build up the colonies was born, or at least grew to maturity, and gained his impressions, characteristics, and early experiences in England in those years. How much do we really know about England during that period? How clear and how adequate is the knowledge we can obtain from accessible historical works of life in England at the time our earliest American forefathers lived in it and were formed by it? These first settlers not only were raised under English conditions; they brought over with them the ideas and training they had gained at home, and they established these English institutions in America. Where can we turn to find what the English institutions of the time were?

This paper is intended as in a certain sense an answer to these questions. It is intended to indicate, first, what has been done and what still needs to be done in the study of English history during the two generations between 1580 and 1660; secondly, what materials for performing the remaining work exist; and thirdly, how far these materials are accessible.

In examining what is already done we turn in the first place naturally to the narrative history of the period, the account of its events. Curiously enough, this is nowhere very minutely and familiarly given. That part of the period which falls within the reign of Elizabeth has suffered from the length of her reign and from the relatively more exciting character of its earlier years. Froude, it is true, called his work a *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*; but with his instinct for the picturesque he brings his work to an end with the defeat of the Armada, in 1588, fifteen years short of his previously announced



date of conclusion. He may have grown weary in well—or ill doing, or he may have had a justifiable feeling that twelve volumes are quite as many as any one man should write on any one subject; but what he says is, "Chess-players, when they have brought their game to a point at which the result can be foreseen with certainty, regard their contest as ended, and sweep the pieces from the board."<sup>1</sup> So, looking upon the history of sixteenth-century England as a sort of drama of the Reformation, after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and the defeat of the first great attempt to avenge her death, he considers the play ended, and brings it to a close which is far more dramatic than either scholarly or historically justifiable. Nor have others who preceded or have followed Froude given an appreciably fuller account of the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. An impression has grown up that it was in some sense a triumphant period, a time of well-earned rest from earlier labors, but all details are wanting. The contrary is really the case: the queen outlived her ability and her popularity; the country groaned and muttered under the enormous exactions and taxation; repeated Spanish armadas terrified the towns and the seaboard; Ireland, as so often before and since, just failed to shake off the English incubus; golden opportunities to crush England's great Spanish rival were lost by vacillation and mismanagement—but of all these, too, details are still wanting.

With the accession of James I., we come into the light of the great work of Gardiner. Solid learning, scholarly accuracy, and an admirable freedom from partizanship mark a history that extends in time well beyond the period of early American settlement and falls but little short of the limit he had planned for it. Yet Gardiner's work is merely political; and consists besides, if carefully examined, rather of a series of descriptions of a few successive great events or movements than of a continuous, well-balanced narrative. His historical writing appeared first as a series of detailed studies: *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage* (1869), *England under Buckingham* (1875), and others; and the recasting of it into a continuous form did not materially alter its character. It cannot be said that we have a well-rounded and lifelike account of the period of the early Stuarts, even from Gardiner. Nor is this want supplied by other narratives, nor by the many excellent biographies of the men of the time that have appeared. A clear, continuous, and inclusive account of the occurrences of English history during the period referred to is certainly a desideratum.

<sup>1</sup> Volume XII. (ed. of 1856-1870), 530.

Turning to the different aspects of history, it might seem at first thought that the political, the religious, and the intellectual conditions of the time at least were thoroughly familiar. The first half of the seventeenth century was a period of the first importance in political and constitutional history, and it has naturally therefore received something approaching adequate discussion. Hallam, Gardiner, Gneist, Ranke, Macaulay, and others have analyzed the theories and contentions of the respective sides of the disputes between king and Parliament, and traced their history till the contentions were put to the arbitrament of war and the theories to the test of practice. A great number of the documents of the period have been made accessible in the collections of Prothero and Gardiner. Some of the most important have been made familiar even to our school-children by their publication in such series as the *Old South Leaflets*, *American History Leaflets*, and *Liberty Documents*.

Yet a somewhat closer examination of this literature discloses the fact that it is practically entirely occupied with contentious matters. But what do we know concerning the normal, uncontested routine of government? What were the ordinary rights and duties of the king, aside from disputed questions of high prerogative? How was Parliament actually elected and organized; and how was it occupied when not engaged in the assertion of its "ancient and undoubted privileges"? A careful search through the books I have named will be rewarded with but little information on these points. Yet these questions are really more fundamentally important for the study of American institutions than the great disputes which tore England into factions. Political disputes had much to do with the fact of emigration, and with the selection of those who emigrated; but when the dissatisfied element had once left England, they left, to a great extent, these disputes behind them. What they took with them to America was the tradition and the knowledge of methods of government. Government is after all a practical matter, a certain way of getting certain things done; and it was government in this sense, not the temporary conflicts concerning the administration of it, that was perpetuated in America. It was the practical capacity to govern, and not the mere negative love of liberty, that was the most valuable and characteristic inheritance that the American colonists received from their mother-country; and it was this that most clearly differentiated them from French colonists to the north and Spanish colonists to the south.

Again, it is to be noted that our political and constitutional knowledge is much clearer concerning central than concerning local

government. King, Parliament, ministers, and the great law-courts are much more familiar to us than the lords-lieutenants, sheriffs, and justices-of-the-peace of counties; than the vestries, constables, and churchwardens of parishes; than cities and boroughs with their maze of officials and functions. For the uses of American history this relative degree of familiarity with central and local institutions should be exactly reversed. Local government in the colonies was for a long time much more important than central. It was on their stock of knowledge of methods of doing neighborhood work that the early settlers had to draw for immediate use; the demand on their traditions of central government came later and more gradually. It is impossible to understand colonial self-government without understanding English local government. Some of the deficiencies in this part of our knowledge are, it is true, being filled out. Miss Scofield's work on the *Star Chamber* (1900), Mr. Beard's essay on *The Office of Justice of the Peace* (1904), Miss Leonard's study of the local administration of the Poor Law (1900), and doubtless others, are valuable contributions; but much of the best work being done, like Mr. Baldwin's papers on the King's Council, is on earlier periods; the harvest is still abundant, and the laborers few. There is much need of adequate historical investigation and clear description of the normal work of government both central and local under the Tudors and Stuarts.

Turning to religious and ecclesiastical history, some of the same facts are true of it as have been asserted of political history. Sharp as were its struggles, keen as the interest has been in these struggles, most of the study and writing on them has been too narrow. The organization, the personnel, and the activities of the established church of England during this period are almost unknown. I do not know where in all historical literature one can turn for a plain, scholarly, impartial description of the Anglican church during the century after the Reformation. Even the admirable work by Mr. Dexter just published, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (1905), and Mr. Usher's edition of the Minute Book of an Elizabethan Presbytery,<sup>1</sup> take the established church all for granted. Yet this is the background against which the whole picture of the Puritan movement must be drawn. To understand a protest, we must understand what it is against which the protest is made. To obtain a fair idea of the disputes between the Anglican and the Puritan, we must know what the real condition of the former was; what he was undertaking to do, and how well or ill he was doing it. Much

<sup>1</sup> Royal Historical Society Publications, London, 1905.

of the writing on this period and aspect of history has been only too interested and too narrow. It has been the work of apologists for various sects. It is quite time that calm, trained historical students should throw light into its dark corners also.

The intellectual interests of the period of the effulgence of Elizabethan literature have naturally been so carefully studied and so fully described by scholars in that field that we may safely leave it to their labors. It is, however, only fair to say that we cannot look for much light from these scholars on any other aspect of the period than their own specialty. Notwithstanding all the painstaking industry and the trained judgment of the historians of literature, even the best of them seem to be satisfied with a very vague and fragmentary picture of the society in the midst of which the writers they study lived. Their work is often like one of those renaissance portraits in which every detail of the man represented is admirably portrayed, but the background is a confused mass of buildings, gardens, figures, and landscape. What we still need is to make the surroundings also clear.

For economic conditions the ground has been broken, but scarcely more than broken. Cunningham's great work, especially in its new edition, throws some light upon it. Miss Leonard's recent study of "*The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century*"<sup>1</sup> is important. A few other monographs come temptingly near the period, but just fail to deal with it. Some work has been done on the commercial companies whose history lies so close to that of our earliest settlements; but progress in that direction is painfully slow. Others are known to be making a more thorough study of the internal economic conditions of England than has been made before; but their work has not yet been published, and they will be the first to bear out the statement that much is waiting to be done in this aspect also of English history during the late Tudor and early Stuart periods.

The existence or non-existence of historical works on the subjects indicated is, naturally, closely connected with the availability of the sources for them. Do sources exist from which such historical narratives or descriptions can be drawn? Are they printed? If not, are they easily accessible in manuscript form? No categorical answer to the last two of these questions can of course be given, but some statement can be made of the form and availability of the principal sources, and of the direction in which they are in process of being made more accessible. It does not need to be pointed out

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., XIX. 101-146.

here that any historical work worth doing involves going to actual, original, contemporary documents. But many of these are easily accessible, being already printed in extenso. Such are the statutes, proceedings of Parliament, famous trials, statements of religious principles, the more conspicuous state papers, and a great body of foreign and domestic correspondence. Others, like the *Acts of the Privy Council*, are being printed more or less rapidly by the English government.

Few persons realize what a large body of records exists, published in full form, in the series of transactions or periodicals published by various societies; and these are constantly being added to. Historical work in England is poorly organized to the last degree, and no known force except chance decides what is going to appear in any one of the twenty or more uncorrelated forms of publication. Bibliographies for this period do not exist, and it is often almost as hard to find what documents have appeared as to find what are going to appear—but nevertheless appear they do, and in considerable numbers. Far behind Germany, France, Italy, and the United States in systematic historical production as England certainly is; with her universities devoted principally to secondary study, and her historical investigators working in unsupported loneliness, even when they are not losing much good energy in personal controversies; nevertheless the fact remains that through the government, through various societies, and through other agencies a great amount and variety of historical material is constantly being made accessible to all historical students. The immoral custom of issuing but a small and limited number of copies of certain works is more widespread in England than in other countries, as in the instance where Oxford University some years ago issued some very important facsimile maps in an edition of only fifty copies; but this seldom applies to documents of any great value or interest—to real students. I repeat that the possibilities of work from existing printed material are very great. A thesis has recently been issued from one of our universities which involves the use of more material concerning the later English craft-gilds than all the other existing works on the subject, English and American, together; and all this material was found in one American university library. The history of local political institutions, those of the county, hundred, and parish, could probably be quite sufficiently studied from material already in print. Local manuscript records are in very bad shape. Ill-written in the first place, subsequently they have been neglected or scattered or forgotten or destroyed. There has never until lately been any pres-

sure from above to require local authorities to keep their records in order, and when the county councils recently took the matter up to the extent of requiring parish officials to provide a tin box for their records, they met an almost ludicrous amount of resistance. Nevertheless the total bulk of local records has been so great as to leave still, after all losses, an immense residuum. For the study of local institutions these county and parish records are indispensable; for the knowledge of real social conditions they are almost equally important, for here more than anywhere else we read the plain, unquestionable records of what people actually did under actual, ordinary circumstances. It is here that we find the true corrective to "drum and trumpet history"—real people living their lives, quite unaware of the lurid story of them which later writers of romance might tell. How could a plain churchwarden, attending a parish meeting where money gained from the Hock-Tuesday play was brought in and appropriated to repairs on the church-steeple; where the men who had rung the bells to welcome King James, as he passed through from Edinburgh to London to take his new crown, came to get their fees; where the constable reported how many vagabonds he had whipped and turned over to the next parish; where a new parish mole-catcher was appointed; and where ten pounds of the parish funds was loaned out to apprentice a boy to a neighboring tradesman—how could this churchwarden who has left us his minutes of the meeting be supposed to know that England was at that very time torn to shreds by quarrels between Anglican and Puritan, and that all usual employments were suspended while Parliament and the king were settling their disputes as to the extent of the prerogative?

The value of this class of records has lately come to be recognized more and more, and in the usual English way a new society has been formed to provide for the printing of such material; but its systematic publication will involve much difficulty and a long time. In the meantime there is a great body of local records already in print, as in the case of the records of broader interest already referred to. They are printed as appendixes or foot-notes in various works of local history, and in local periodicals. This material is hard to gather and hard to co-ordinate. There are no bibliographical guides, or almost none. Local histories are always questionable and generally inferior in scholarly qualities. Nevertheless such material is well worth collecting and utilizing. But little has been done or is likely to be done in this direction in England. It is much to be desired that the Library of Congress, the Carnegie Institution, the American Historical Association, some state historical society, or

some well-equipped university or public library should take up the task of collecting, listing, and critically valuing the books and periodicals on English local history which contain in them bona-fide English local records referring to the period of American settlement.

Turning from documents published in full to printed abstracts of manuscripts, we are immediately brought face to face with the publications of the Public Record Office in London. The splendid body of national records preserved there, more voluminous, more continuous, more accessible, probably, than those of any other European nation, are for the most part now classified by subject and date. The authorities have been engaged for many years in printing calendars or analytical lists of certain classes of these papers in such a degree of fullness as will often preclude the necessity of the student's seeing the manuscript itself. These are the well-known *Calendars of State Papers*, of which there are now about three hundred volumes in print.

Unfortunately for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some other periods have been recently receiving a disproportionately large share of attention. About four volumes for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are being published to every one for the sixteenth and seventeenth. Curiously enough, there are at present many more people desirous of studying the patent-rolls and close rolls of the fourteenth century than the records of later periods, and it is they whom the Keeper of the Records is trying to satisfy. This must be amended by pressure from this side of the sea. The authorities of the Record Office, like all other authorities, are amenable to pressure; and if there is a steady, strong demand they will eventually recognize that American and English students want access to the papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and turn their attention toward satisfying them. However, both the Domestic papers and the Colonial records are already calendared well down beyond the dates chosen for this paper; and Foreign, Admiralty, Treasury, and other classes of papers are for our purpose less important. These printed calendars can be found in every large library in America and Europe, and an astonishingly large amount of useful investigation can be made from them alone, or from them in conjunction with other printed documents.

Nevertheless, the desire to do thorough and detailed work will in most cases sooner or later draw the investigator to London and make him for a while what is technically called a "searcher" in the Record Office. It is no hard fate. The conditions of study there are pleasant, the rules few and reasonable, the officials courteous and

helpful. If handwriting is illegible and the reading of manuscripts slow work, it is in most cases made as light as possible by their careful preparation and their accessibility. Some of the manuscripts, it is true, are still crumpled, stained, dusty, and strung like fish on a string, but those yet in this raw state are few and are being steadily reduced in number. The officials are usually ready to put those of any special bundle quickly in order. The dust of ages is sometimes not metaphorical—but wash-stands are handy. Most explorers like to meet an occasional bit of jungle or desert, if only to give variety to the journey, and something to boast about afterward. Plans are being discussed for the organization of American historical work in London which will make it more pleasant and more profitable. In the study or exploitation of any such mass of material as that deposited in the Record Office and the British Museum there is always a plenteous harvest of new information to be garnered. The manuscript records of any great national collection contain just as much unknown material and of quite as much human interest as do the graves and mounds of Egypt or Babylonia, and there is much of the same fascination in the work of excavating it.

This being the condition of the sources, it is evident that there is no lack of material for study of the period 1580 to 1660. This paper is intended, then, simply to plead for a more minute, careful, methodical, scholarly study of English conditions and English events at the time of the first American migration, and to point out the practicability of such an investigation. What is needed is not so much a study of the great men of the period as of the typical men; not so much an account of the casual occurrences of the time as of its wide-spread institutions; not so much a narrative of the temporary conflicts of the English people as of their normal development. There is room for many laborers. The young historian, looking for work worthy of his enthusiasm; the worried professor, at a loss where to advise his young charge to go in search of a thesis-subject; the old, hardened investigator, looking for some new world to conquer; the student of American colonial history who follows his subject backward till it brings him tantalizingly to the very edge of the Atlantic—all these may find occupation and interest and enlightenment for themselves and for others in the field of investigation here pointed out.

And it is no uninteresting or repellent task. It takes us back, wandering children that we are, to our mother-country; it places us in the midst of the life, the variety, the excitement of Elizabethan and early Stuart England; in the study of local institutions, indeed



## THE LATER AMERICAN POLICY OF GEORGE CANNING

THE figure of Canning has hardly yet emerged from the mists of contemporary eulogy or depreciation. The policy of the man, of whom Lord Acton said "that no English Foreign Secretary *equalled* Canning", has not yet been fully understood even in its broad outlines. In America the greatness of the man is recognized, but the actual details of his policy are still somewhat obscure. His exact relations and concern with the Monroe doctrine are still not absolutely clear; and if this is the case with regard to that important phase of policy, it is still more the case with regard to his later diplomatic work. The old idea about Canning, expressed and championed by Stapleton, was that he was practically the author and suggester of the Monroe doctrine. The brilliant deductions of Mr. Reddaway, combined with the later research of Mr. W. C. Ford, have done much to define the limits and extent of his contribution to that memorable stroke of policy. It is at least clear that the Monroe doctrine had, in many important respects, been already formulated by American statesmen. Canning admitted the United States to be the leading power in America. Further, he rendered her an essential service in forcing Polignac, by a threat of war on October 9, 1823, to disclaim any idea of French aggression or influence to restore the revolted colonies to Spain. The publication of the presidential message on December 2, 1823, aided Canning materially in his European policy, because the European powers took that message in the sense of an unqualified support of British policy by the United States. But it is now known that Canning disapproved of that part of the presidential message which contained the first statement of the Monroe doctrine, when it announced that the continent of America would in future be closed to colonization by European powers. What is not known is how strong were his feelings on this point, and the means and policy by which he designed to render inoperative this part of the Monroe doctrine.

The object of the present article is to show that the later American policy of George Canning was intended to defeat certain claims and pretensions of the Monroe doctrine. These were the principle which forbade future colonization in America to European powers,

and the principle which tended to make America a separate world from Europe. The motives which led Canning to recognize the Spanish-American republics, to send an envoy to the congress of Panama, and to take up a firm attitude on the Oregon question were all influenced and indeed conditioned by this idea. Adams, in formulating the presidential message, had denied the right of any European power to intervene in Spanish America, expressly on the ground of the withdrawal of Americans from European interests. Canning himself asserted the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, and was the great foe of the Holy Alliance, which desired so to intervene. His great fear was that the world would be divided into a league of worn-out governments in Europe and new and vigorous republics in America. He was resolved therefore that England should maintain active political relations between one continent and the other, and thereby be enabled to enact England's favorite political rôle of arbiter between conflicting claims or pretensions. Hence he was prepared to introduce America into Europe and Europe into America, to deny the exclusive pretensions of the Holy Alliance to intervene in Spanish America, and check the exclusive pretensions of Adams to place his continent in a water-tight compartment and reserve America for the Americans.

Canning's famous boast that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old" has often been misunderstood. A recent writer, Colonel E. M. Lloyd,<sup>1</sup> even professes to doubt whether this was really the cause of recognition. There can however be no question of this, for several memoranda on the subject exist.<sup>2</sup> In them are detailed the inconvenience of the French continuing to occupy Spain:

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., XVIII. 93 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Some historians, for example Colonel Lloyd and E. J. Stapleton (*Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, 2 vols., 1887, I. 213-214), have been misled by the fact that there were three memoranda: (1) A memorandum, apparently written by Canning, but perhaps corrected by Liverpool, indorsed with his approval, and circulated to the Cabinet (about November 30); see Wellington's *Despatches*, N. S., II. 354-358, and Charles D. Yonge, *Life and Administration of Liverpool* (3 vols., 1868), III. 297-304. (2) A memorandum—supplementary and qualifying—circulated in consequence of information received from Granville. It is undated, but must be about December 1-6. (3) A minute, embodying the collective opinion of the Cabinet, laid before the King by Canning on December 14, 1824, together with No. 1. This is in A. G. Stapleton, *George Canning and his Times* (1859), 407-411.

No. 2 is the most interesting, characteristic, and important. It is the memorandum "which enabled us to carry Columbia too [as well as Mexico] at the Cabinet". Canning to Granville, December 17, 1824. It is to be found in Vansittart's papers at the British Museum, Ad. MSS. 31, 237, f. 258. So far as I know, its existence, as well as its substance, have hitherto been unknown and

The great practical question however for us seems to be how, in the event of an actual incorporation of the resources of Spain with those of France such an accession to the power of France can best be counteracted. I have no hesitation in saying this must be by a separation of the resources of Spanish America from those of Spain: and it is (at least in this point of view) a fortunate circumstance that this state of things [*i. e.*, the virtual independence of Spanish America] has already taken place; and that we are in a situation to avail ourselves of it.

This is merely a prosaic version of the famous rhetorical phrase. Canning is looking to America to redress the inequalities of Europe. Though this is of some interest as indicating the real cause of Canning's recognition, our purpose is with the American, not the European aspect of that recognition. Canning goes on to advocate the recognition not only of Buenos Ayres, but of Colombia and Mexico, from two motives. One motive is that Colombia and Mexico have English capital sunk in mining and territorial concerns of a more permanent interest than "mere commercial speculations". Then comes a passage of immense interest and importance:

The other and perhaps still more powerful motive is my apprehension of the ambition and ascendancy of the U[nited] S[tates] of Am[erica]: It is obviously the policy of that Gov[ernment] to connect itself with all the powers of America in a general Transatlantic League, of which it would have the sole direction. I need only say how inconvenient such an ascendancy may be in time of peace, and how formidable in case of war.

I believe we now have the opportunity (but it may not last long) of opposing a powerful barrier to the influence of the U[nited] S[tates] by an amicable connection with Mexico,<sup>1</sup> which from its position must be either subservient to or jealous of the U[nited] S[tates]. In point of population and resources it is at least equal to all the rest of the Spanish

unsuspected. The memorandum is unsigned; the handwriting appears to be Vansittart's, possibly with two corrections by Canning. The general character of the opinions, agreeing precisely with Canning's letters of the time to Granville, leave no doubt that the real author or inspirer is Canning. Mr. F. L. Paxson, in his able work on *The Independence of the South-American Republics* (1903), is quite unaware of the existence of this document, and his knowledge of English records is large.

<sup>1</sup> Italics my own. Compare with this passage the more unofficial and even more emphatic declaration in the letter of Canning to Frere, January 8, 1825, printed in Gabrielle Festing, *John Hookham Frere and his Friends* (1899), 267-268, and quoted in my *Life of Canning* (1905), 188: "The thing is done. . . . The Yankees will shout in triumph; but it is they who lose most by our decision. The great danger of the time—a danger which the policy of the European System would have fostered, was a division of the World into European and American, Republican and Monarchical; a league of worn-out Governmen[ts], on the one hand, and of youthful and st[ir]ring Nations, with the U[nited] States at their head, on the other. *We* slip in between; and plant ourselves in Mexico. The Un[ited] States have gotten the start of us in vain; and we link once more America to Europe. Six months more—and the mischief would have been done." Almost every word of this is of immense importance.

colonies; and may naturally expect to take the lead in its connections with the powers of Europe. I by no means think it at present necessary to go *beyond the mere relations of amity and commercial intercourse*; but if we hesitate much longer, and especially if our commercial treaty [July 23, 1824] with Buenos Ayres should not take effect, all the new states will be led to conclude that we regret their friendship upon principle, as of a dangerous and revolutionary character, and will be driven to throw themselves under the protection of the U[nited] S[tates], as the only means of security.

The importance of these words is equal to their emphasis, for they form the key to Canning's future American policy. He resumes that line of secret policy, which the younger Pitt had held in reserve, in order to checkmate any pretensions on the part of the United States. In 1790 Pitt had declared the right of England to Nootka Sound, as against Spain. In 1798, before the Spanish colonies revolted, he had coquetted with Miranda,<sup>1</sup> the first of Spanish-American liberators. There can be no doubt that in the latter instance Pitt saw the advantage of keeping up an understanding with South America, in order to check any claims or aggressions of the United States. Canning now, and under different circumstances, resumed this policy.<sup>2</sup> He meant to indicate to the South-American states that their true friend was distant England, not the adjacent English-speaking land.

During his later years commercial disputes and disputes about the slave-trade (in the second of which, at least, Canning did his best to conciliate the United States) served to increase irritation, but would not alone have sufficed to change his attitude. Canning had shown toward the United States diplomatists a large-minded tolerance and a frankness very unusual in diplomacy. He had paid the United States the exquisite compliment of saying that England would model her neutrality during the war between France and Spain on the neutrality toward England shown "in the presidency of Washington and secretaryship of Jefferson". Yet American statesmen certainly viewed Canning with undeserved suspicion.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> This policy is indicated, but only indicated, in my *Life of Canning*, 188. At that time I had not sufficient proofs to state it more emphatically. "The recognition was certainly opportune, it bound closer the new States to England, it restrained the pretensions of the Yankees, and preserved Cuba to Spain. The Panama Congress . . . was overshadowed by Canning, and partly through his influence the alliance between the United States and the South American Republics was never formed."

<sup>3</sup> See W. C. Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII. 38, on Adams's suspicions, and see Rush to Adams, November 26, 1823, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, XV. 430-433. Both thought Canning did not really desire to separate

failure of his negotiations with Rush in the September of 1823, and the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine, in its original and limited form, in the presidential message of December 2, 1823, alarmed him and revealed to him these suspicions. Henceforward he took up an attitude of opposition, or rather of armed neutrality, prepared to uphold what he conceived to be the claims of England against those of the United States. He was firm and yet cautious and reasonable, and his plan seems to have been to detach the South-American states from alliance with or dependence on the United States.

It will be best to discuss this later aspect of his policy under three heads: first to describe the exact amount of intercourse and diplomatic relation Canning felt England should observe with a South-American state; secondly to indicate, by a description of his influence on the congress of Panama, his policy toward Spanish America as a whole and its relations to the United States; thirdly to show in what light he regarded the question of Oregon, as affecting other parts of his American policy.

In his instructions given on February 28, 1826,<sup>1</sup> to Lord Ponsonby, appointed minister plenipotentiary to Buenos Ayres, Canning defines his view of the normal relations and attitude of England toward Spanish-American states. Ponsonby is to communicate the "anxiety of H[is] M[ajesty's] Gov[ernment] to restore and preserve peace among the new states of America; or the deep interest, which in the opinion of this Government, those states have, in avoiding to give room, by their differences with each other, for the interference of foreigners in their political concerns". An embittered quarrel was in progress between Brazil and Buenos Ayres over the possession of Montevideo. In a supplementary despatch of March 18, 1826, Canning discusses the claims of the two governments. Ponsonby is to divert "the Brazilian Minister from any attempt to change the practical question at issue [the possession of Montevideo] into one of abstract legitimate right". The Emperor of Brazil had apparently thought of recognizing the "unextinguished rights of Spain" to Montevideo, and thus depriving Buenos Ayres of any claim. Canning therefore instructs Ponsonby as follows: "important as the question of Monte Video may be to the Brazilian Gov[ernment], it is scarcely less important that the discussion of that question should

from the Holy Alliance, whereas that was the main object of all his European policy. I cannot understand Mr. Paxson's contention in his *Independence of the South-American Republics*, 250, that England's policy was "legitimet in its real sympathies to the end". In view of the facts now known about Canning's attack upon the Holy Alliance, this seems to me untenable.

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, Foreign Office, Buenos Ayres 12.

not be conducted on such principles, or supported on their side by such arguments, as to array against the monarchy of Brazil the common feeling and common interests of all the Republican States of Spanish America." Canning then warns the Brazilian government of trying "too high" the patience of Bolivar, who is being incited to undertake a war against Brazil, "for the express purpose of overturning a Monarchy, which stands alone on the vast continent of America, and which is considered by those enamoured of democratical forms of Government, as essentially inconsistent with the secure existence of the American Republics". Canning suggests that Buenos Ayres has the strongest claim to Montevideo and has moreover force to back it. But if Montevideo were transferred to Buenos Ayres, it would still be reasonable "to secure to Brazil an uninterrupted enjoyment of the navigation of the river Plate". The British government would guarantee the observance of such stipulations. And though "on the general principle of avoiding as much as possible engagements of this character" the British government would prefer to stand aside, it would give this guaranty, "if it were desired by both parties . . . rather than that the treaty should not be concluded". Great Britain, "while scrupulously neutral in conduct" during the war, "cannot fail to be in favour of that Belligerent, who shall have shewn the readiest disposition to bring that dispute to a friendly termination". A secret instruction accompanies the despatch, informing Ponsonby that in case of "any essential change . . . in the form of government his functions will be suspended", and that he is "studiously to keep aloof from all political intrigues and all contentions of party in B[uenos] A[yres]".

Ponsonby's efforts at mediation and his attempts to interpose the friendly office of Great Britain between Brazil and Buenos Ayres ended in failure, and war began. Canning at once wrote (November 27, 1826): "As to taking part with either side in the Contest your Lordship cannot too peremptorily repress any expectation of that nature." He then proceeds to explain the failure of the negotiations. "There is much of the Spanish character in the inhabitants of the Colonial Establishments of Spain; and there is nothing in the Spanish character more striking than its impatience of foreign advice, and its suspicion of gratuitous service." His original instructions had foreseen that the suggestion respecting Montevideo "was not unlikely to excite a jealousy of some design favourable to British interests. Such a jealousy has been openly inculcated by the publick press of the United States of North America, and no doubt secretly

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, F. O., Buenos Ayres 13.

by their diplomatic Agents." He advises Ponsonby therefore "to let that matter drop entirely", unless Buenos Ayres itself should raise it. The best chance to suggest their doing so would be by "some slight manifestation of resentment at any such misconstruction of our motives." The last instruction of Canning on this point was to Ponsonby on February 21, 1827<sup>1</sup>: "Mr. Gordon [the new ambassador] will press the many considerations which render peace essential to the interests and safety of Brazil . . . with all the means in his power short of that degree of importunity, which after the repeated refusal, would become derogatory to the dignity of Great Britain".

Cobbett called Canning "Aeolus",<sup>2</sup> in contempt of the policy by which Canning sought to make England the arbiter of the world, by balancing parties and reconciling opinions in Europe. The policy is here seen, as applied to the New World. Non-intervention is strictly laid down as a principle, and is departed from only in the instance of offering a guaranty respecting Montevideo, and in that instance only in case both contracting parties agreed to and wished for it. Some suspicion of the United States is shown, and a clear desire expressed to maintain the monarchical principle in Brazil, not indeed by force of arms but by moral influence, and by dissuading its monarchical government from acts which might irritate the republics. This was to prevent the world's being split into two parts, one consisting entirely of effete monarchies, the other exclusively of vigorous republics. If a moderate constitutional monarchy, in the shape of Brazil, were to remain firmly established on the republican continent, England would thus be enabled to be arbiter between the New World and the Old, and hold the balance between the conflicting principles of despotism and democracy.

Canning's policy toward individual American states has thus been illustrated; it remains to describe it from the point of view of the American continent as a whole, and especially in its relation to the United States. This is best to be discerned in the negotiations relative to the congress of Panama, and in the various questions which there came up for discussion. The congress was announced with the most extravagant boasts and rodomontades, fully worthy of the swaggering Don Guzmans and Don Alvarados of Spanish romance. Bolivar and his friends frequently spoke of it as one of the most important events of the world's history. Vidiaurre, one of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> In reference of course to Canning's famous application of the quotation "*Celsa sedet Aeolus arce*" to his own policy.

the Peruvian representatives at the congress, communicated his generous emotions to the press in the following fashion.<sup>1</sup> Other representatives disclaimed the responsibility for his communication, but it represented—more or less—the general feeling of the time:

An entire world is about to witness our labours. . . . From the first sovereign, to the last inhabitant of the Southern hemisphere nobody is indifferent to our task. This will probably be the last attempt to ascertain whether Mankind can be happy. Companions! the field of glory—cleared by Bolivar, Sn. Martin, O'Higgins, Guadalupe, and many others superior to Hercules and Theseus, is before us. Our names are about to be written either in immortal praise or in eternal opprobrium. Let us raise ourselves above a thousand millions of inhabitants, and may a noble pride inspire us, likening us to God himself on that day, when He gave the first laws to the Universe.

These aspirants after the fame of Moses, and even of God Himself, may not have had their names written "in eternal opprobrium", but they are hardly entitled to "immortal praise".

The gigantic pretensions of the congress were only equalled by its eventual failure. But it is at least interesting, in so far as the decision of Canning to send a representative to the congress necessitated a clear definition of English policy, covering the whole field of American affairs. In 1822 Canning had broken up the congress of the despots at Verona, but in 1826 he showed no desire to break up or dissolve the congress of the republicans at Panama. That congress was summoned by Bolivar, and was intended primarily to induce the Spanish-American states to form a united league against Spain, and force her to grant them recognition. Incidentally the congress naturally tended to discuss other questions than those of war, such as free trade, international law, the Cuban question, and so forth. England and the United States<sup>2</sup> were invited to send representatives. Canning quietly assented, but the question formed a thorny subject of debate in the Congress and Senate of the United States. Canning selected a Mr. Dawkins as the British representative, and began his instructions on March 17, 1826,<sup>3</sup> by informing him that the sole object of despatching him was to "obtain the most regular and correct information of its proceedings, and to assure the American States collectively of the friendly sentiments and the lively interest in their welfare and tranquillity" felt and expressed by the British Government. He deduces the motive of summoning an English

<sup>1</sup> Translation sent by Dawkins to Canning.

<sup>2</sup> The delegates from the United States never reached Panama at all. One of them died; the other did not go on his mission; and at Panama the congress was therefore without representation from the United States!

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, F. O., Colombia 50\*.



representative to have been "a due sense of the benefits which they [the American states] have derived and continue to derive from a friendly intercourse with Great Britain, and a very natural desire to increase the importance of that assembly in the estimation of the Old World".

Two subjects mentioned in these instructions may be speedily dismissed. Canning tells Dawkins to forward in every way the settlement of the dispute between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, if it should come before the congress. Secondly he tells him to represent, "not by direct official intimation but you should not disguise the sentiments of your Gov[ernmen]t",<sup>1</sup> that Great Britain hopes the new states will adopt those principles of maritime law on which she has uniformly acted. "And you will take care to have it duly understood that our determination to act upon these principles, as it has not been shaken by European confederacies, so it will not be altered by any Resolution or combination of the States of the New World." The old contention of the United States that "free ships make free goods" was of course directly opposed to this. If the Spanish-Americans agreed with the United States, therefore, there might be serious trouble. Despite all his liberal and conciliatory ideas, Canning was immovable as adamant when he thought the honor or interest of England really concerned. He evidently did upon this occasion, and the words above quoted show that exclusively English policy which Adams described as the characteristic of Canning. Here then were the beginnings of a serious dispute, which the differences in the conference however rendered harmless.

Canning proceeds to define the general attitude of England toward the Spanish-American governments. He requests information about their feelings towards each other, and the degree of influence in their concerns, which they may appear inclined to allow to the United States of North America. You will understand that to a league among the States, lately colonies of Spain, limited to objects growing out of their common relations to Spain, H[is] M[ajesty]'s Gov[ernmen]t would not object.

But any project for putting the U[nited] S[tates] of North America at the head of an American Confederacy, as against Europe, would be highly displeasing to your Gov[ernmen]t. *It would be felt as an ill return for the service which has been rendered to those States, and the dangers which have been averted from them, by the countenance and friendship, and publick declarations of Great Britain; and it would too probably at no very distant period endanger the peace both of America and of Europe.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This method of representation was used by Dawkins throughout the congress.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are my own. A passage of almost equal strength is to be found in further instructions of March 18, 1826, Canning to Dawkins (Public Record Office.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of these words; they show the policy to the full, the attempt to detach the Spanish-Americans from the United States at all costs, by reminding them alike of the past services and the present power of England.

The two questions of real importance, which absorbed the attention of the congress, were the means of obtaining recognition from Spain for her revolted colonies, and the question of Cuba. In the first case the Spanish-American republics desired recognition from Spain, less because they feared her than because they feared complications or embroilments with France. Spain desired money, and therefore the question of a purchase scheme, of paying a sort of tribute in return for recognition, was discussed. It was eventually rejected. Canning had instructed Dawkins to offer the good offices of England for reopening negotiations with Spain, but refused to recommend or give an opinion on this purchase scheme. This plan was eventually thrown out by the congress.

Meanwhile Gual, the Colombian representative and the chief leader of the congress, read some published despatches of Everett, the United States minister in Spain. These had already been officially published, and were distinctly unfavorable in their criticism of the English attitude at Madrid. Among other things they stated, though quite inaccurately, that Mr. Lambe, the English ambassador at Madrid, had not been active in his exertions to persuade Spain to grant recognition. The astute Mr. Dawkins paid his almost daily visit to Gual on June 26,<sup>1</sup> and found him somewhat cold and incredulous as to the good wishes of England. Mr. Dawkins was surprised, went home and read the papers, and thereupon discovered the reason of this coldness in Mr. Everett's somewhat heated despatches. He promptly wrote to Gual and flatly contradicted Everett's state-

F. O., Colombia 50\*). He has received a treaty between Colombia and Mexico (signed October 3, 1823) which serves to define the objects of the congress as: (1) "To confirm and establish intimate relations between the whole and each of the American States"; (2) "To serve as a council on great occasions; a point of union in common dangers; a *faithful interpreter of public treaties*, in cases of misunderstanding; and as an arbitrator and conciliator in disputes and differences". Canning comments: "If by the 'American States' in (1) are intended *only* the States heretofore Colonies of Spain; and if the functions, assigned to the Congress in (2), are to be discharged *only* between *those* States, there is no disposition in the British Govt. to question the propriety. . . . [You must] let it be known that an association in such mutual engagements of any State not partaking of the Spanish character, would be viewed by your government with great jealousy as approaching to that species of league of the Americas against Europe, which you are already apprized His Majesty could neither acknowledge nor approve." The italics here are Canning's.

<sup>1</sup> See the story in Dawkins to Canning, Public Record Office, F. O., Colombia 50\*. Everett's chief despatch is dated October 20, 1825.

ments; finally he supplied Gual with copies of various despatches from England, which proved the exertions and sincerity of English attempts to secure recognition. English ascendancy at the congress was soon and completely recovered. Gual talked "unreservedly" to Dawkins "of the imprudence of the United States, of the errors committed by Mr. Everett, and of the mischief which may be done by the indiscreet publication of his correspondence [*sic*]". Gual further promised to bring a project of English mediation between Spain and the colonies before the congress. Here was another source of irritation between the United States and England. It was increased by the signing of a general confederative treaty between the Spanish-Americans on July 15. That treaty was one arranging for a common army and mutual defense between Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Guatemala. It contained the clause, "any American State may be admitted into the Confederation within a year after the signature of the treaty." Dawkins promptly inquired of Mr. Gual whether this principle extended to the United States. His answer was, "Certainly if they will declare war against Spain." This was disquieting, and it is to be presumed that Mr. Dawkins then clearly defined the attitude of England and her opposition to the United States' joining such a league. However, as the United States had no intention of declaring war and never joined the league, the question dropped.

It was on the question of Cuba that events really turned. Cuba has well been termed the "Turkey of transatlantic politics", for the destiny of Cuba was the problem which engaged the attention of all the diplomatists of the age, of Bolivar and Villèle, of Canning and Adams. As early as October, 1822,<sup>1</sup> Canning had feared that the United States desired to seize Cuba. He wrote to his cousin, the English ambassador at Washington,<sup>2</sup> mentioning evidence of various sorts from the press, and from the reports of the officers of the United States navy, etc., etc. He concluded that the "grounds of suspicion are not such as to warrant our imputing a Design [to the United States] that is not avowed: and a jealousy manifested without cause is apt to suggest the very Evil which it deprecates." He also details French fears of English designs on Cuba, and similar fears on the part of the United States about England. To quiet these fears he told Stratford to make an express disavowal to the United States of any English designs on Cuba. But suspicion was

<sup>1</sup> George Canning to Stratford Canning, October 11, 1822, Public Record Office, F. O., America 165. Indorsed "Secret".

<sup>2</sup> George Canning to Stratford Canning, December 7, 1822, *ibid.*

everywhere. Adams probably did not believe Stratford, and both England and the United States feared the French. Thus arose a strange kind of triangular duel, France suspecting England and the United States, the United States suspecting England and France, England suspecting France and the United States.

The suspicions appear to have been well-founded only in the case of France, where aggressive designs on Cuba were maturing in the dreamy brain of Chateaubriand<sup>1</sup> (then foreign minister of France) and were transmitted by him to Villèle. They also had a modicum of truth with regard to the United States. Secretary Adams<sup>2</sup> did not indeed desire to annex Cuba, but he desired to make it possible for Cuba to join the Union and become incorporated with the United States. This was one of the reasons why Adams declined to join with Canning in a joint declaration against the Holy Alliance in September of 1823. Had Adams brought the United States into line with Great Britain, both countries would have been pledged by Canning's provision that neither contracting state should acquire fresh territory. Adams saw that Cuba might solicit a union with the United States, but would not with Great Britain. Hence Adams held off, refused the joint declaration, and enunciated the Monroe doctrine in the presidential message of December 2, 1823. Adams made it possible for Cuba voluntarily to incorporate herself with the United States, and hoped that she would do so. This was the extent of his design upon Cuba. It was not grasping or aggressive like that of France, but it was not disinterested like that of Canning. The latter's idea was as follows: he certainly never had any notion of annexing Cuba for England, but he desired to maintain the status quo. If that was impossible, he was resolved, whatever happened, not to allow either France or the United States to annex or secure it. In 1825 he made a definite offer of guaranteeing it to Spain, on condition of her recognizing her revolted colonies to be independent states. Spain supinely refused, and toward the end of 1825 Can-

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres Complètes* (ed. of 1902), XII. 363 *et passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*, VI. 177-178; for his suspicions of English designs on Cuba see *ibid.*, 203. In 1823 Monroe amended a despatch of Adams to this effect: that the United States had "no intention of acquiring any portion of the spanish possessions for ourselves, nor shall we ever do it by force". Adams brought on a debate in the Cabinet (November 21) and had the passage in question struck out! *Ibid.*, 193-196; *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII. 36, 38-39. At one time, indeed, Canning had offered to guarantee Cuba to Spain as the price of her recognition of her revolted colonies, and of peace; but Spain had refused. This was not so great a departure from neutrality as was now planned by Adams. Canning had made this offer in order to insure peace; Adams uttered sentiments and resolutions which might prolong war.

ning was therefore faced by a new phase of this disagreeable problem. Bolivar and his friends were openly announcing their design of "liberating" Cuba; and to "liberate" Cuba Canning saw was to give the United States a pretext for interference. France was not much to be feared. She had already been threatened with war by Canning, if she intervened in the New World. In any case the fleet of England and the opposition—moral or otherwise—of both North and South America made her attempts impossible. France was not dangerous as an enemy but might be useful as an ally to check the United States. The latter power was infinitely the more dangerous because of the silent moral influence it might exert, and because it might interfere in Cuba, after Bolivar and his liberating armies had driven out the Spaniards.

Matters were complicated in the autumn of 1825 by the appearance of a French squadron off the coast of Cuba, which came ostensibly to collect a debt from Hayti. The French army had prefaced its march into Spain in 1823 by declaring that it only massed on the frontier so as to form a quarantine to prevent yellow fever and constitutional principles from coming over the Pyrenees. The French might well preface a naval attack on Cuba by an announcement that they merely intended to collect a debt from Hayti. Adams was not the man patiently to suffer this, and he prepared vigorously to resist, in case of a French attack on Cuba. Negotiations were entered into between the English and American governments, with reference both to the designs of France and to the designs of Bolivar. Vaughan, the English minister at Washington, conversed with the new Secretary of State, Henry Clay, on the latter subject, and actually "suggested an interference by the United States of America to dissuade the Mexicans and Columbians from making any attack upon Cuba". Canning heard this with immense indignation, for it ruined all his plans. He promptly disavowed Vaughan, and wrote him fresh instructions on February 8, 1826.<sup>1</sup>

If it had been intended that you should treat . . . in a matter so delicate, as the proposed interference of neutral Powers to controul the legitimate operations of belligerents against each other, You would not have been left without instructions; upon a point of as much novelty, as delicacy and importance. If [went on Canning] the United States think their interests likely to be affected by the continuance of the war between Spain and the new transatlantick States they are probably right, and perfectly at liberty to employ their good offices to bring about a pacification.

We have long endeavored to do so but in vain; and Spain has been uniformly the recusant party. If the United States think that particular

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, F. O., America 209.

interests of their own require that a certain operation of war should not be undertaken by one of the belligerents,—it is a question, and a very nice one for them, . . . but it is manifest that we have not the like interest either to induce or to justify us in so unusual an interposition. . . . If it be merely the interests of the United States that are concerned, that ground of interference can only belong to them, nor is there any obligation upon us, to share the odium of such an interposition.

Such then was the situation when the Panama congress met, Bolivar and his friends openly proclaiming their intention of attacking Cuba, France darkly pursuing her own designs, the United States openly proclaiming its intention of checking Bolivar in its own interests, Canning holding the balance aloof and neutral. He saw and took the opportunity of dividing the United States and the Spanish-American republics on this Cuban question, and of contrasting the moderation of England to the latter with the more aggressive attitude of the United States. In his instruction to Dawkins on March 18, 1826, he inclosed copies of despatches to and from France and the United States.

You will see how earnestly it is desired by the U[nited] S[tates], by France and by this country that Cuba should remain a Colony of Spain. The B[ritish] Gov[ernment] indeed, so far from denying the right of the new States of America to make a hostile attack upon Cuba, whether considered simply as a possession of a power with whom they are at war, or as an Arsenal from which expeditions are fitted out against them, that We have uniformly refused to join with the U[nited] S[tates] in remonstrating with Mexico and Columbia against the supposed intention, or intimating that we should feel displeasure at the execution of it. We should indeed regret it but we arrogate to ourselves no right to controul the operations of one belligerent against another. The Government of the U[nited] S[tates] however professes itself of a different opinion. It conceives that the interests of the U[nited] S[tates] would be so directly affected by either the occupation of Havannah by an invading force, or by the consequences which an attack upon Cuba, even if unsuccessful, might produce in the interior of the island, that the Cabinet of Washington hardly disguises Its intention to interfere directly, and by force, to prevent or repress such an operation. Neither England nor France could see with indifference the U[nited] S[tates] in occupation of Cuba. Observe, therefore, the complicated consequences to which an expedition to Cuba by Mexico or Columbia might lead, and let the States assembled at Panama consider whether it is worth while to continue a war, the only remaining operation of which, (that is likely to be sensibly felt by their adversary) is thus morally interdicted to them by the consequences to which it would lead.

As all know, the result of the congress was complete failure. It is probable that even the much-vaunted project of an attack upon Cuba by the Spanish-Americans was only a threat to dispose Spain toward recognition. The vast scheme of a united army of Spanish-

American confederates was concluded upon paper but was never realized in fact. One result only followed, that the policy of Canning had certainly done something to make the United States an object of suspicion to the Spanish-Americans. This is shown by the despatch of Dawkins to Canning upon October 15, in which he summed up the general results of the congress. The United States, he says, had failed to get any commercial treaties in its favor, owing to the opposition of Mexico and Peru.

The general influence of the United States is not, in my opinion, to be feared. It certainly exists in Columbia, but it has been very much weakened even there by their protests against an attack on Cuba, and by the indiscretions they have committed at Madrid.<sup>1</sup>

In all this the general policy of Canning is clear. According to Adams the European and American continents were to be regarded as being in water-tight compartments; according to Canning there was to be a free intercourse between them, and American powers were, if necessary, to play their part in European politics. Canning sought to induce the United States into a joint declaration with him against the Holy Alliance in 1823, and failed. Circumstances drew him away from the United States in later years, but he did not scruple to introduce American influence into European affairs. On October 13, 1825,<sup>2</sup> he inserted the following most significant passage in his instructions to the English ambassador at Constantinople. The Sultan is to be warned of insulting too grossly, by his acts, the moral opinion of the world:

The recent events in the Western hemisphere have approximated, as it were, the different divisions of the world to each other, and have brought new Powers to bear on every question of political struggle or change, in whatever part of the globe it may arise. The Porte cannot doubt that all the inhabitants of both Americas to a man, are in their hearts favourers of the Greek cause, and might at no distant period become active co-operators in it. This is not the language of intimidation, it is that of truth.

The contrast between the policy of Canning and that of Adams is very significant. Adams had, in the strongest manner, disclaimed any idea of anything but the merest expression of academic sympathy with the Greek struggle against the Turks, and had overruled Monroe with reference to this point in the autumn of 1823.

The ground that I wish to take [writes he in his diary<sup>3</sup>] is that of earnest remonstrance against the interference of the European powers

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, F. O., Colombia 36.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office, F. O., Turkey 133, quoted in my *Life of Canning*, 213.

<sup>3</sup> November 21, 1823, *Memoirs*, VI. 197-198, quoted by Reddaway, *Monroe Doctrine* (ed. of 1898), 64.

by force with South America, but to disclaim all interference on our part with Europe; to make an American cause, and adhere inflexibly to that.

England was desirous that America should mix in European politics, and for this reason: England had no entangling alliance either with monarchies in Europe or with republics in America; any interference or mingling of one with the other was bound to turn to the advantage of England. So much then for Canning's attempt to introduce America into Europe.

In attempting to break down that part of the Monroe doctrine which forbade America to be used for future European colonization, Canning used several means. As we have seen, the recognition of America was decided upon partly in order to teach the new states to lean upon England, not upon the United States. At the congress of Panama Canning played on the fears and jealousies excited between the Spanish-Americans and North-Americans over the question of Cuba. One further phase or aspect of his policy remains to be noticed, his attitude toward the Oregon question. The actual question of rights has never been definitely settled either way. What Canning felt on the subject is clear enough. Astoria had been made over to the United States in 1818. Canning commented upon this to Liverpool on July 7, 1826:

... think what a task it will be to justify this transaction to Parliament, if upon this transaction we rest our justification for abandoning the whole N. W. Coast of America to the Yankees. *I feel the shame of such a statement burning upon my face by anticipation.*<sup>1</sup>

Canning announced his intention of taking his stand immovably upon the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. The English boundary was to extend to that degree on the south, and no consideration would induce him to recede from this position. He was induced to this course by what he conceived to be the just claims, the honor, and the interest of England. He saw "that the ambitious and overbearing views of the [United] States are becoming daily more developed, and better understood in this country",<sup>2</sup> and he was resolved and determined to check them. Also he saw the advantages England would gain from an eventual "immense direct intercourse between China and what may be, if we resolve not to yield them up, her [England's] boundless establishments on the N. W. Coast of

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Stapleton, *Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, II. 73; the italics are my own. On Astoria see Public Record Office, F. O., America 129, 165-168; on Oregon, America 191-192. There is not much in these two volumes on the Oregon question not indicated or described already in Stapleton.

<sup>2</sup> Stapleton, *op. cit.*, II. 73.



America."<sup>1</sup> For these reasons Canning decided to assert the claims of England and check the pretensions of England's great American rival.

The avowed pretensions of the United States to put themselves at the head of the confederacy of all the Americans, and to sway that Confederacy against Europe (Great Britain included) is *not* a pretension identified with our interests, or one that we can countenance or tolerate. It is however a pretension which there is no use in contesting in the abstract, but we must not say anything that seems to admit the principle.<sup>2</sup>

If Canning was not prepared to contest it in the abstract, he certainly was in the concrete. Hence his firm stand on the Oregon question was due to the advantages likely to accrue to British trade with China and British prestige in America. There was a further and unexpressed reason, and that is that Canning could not but have perceived the advantage of retaining this boundary, in order to bring England nearer to Mexico. For that state he had an especial care, both because of its resources and because of its proximity to the United States. He saw that it would be probable that any expansion of the United States would take place toward Mexico. Adams contemplated the eventual incorporation of Texas in the Union.<sup>3</sup> He also endeavored to advance the United States boundary to the River Bravo del Norte, but was overruled by his colleagues in the Cabinet. Here again would have been Canning's opportunity to use every fresh aggression from the United States to teach the Spanish-Americans that their true friend and ally was not the United States but England. Every such attempt of the United States would frighten Mexico and increase the bond between her and England.

Here then emerges a policy, definite, compact, and coherent, a resolute resolve not to admit the Monroe doctrine, a determination

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Canning to Vaughan, February 18, 1826, Public Record Office, F. O., America 209.

<sup>3</sup> Incorporation, not annexation. J. T. Morse, *John Quincy Adams* (ed. of 1898), 131, 135, 266-267; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 178. There is a most significant passage on Mexico in William Huskisson's *Speeches* (London, 1831, three vols.), III, 579-580, May 20, 1830: "If the United States have declared that they cannot allow the island of Cuba to belong to any maritime power in Europe, Spain excepted, neither can England, as the first of those maritime powers—I say it fearlessly, because I feel it strongly—*suffer the United States to bring under their dominion a greater portion of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico than that which they now possess.*" The italics are my own. This passage has a greatly added interest when we reflect that Huskisson was the devoted follower of George Canning, and had special knowledge of American affairs as joint-commissioner with Stratford Canning in the conference with Rush about Oregon in 1824. It may reasonably be deduced that, in the above-quoted passage, he is voicing the sentiments of his deceased master in foreign policy.

to bring the Spanish-American states into close relations with England. The Old World was to be revived with the vigorous life of the New, the New to be tempered with the moderation of the Old, England to hold the balance between them. It is impossible not to admire the boldness and extent of the design, the vastness or profundity of its conceptions. Great indeed was the insight which looked so far ahead as to see the commercial advantages of a trade between China and northwest America, or to find in Mexico the most hopeful of Spanish-American states. On December 17, 1824, Canning wrote to Granville: "The deed is done, the nail is driven, Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, *she is English*." In Canning's later policy may be found the explanation of this apparently cryptic sentence. England did "mismanage [her] affairs sadly"; for no English statesman after him realized, as Canning did, that the future lay as much in the New World as in the Old. The utter impotence of the Spanish-American republics could perhaps not have been foreseen, and was a cause of failure apart from the defects of British statesmen. But none the less the entire devotion of Palmerston and Aberdeen to affairs European explains much of the success of United States policy.

We are now in a position to understand what seem the strange comments of Adams and Rush upon Canning's policy. The first thought his policy entirely English, the second called Canning "a Briton, through and through;—British in his feelings, British in his aims, British in all his policy and projects."<sup>1</sup> This characterization is strange to Englishmen. The deliverer of Europe from the toils of the Holy Alliance acquired no territory but only influence for England. To Englishmen it seems that, though Canning may have loved England best, his heart yet beat high for the general interests of the world. Yet Canning's later attitude toward America explains this characterization, for during that time he was straining every nerve to foil the United States, and hence the judgment of its diplomatists upon him. Yet even toward America the policy of Canning was marked, in many respects, by a noble disinterestedness. At no time did he contemplate using disturbances in the New World as a pretext for seizing exclusive advantages for England. Annexation of territory is an object supposed by most other nations to be the key-note of England's foreign policy. At least it had no part in the plans of England's greatest foreign minister, during whose second period of office

<sup>1</sup> Richard Rush, "Character of Mr. Canning", in *Occasional Productions* (Philadelphia, 1860), 190; Adams's view may be seen in W. C. Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII. 680.

not a single inch of territory was annexed. All Canning ever aimed at was to exalt the influence of England and the principle of non-intervention. In only two cases did he ever make any attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of states in the New World: in the one case when he offered to guarantee the stipulations of the treaty between Brazil and Buenos Ayres in 1826, in the other when he offered to guarantee Cuba to Spain in 1825. In both these cases his attitude was exceptional, and he stood to gain no exclusive advantage for England. He showed great disinterestedness by offering to Portugal and Spain most generous terms as the price of their recognition of Brazil and the Spanish-American colonies respectively. He agreed in each case that the mother-country should enjoy commercial advantages superior to those of any other nation, a concession of extraordinary generosity. He never claimed in commercial negotiations to get an exclusive or preferential treatment, but only an equality with other nations.

On the other hand, Adams aimed always at securing commercial treaties with Spanish America on the basis of exclusive treatment. And as with commercial, so with political advantages. In September, 1823, Canning offered to associate England with the United States in a joint declaration against the Holy Alliance, pledging neither to seize nor to occupy territory. Adams refused, because he desired (as Canning did not for England) to leave the door open for the incorporation, if not for the annexation, of such states as Texas or Cuba. Adams may have been right to refuse on the exclusive ground of the interests of the United States, and his declaration of the Monroe doctrine was certainly a most brilliant stroke of policy. But that Canning in his later policy was following the dictates of a larger and more tolerant doctrine seems also clear, though that the line which he adopted was likely to lead at length to conflict between the United States and England seems also unfortunately true.

The United States have now established beyond dispute their claims to forbid future European colonization in the American continent. But at least few can read without interest the views of the great English statesman, whose last years were spent in endeavoring, by every means of diplomatic skill and ingenuity, to check the pretensions of that Monroe doctrine which is inseparably associated with his own name and that of Adams. All must rejoice that, through whatever means, that conflict was avoided; and, since Americans have never refused a tribute to the genius of Canning, Englishmen should be the last to refuse to acknowledge that of Adams.

H. W. V. TEMPERLEY.

## THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE SOUTHERN BLACK BELTS<sup>1</sup>

IN a former essay<sup>2</sup> I have shown, from a study of slave prices, that slavery became an economic burden in America, and that the purchase of the unfree laborers made a great drain upon the earnings of the community which imported them. American slaveholding was essentially industrial in character; and industry under the slave-using system was essentially capitalistic. For the sake of controlling the labor, a very large portion of the capital was invested in the legal ownership of the labor itself. This system was expensive not only to the individual planter, but to the whole community. If other sections and periods of the slaveholding South were analyzed, the burdensomeness of slaveholding and the slave-trade, which I have demonstrated for the cotton belt, would be found to have prevailed as a very general phenomenon.

The present study is concerned with the tendency of slavery as a system of essentially capitalistic industry to concentrate wealth, such as there was, within the hands of a single economic class and within certain distinctive geographical areas. Aside from land, slaves were in the South by far the principal form of wealth. The study of the administrative and geographical concentration of slave property is of course a study of the growth of the plantation system and of the black belts produced by it.

At any time in any typical district of the South, there were non-slaveholders, small slaveholders, and large slaveholders. Most members of each of these classes were engaged in agriculture. The non-slaveholder tilled his land by the labor of himself and his family. The large slaveholder tilled his by the labor of his slaves under supervision. The small slaveholder often combined the labor of his slaves, his family, and himself in a mixed system. Thus there were

<sup>1</sup>The research of which this article is a product has been materially aided by the American Bureau of Industrial Research, by the United States Census Bureau, and by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

<sup>2</sup>"The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt", published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1905 (XX. 257-275). Further studies of a complementary nature are: "The Economics of the Plantation", in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July, 1903 (II. 231-236), and "The Plantation as a Civilizing Factor", in the *Sewanee Review* for July, 1904 (XII. 257-267).

small, medium, and large units of industry, which have been distinguished as small farms, large farms, and plantations. In each of these types of organization a more or less definite system of labor and administration was followed. This is a static view of the Southern industrial régime, and with more or less elaboration has been the one nearly always presented by historians and economists alike.

This description should be not the end of the matter, but a mere preface to the study of the dynamic forces at work and of the result which they effected in shaping the economic and social life and in controlling political policies. It is the dynamic view which is essential for the full understanding of the South. An emphasis upon the dynamic phase of Southern conditions and upon the plantation system as a principal factor in the shaping of Southern economy is the chief contribution here attempted.

At the outset in some of the Southern colonies there were experiments with systems of joint labor and paternalism. As soon as these had given place to private enterprise, there began the differentiation of the two chief industrial types, the plantation and the farm, which were thenceforth to be characteristic. In each instance settlement was first made on the seaboard, and prosperity was first achieved where certain staple crops could be raised and exported to market. The great abundance of land available and the short-lived fertility of most of the soil caused a great hunger for land and a rapid extension of settlement to satisfy that hunger. Thus the westward movement set in; and the van of it was made up of small farmers. While actually modified by many complications, which must here with doubtful safety be left out of account, the chief influence shaping the migration was the competition of industrial units.

After a certain period in the production of each staple, whether tobacco, rice, or cotton, the increase of the output caused a reduction of prices and profits, and brought distress to the less efficient of the producers, forcing many of them to abandon the industry. The Southern staples were all excellently adapted to production by the plantation system. The small producers were accordingly at a disadvantage, and were in most cases the first to make a change. The farmers tended to drift to the edge of settlement and to assert some independence of the staples by producing as far as possible the articles which their own families needed to consume. The further the farmer removed from tide-water and markets, the greater his tendency to a self-sufficing economy.

Many of the planters were also on the move. The tide of small farmers advancing toward the frontier in search of new opportunity

was followed in many areas by a tide of planters who sought new openings where their capital might be employed more advantageously than in the older areas where the competition was more stringent. Districts which from the lack of the required qualities of soil or climate or of facilities of transportation were not available for the planters could be enjoyed by the farmers alone; but all others were entered by the planters sooner or later, and after more or less conflict were dominated by them.

Some of the non-slaveholders moved away from the encroaching plantations and settled anew as yeomen farmers; others by thrift bought slaves and in time became planters; others simply held their own in spite of the disadvantage of competing with negro labor in the same industry; while still others retrograded in the scale of life, drifted to the barren tracts, and lived from hand to mouth as anemic poor-whites. The planters, meanwhile, continued to encroach wherever they could upon the territory already occupied in part by the smaller industrial units. The very nature of the plantation system caused this phenomenon. The case was very much like that of the great commercial and industrial organizations of to-day, whose nature requires them to encroach wherever possible upon the spheres of their weaker rivals.

The economic history of the Old South in its plantation districts was made up very largely of extensions and repetitions of the same general phenomena. One suitable area after another was occupied by much the same process. The period of occupation was followed by the same strife of industrial systems, which resulted usually in the victory of plantation methods. Then the planters continued to compete among themselves, and wore out such soil as was exhaustible. The final stage, reached in a few districts, was either a change to varied industry to which the plantation system was unsuited, or the partial depopulation of the country through the exodus of all the more energetic producers to new and more attractive lands. Superficially the process worked with a considerable variety in the several districts; but fundamentally the conditions and the development were a simple process, repeated in one area after another.

The theme is one whose treatment is readily aided by the use of statistics. Take for example the county of Crawford, which lies in a good cotton district in middle western Georgia. The state secured this tract from the Indians in 1821, and quickly threw it open to settlement through the agency of that highly democratic institution, the Georgia land lottery. The land was divided into tracts of 202½ acres each, and distributed by lottery among all the citizens of the state who were fortunate in the drawing. Immi-

grants of various types flowed in apace, and within a few years the population had reached the normal density for the state in that period. Then ensued the usual contest of the systems for domination. We happen to have a census of population and slaveholdings in Crawford county in 1824,<sup>1</sup> just three years after its opening, and another in 1860, when the county had become an undistinguished part of the upland cotton belt. A comparison of the data furnished by the two enumerations will show the effects of the competition of industrial units and systems which we are studying.

SLAVEHOLDINGS IN 1824

| <i>Owners.</i> | <i>Slaves each.</i> | <i>Owners.</i> | <i>Slaves each.</i> |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 27             | 1                   | 6              | 10                  |
| 18             | 2                   | 2              | 11                  |
| 17             | 3                   | 1              | 12                  |
| 9              | 4                   | 2              | 13                  |
| 7              | 5                   | 2              | 15                  |
| 9              | 6                   | 1              | 20                  |
| 4              | 7                   | 1              | 28                  |
| 1              | 8                   | 1              | 31                  |
| 5              | 9                   | 1              | 42                  |

SLAVEHOLDINGS IN 1860

| <i>Owners.</i> | <i>Slaves each.</i> | <i>Owners.</i> | <i>Slaves each.</i> |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 51             | 1                   | 34             | 10 and under 15     |
| 56             | 2                   | 28             | 15 " " 20           |
| 30             | 3                   | 20             | 20 " " 30           |
| 30             | 4                   | 18             | 30 " " 40           |
| 19             | 5                   | 8              | 40 " " 50           |
| 19             | 6                   | 7              | 50 " " 70           |
| 16             | 7                   | 1              | 70 " " 100          |
| 12             | 8                   | 4              | 100 " " 200         |
| 16             | 9                   |                |                     |

The total number of whites in 1824 was 1,781; and in 1860, 3,407; total slaves in 1824, 579; and in 1860, 4,270; free blacks negligible. The whites in 1824 were enumerated in 230 families, of which 116 had no slaves, and 114 possessed slaveholdings of an average size of five negroes each. In 1860 the white families had increased to about 630, of which 369 had slaveholdings averaging 11.6 in size. The average slaveholding had more than doubled in size. The most marked feature of the contrast is the growth in number and size of the larger slaveholdings—in a word, the passage of the domination of the community from the men of few or no slaves to the men of the planter class.

This was an obvious and normal development. The men with the fewest impedimenta were of course the quickest in their move-

<sup>1</sup>The census for 1824 was made by the state authorities. The returns are in manuscript in the state capitol at Atlanta. The figures for 1860 are from the *Eighth United States Census*, volume on agriculture, 226.

ments.<sup>1</sup> But the large slaveholders, though more slowly, moved surely. They gradually bought up the lands of the drawers in the lottery who did not wish to occupy their lots, and of such of their neighbors as might decide to move farther west. Thus they accumulated large tracts which would justify and maintain the plantation system. As years went on planters continued to come in from the east. Some indeed after a period of residence moved west, but their further westward journey when made at all was usually more deliberate and later than that of the smaller farmers, who moved out in search of new opportunity as easily as they had moved in in search of it.

The plantations grew in number and in size as well. The farms expanded less, if indeed their number and area did not actually decrease. In some other districts which will be considered below, the tendency to the domination by the planters, and in the long run their well-nigh complete possession of the district, was considerably more rapid and sweeping.

We are now ready to consider more fully the dynamic conditions of life and industry. The first form of society in almost every part of the South was that of the normal wilderness-frontier, in which industry was primitive, commerce rudimentary, and society individualistic in notable degree. There was little opportunity for specialization of industry or for any regular routine work.<sup>2</sup> The greater the versatility of the individual settler, when completely isolated, and the less the degree of routine, the greater was his progress in the comforts of his own homely production. So soon as he began to produce a surplus, however, and to establish a commercial connection with the rest of the world, the need of extreme versatility diminished and the value of routine increased.

If a normal development had been followed, these frontier farmers through exporting a specific surplus product would have accumulated capital, and would have developed an industrial and social system like that of Europe and the American settlements to the northward. But wherever it was possible to produce a marketable surplus through strictly routine industry in agriculture, this normal progress was interrupted in the South by an invasion of the plant-

<sup>1</sup> The restlessness of the frontier farmers is strikingly illustrated in the so-called "autobiography" of Gideon Lindecum, printed in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VIII. 443-519.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. letter of the Reverend John Urmstone to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (ed. of 1859), II. 215.



ers, who brought with them a cheaper supply of labor, with a more effective system of routine work.

While the life of the frontiersman, and of every self-sufficing farmer, was a succession of changes from one occupation to another, the economic life on the plantations was made as far as possible a fixed routine. Just as in the case of the factory system, which of course is entirely analogous as regards labor organization, the success of industry depended upon its regularity and the constant repetition of similar tasks.

On the larger plantations some of the weaker negroes were often assigned to spinning, weaving, sewing, and like occupations in the line of domestic manufactures,<sup>1</sup> while slaves of unusual ability were often employed altogether as plantation carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, etc.<sup>2</sup> There was always of course a supply of domestic servants in each well-to-do planter's household. Occasion also frequently arose for detaching part of the force of field-hands for sundry small tasks, whether for the benefit of the one plantation alone or in some joint undertaking of the neighborhood. But by far the greater part of the available labor supply was used for the routine work in the fields, under the direction of either the master, the overseer, or a foreman.

On most estates the laborers were divided into two or more groups for the better adjustment of the strength of the laborers to the needs of their tasks. For example, in the upland cotton districts it was customary to set apart the strongest laborers as plow-hands, while the rest used the hoe, and each group worked under its

<sup>1</sup> For example, the "Worthy Captaine Matthews" with his weavers, his tannery, and his eight shoemakers, as well as his dairy, wheat-fields, etc., described in 1649 by the author of "A Perfect Description of Virginia". Reprinted in Force's *Tracts*, vol. II., no. VIII., pp. 14-15. Another striking instance is shown incidentally in the papers of Robert Carter of Nomoni Hall (manuscripts in possession of Virginia Historical Society). In 1782 Carter, a great Virginia planter, was operating a "Woolen and Linen Factory" at Aires, with six negro weavers and four negro winders, under the management of Daniel Sullivan. But apparently the profits did not justify the use of slave labor, and the enterprise was given up.

<sup>2</sup> This practice had its disadvantages. Witness the following extract from a letter of Colonel J. B. Lamar, a large Georgia planter, to his sister, Mrs. Howell Cobb, in 1846 (manuscript in possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin of Athens, Georgia): "My man Ned the carpenter is idle or nearly so at the plantation. He is fixing gates and like the idle groom in *Pickwick* trying to fool himself into the belief that he is doing something . . . While I was gone I had him in town and on returning found that he had been drunk and fighting, and misbehaving in every way, so that I have banished him to rural life. He is an eye servant. If I was with him I could have the work done soon and cheap, but I am afraid to trust him off where there is no one he fears. . . . I shall sell the rascal the first chance I get."

own supervisor.<sup>1</sup> Upon many estates of small dimensions the owner would lead the plow-gang, making his own furrow, and requiring the negroes to keep pace with him, while his son would do likewise with the hoe-gang. Or if the planter spared himself from the manual labor, he would oversee the work either in person or through a hired overseer, or in many cases through a reliable slave whom he constituted foreman or "driver" and vested with authority subordinate to his own. In some localities, as in most of the Carolina rice district, the negroes instead of being worked strictly in gangs were given tasks of hoeing or plowing a specified area for each day.

Whether the method followed was the task system or the gang system, the great characteristic feature and the strength of the plantation method was in its division of labor and above all in its arrangement for the performance by the negroes of a labor nearly always of routine character. The routine system was the only system by which the unintelligent, involuntary negro labor could be employed to distinct advantage; and, other things being equal, the most successful planter was always he who arranged the most thorough and effective routine.

The saving of time and effort, together with the protection of the life, health, and strength of the laborers, were the essential requirements of success in the profitable use of slave labor under American conditions.<sup>2</sup> That success was heightened, of course,

<sup>1</sup> The gang system on the great sugar estates in Jamaica in the eighteenth century was described by Bryan Edwards in his *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, bk. 4, chap. 5 (first edition, London, 1793, II. 128-129). The negroes were there worked in three sets, or gangs, he says. The first set, comprising most of the robust men and women, was employed in clearing the land, digging the holes, planting the cane, and in crop-time tending the mill. On the average plantation it included about one-third of the whole number of slaves, exclusive of domestics. The second set, composed of boys and girls, women in pregnancy, and convalescents, was employed in weeding the canes and other light work. The third set was of young children, attended by an old woman. They gathered feed for the pigs, weeded the gardens, etc., with the purpose mainly of being kept from idleness and learning habits of industry.

<sup>2</sup> The road to the fullest success is pointed out by Richard Corbin, a great Virginia planter, in a letter of instruction and advice, January 1, 1759, to James Semple, who was to be his agent during his protracted absence from home. He writes: "The care of [the] negroes is the first thing to be recommended that you give me timely notice of all their wants that they may be provided with necessarys. . . . Observe a prudent and a watchful conduct over the overs that they attend to their business with diligence, keep the negroes in good order and enforce obedience by the example of their own industry, which is an effectual method in every respect of succeeding and making good crops. Hurry and Severity; the ways of industry are constant and regular, no

when by fostering a sentiment of affection and loyalty, or by means of a system of inexpensive rewards, zeal was made to replace fear as a motive to labor.

Where the above-named features were present, the plantation system was probably the most efficient method ever devised for the use of stupid labor in agriculture on a large scale. Its efficiency was so great in the ante-bellum South that when slave labor became scarce and dear the planters were the only ones who could afford to buy it as a steady practice. It is true that a few corporations owned slaves for their service. For example, the Athens (Georgia) Manufacturing Company owned eight slaves in 1850<sup>1</sup>; the South Carolina Railroad Company bought seventy-eight slaves for its service between 1845 and 1860<sup>2</sup>; and for a period prior to 1834 the state of Georgia attempted to use state-owned slaves for developing her roads and waterways.<sup>3</sup> But as a rule corporations found it more advantageous to use free labor wherever possible; and when the use of slaves was necessary they preferred to hire them from their owners rather than to buy them and run the risk of loss from their illness, death, or escape.<sup>4</sup> Where possible, indeed, it was fre-

in a hurry at one time and do nothing at another, but to be always usefully and steadily employed. A man who carries on business in this manner will be prepared for every incident that happens. He will see what work may be proper at the distance of some time and be gradually and leisurely providing for it, by this foresight he will never be in confusion himself and his business instead of a labor will be a pleasure to him. . . ." (manuscript in Virginia Historical Society Library, Richmond, Virginia).

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript tax digest, Clarke County, Georgia, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> At prices ranging from \$400 to \$1,500. List printed, with names, dates, and prices, in *Report of the President of the South Carolina Railroad Company* for 1864. Copy in the Charleston Library, Charleston, South Carolina.

<sup>3</sup> William C. Dawson, *A Compilation of the Laws of Georgia, 1819 to 1829* (Milledgeville, 1831), 399. Act appropriating \$50,000 for the purchase of additional able-bodied negroes in number sufficient to make a total of 190 when added to those already owned by the state. *Federal Union* (a newspaper published at Milledgeville, Georgia), January 29, 1834. Advertisement by W. C. Lyman, superintendent of roads for the eastern division of Georgia, giving notice that he will sell at auction on stated days in March and April 118 slaves belonging to the state of Georgia and attached to the several road-tending stations in his division.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., the *Palladium* (Frankfort, Kentucky), December 1, 1868. Advertisement: "Negro Men Wanted. The subscribers wish to hire three or four Negro Men, to work in their Factory in Frankfort. They will be taught Weaving, and liberal wages will be paid for their services. Apply immediately to Danl Weisiger and Co."

Cf. also *Report of the Macon and Western R. R.* (Georgia) for 1859. Under the heading of repairs to the road, the superintendent lists the "labor of 100 negroes [i. e., slaves] with overseer and supervisor, an average of \$200 each (including food and clothing), \$20,000". (See next page.)

quently much preferred to avoid either the purchase or hiring of slaves in such enterprises as the building of railways, by letting out the work on contract to the planters who lived near by and could use their own slaves under their own personal superintendence.

Paternal attention was necessary as a safeguard against serious losses and disaster. Its necessity was recognized increasingly as the cost of slave labor mounted higher and higher in the nineteenth century. The competition of planters became keener; and the preservation of the health, happiness, and vigor of the laborers, as well as the maintenance of firm control over them, became more essential than ever for success in plantation industry.<sup>1</sup> When planters were absentees, there was pressing need of securing overseers of qualifications not alone of honesty, but of carefulness, forcefulness, knowledge, industry, and tact.<sup>2</sup> Where these qualities were lacking in the director, the enterprise often went to wreck.

Cf. also the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Georgia), January 12, 1854: "High price of Hands.—The *Norfolk Argus* says it has never known the demand for slaves greater than at the present season, nor that description of labor scarcer or higher than at the present season. Many farmers, rather than engage at the present rates, consider it more prudent to curtail their agricultural establishments. Ordinary field hands have commanded as high as one hundred and fifty dollars, and No. 1 laborers have readily brought \$225, accompanied with a life insurance for the value of the slave. The great demand for laborers proceeds from the turpentine regions in North and South Carolina, as well as the works of railroad improvements which are soon to commence."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1859), 45.

<sup>2</sup> The overseer problem was a difficult and vital one in the conduct of the large estates, particularly when a planter had more than one plantation. The following narrative will illustrate. It is taken from the plantation records of Louis Manigault, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina, who owned the two adjacent rice plantations "Gowrie" and "East Hermitage" on the Savannah River, operating them as a single large establishment. The records were made year by year in a continuous account. The manuscripts are now in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, of Pinopolis, South Carolina. The narrative for 1855 relates that the death of his overseer on December 7, 1855, left Mr. Manigault alone on the plantation. After refusing many applications for the place, he employed Leonard F. Venters, a young man of twenty-four years who had had experience near Georgetown, South Carolina, and was well recommended. Early in May Manigault left the plantation, as usual, for the summer. "Venters", he says in the account of operations, "made two great and fatal mistakes. He drew off his 'Sprout Water' too rapidly, prostrating his rice to the ground, and again he left his fields dry too long before he could get at them to give first hoeing. His rice was all stunted, sickly, and grass took him. We have made one half a crop. He says 'he will do better another year than now he sees into it', and as is well known, 'never change an overseer if you can help it', we try him once (but only once) more. We have purchased 19 [additional] negroes, amongst them 13 prime hands, costing in all \$11,850. Also 771 acres High Land on Georgia Main for Cholera Camps, Children's summer residence, etc. costing \$2,195 . . ." At the end of the next year he wrote: "My ex-

Where these qualities of strength, resourcefulness, and devotion to affairs were present, there was a decided tendency to an increase in the size of the plantation thus advantaged. This tendency was held somewhat in check by the force of conservative custom against the sale and purchase of slaves except in emergencies; but in the newly developing sections, and especially when times were flush and credit easily obtained, the rapid growth of slaveholdings in the hands of men of personal strength was a marked phenomenon.

Incapable owners, on the other hand, often lost part or all of their slave property. Perhaps this was less frequent with large holdings than with small ones, for the large estates could afford to employ capable overseers during the minority of heirs, and in similar contingencies, while the small ones could not. While some slaveholdings, then, were handed down from generation to generation unchanged in number except through births and deaths, by far the most of them were occasionally altered in size by purchase and sale; and the law of the survival of the stronger in the competition brought it about that there should be a growth in the size of those slaveholdings which were controlled by the most capable managers, and an increase in their number and size in the districts where negro labor could be used to the best advantage. Economy of effort and expense in administration, economy in the purchase of supplies, and perhaps also economy in the marketing of the product all worked toward strengthening the advantage of the large holder over the

pepetations with regard to the overseer improving upon his last year's sad experience were vain. Mr. Venters did do a little better than before, as far as an increase in the crop was concerned, but very little; moreover elated by a strong and very false religious feeling he began to injure the plantation a vast deal, placing himself on a par with the negroes, by even joining in with them at their prayer meetings, breaking down long established discipline, which in every case is so difficult to preserve, favouring and siding in any difficulty with the people, against the Drivers, besides causing numerous grievances which I now have every reason to suppose my Neighbours knew; and perhaps I was laughed at and ridiculed for keeping in my employ such a man. I discharged Mr. Venters, and on 8th January, 1858, engaged Mr. Wm. H. Bryan . . . He is very highly recommended by Dr. King, and spoken of as a good planter and a man of character. I give him \$800 for the year 1858 . . ." At the end of the next crop-year the record runs: "The crop of 1858, W. H. Bryan Overseer, has turned out wretchedly. From what I can learn since my return from Europe and after spending the entire winter of '58-'59 on the plantation, there has been gross neglect and great want of attention on the part of the Overseer . . . On 8th April, 1859, Mr. Wm. Capers Jr., an Overseer of high rank and standing, . . . takes charge at the rate of One thousand dollars per annum, the highest salary we have yet paid . . ." Capers proved efficient, brought things to rights, and made a very good crop. But Mr. Manigault expresses in his observations for 1859 the well-founded belief: "The truth is, on a plantation, to attend to things properly it requires both Master and Overseer."

small one, and of the strong man over the weak. The concentration of slaveholdings was an inevitable tendency.

Yet there were hindrances and limitations to this process. In the first place, the whole body of the negro population was tremendously inert, and of course made no migration or progress of any sort of its own accord. Its labor as a rule was good only in a routine, and any change was difficult and problematical. Many of the whites also fell into a routine and were disposed to let good enough alone and put off changes till the morrow. After the American Revolution there were no entails or primogeniture, and estates once accumulated were liable to be divided in inheritance. Plantations, furthermore, might easily become too large and the fields too scattered for effective administration. The standard of maximum efficiency varied in the different staple regions and even on different soils within the same belt; but in every case such a maximum existed, and any growth beyond it decreased the profits of the establishment. Undue cumbrousness might be avoided by dividing one plantation into two or three; but that was not fully satisfactory, for overseers were expensive and they could never adequately fill the place of the master. There was a current adage, "The master's footprints are fertilizer to his soil."<sup>1</sup> In colonial times the limitations on the size of plantation estates were less cogent; but when slave prices mounted and when, in the later period, the margin of profit became small, it became more advisable to invest profits in bank-stock and the like and avoid too great cumbrousness of land and slave property. The actual size of the average slaveholding, indeed, was very much smaller than the layman has been led to believe.

There was, in the second place, a limitation of habitat. No cereals nor any other crops but the four or five Southern staples could be cultivated as a main product with the system of full routine

<sup>1</sup> The force of this is illustrated by the following description by a cotton-planter of his troubles and resolutions: "I have discharged Harvey, the overseer at the Hurricane, for getting drunk, neglecting business and not paying attention to that important branch of planting, viz. raising hogs. I have employed a man named Bagly in his place, a man of some reputation as an overseer . . . I was in Baldwin [County] yesterday, trying to infuse new energy into everybody, and I think my turning off the late overseer has aided me in my exertion, as both overseers seem to understand that retaining their places depends on their energy and industry, and when they flag they must find a home elsewhere. I am kept busy and intend they shall be too, as long as my health lasts . . . I have opened a regular set of books like a merchant. I found my business getting so confused I was forced to do it, and I am very glad I was, as I now keep all my accounts as easily and clearly as I could wish." Extracts from a letter from Colonel John B. Lamar, Macon, Georgia, January 5, 1846, to Hon. Howell Cobb. Manuscript in possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Georgia.

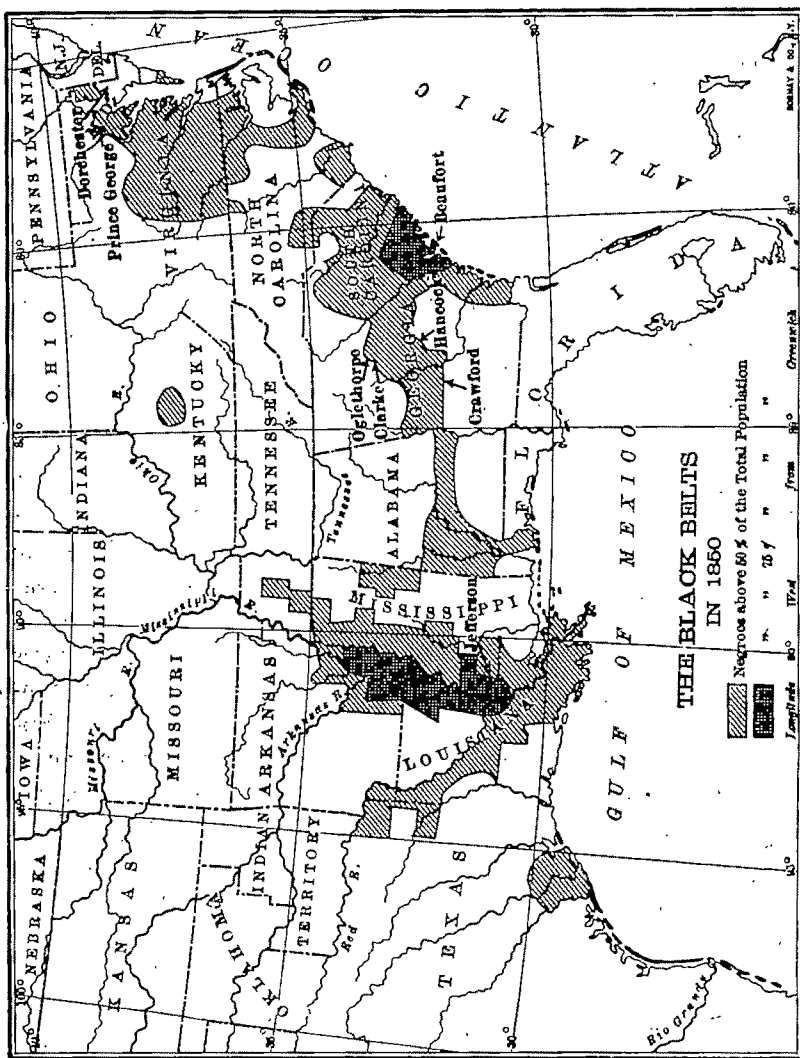
which plantation industry required. That system was always confined, accordingly, within the staple areas and within the districts where economical transportation could be had, and where public policy was friendly.

The friendliness or unfriendliness of a given region toward the plantation system might undergo decisive change. For example, the invention of the cotton-gin and the improvement of transportation made the Piedmont available for planters; while, on the other hand, the exhaustion of soils in parts of Maryland and Virginia and the rise of tobacco production at a smaller cost in the West, drove out the plantation system from some of the tide-water counties there.

The actual development as regards slavery in any given locality, whether in the South or the North, was the resultant of the interplay of these forces working for and against the plantation system. There were large parts of the South which, like the whole North, failed at any time to attract planters. The area, on the other hand, which invited them in large numbers may be divided into several distinct staple-producing sections, and may best be studied statistically through inquiry into the growth of the industrial units in selected counties which possess the type-features of the section.

For the colonial period, hardly any reliable statistics in this connection are available for study; but in view of the fairly complete repetition of processes in the successive settlement of similar areas in the plantation districts, it will here suffice to use the data for the period from 1790 to 1860, which is covered by the United States censuses and by certain local tax returns which we may use to supplement the census enumerations. The United States Census Bureau has never printed any local statistics of slaveholdings except for the year 1860, and many of the manuscript census returns for the early decades have been irretrievably lost; for example, those for Virginia and Kentucky to 1810, for Tennessee and Georgia to 1820, and for Alabama to 1830. But counties in Maryland may be taken as typical of the black belt of the whole Virginia-Maryland region, and a South Carolina coast district as an example for the Georgia lowlands also. There is no trouble in securing tables for the Mississippi-Louisiana region; and as for the Georgia-Carolina upland cotton belt, the summaries here presented from the manuscript tax returns in selected counties are preferable to those of the decennial censuses, because they were made much more frequently, and a series of returns for closely adjacent years is available for the study of the effects of particular economic crises, and the like.

These upland Georgia counties which we have selected, Oglethorpe, Hancock, and Clarke, all lying in the older part of the cotton belt, are probably the most instructive of all for which we have data; for in the period covered by these statistics these counties went through the full development from practically frontier and



colonial organization, through and past their agricultural prime, and in turn came to furnish numerous emigrants to colonize the lands farther west.



# Origin and Growth of Southern Black Belts 811

GROWTH OF SLAVEHOLDINGS IN SELECTED COUNTIES OF THE GEORGIA COTTON BELT.  
(Statistics compiled from county tax digests.)

| Year               | Numbers of Slaveholders and Slaves. |           |              |             |            |               | Largest Holding. | Total Owners. | Total Slaves. | Average Holding. |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
|                    | I<br>1-3                            | II<br>4-9 | III<br>10-19 | IV<br>20-49 | V<br>50-99 | VI<br>over 99 |                  |               |               |                  |
| OGLETHORPE COUNTY. |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                  |               |               |                  |
| 1794               | 215                                 | 114       | 60           | 10          | 0          | 0             | 26               | 389           | 1,980         | 5.1              |
| 1800               | 272                                 | 163       | 69           | 17          | 0          | 0             | 31               | 521           | 2,788         | 5.32             |
| 1805               | 295                                 | 234       | 79           | 22          | 1          | 0             | 76               | 631           | 3,598         | 5.7              |
| 1810               | 310                                 | 262       | 139          | 37          | 3          | 0             | 73               | 757           | 5,255         | 7.07             |
| 1815               | 286                                 | 230       | 138          | 50          | 5          | 0             | 77               | 709           | 5,457         | 7.73             |
| 1820               | 280                                 | 258       | 130          | 82          | 8          | 0             | 77               | 758           | 6,444         | 8.5              |
| 1835               | 219                                 | 203       | 142          | 89          | 12         | 0             | 80               | 655           | 6,689         | 10.2             |
| 1840               | 183                                 | 153       | 131          | 103         | 17         | 0             | 90               | 587           | 7,111         | 12.1             |
| 1860               | 165                                 | 151       | 112          | 96          | 16         | 1             | 130              | 541           | 6,589         | 12.2             |
| HANCOCK COUNTY.    |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                  |               |               |                  |
| 1802               | 368                                 | 288       | 135          | 26          | 2          | 0             | 53               | 819           | 4,823         | 5.9              |
| 1807               | 378                                 | 323       | 185          | 45          | 3          | 0             | 65               | 934           | 6,424         | 6.9              |
| 1813               | 227                                 | 222       | 136          | 64          | 4          | 0             | 77               | 653           | 5,612         | 8.6              |
| 1821               | 229                                 | 208       | 145          | 88          | 8          | 0             | 93               | 678           | 6,331         | 9.34             |
| 1825               | 197                                 | 147       | 107          | 86          | 13         | 2             | 152              | 552           | 6,315         | 11.44            |
| 1835               | 145                                 | 132       | 107          | 77          | 17         | 2             | 180              | 480           | 5,680         | 11.84            |
| 1844               | 123                                 | 133       | 113          | 53          | 21         | 2             | 205              | 445           | 5,787         | 13.0             |
| 1856               | 144                                 | 112       | 106          | 95          | 27         | 3             | 146              | 487           | 7,516         | 17.45            |
| CLARKE COUNTY.     |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                  |               |               |                  |
| 1805               | 205                                 | 117       | 31           | 9           | 0          | 0             | 45               | 362           | 1,758         | 4.86             |
| 1810               | 191                                 | 123       | 57           | 10          | 1          | 0             | 51               | 382           | 2,124         | 5.55             |
| 1815               | 137                                 | 129       | 61           | 17          | 1          | 0             | 51               | 345           | 2,167         | 6.4              |
| 1818               | 164                                 | 152       | 83           | 24          | 0          | 0             | 46               | 413           | 2,997         | 7.02             |
| 1820               | 181                                 | 141       | 97           | 29          | 0          | 0             | 44               | 448           | 3,139         | 7.0              |
| 1830               | 206                                 | 154       | 91           | 55          | 3          | 1             | 120              | 510           | 4,529         | 8.9              |
| 1837               | 159                                 | 158       | 88           | 53          | 8          | 6             | 208              | 472           | 5,303         | 11.3             |
| 1840               | 130                                 | 161       | 73           | 59          | 5          | 4             | 209              | 432           | 4,358         | 10.16            |
| 1845               | 177                                 | 146       | 101          | 56          | 9          | 2             | 247              | 491           | 5,231         | 10.6             |
| 1850               | 177                                 | 163       | 103          | 73          | 4          | 1             | 102              | 521           | 5,217         | 10.13            |
| 1855               | 152                                 | 161       | 116          | 60          | 7          | 2             | 135              | 498           | 5,166         | 10.36            |
| 1864               | 167                                 | 175       | 111          | 73          | 8          | 1             | 150              | 535           | 5,420         | 10.13            |

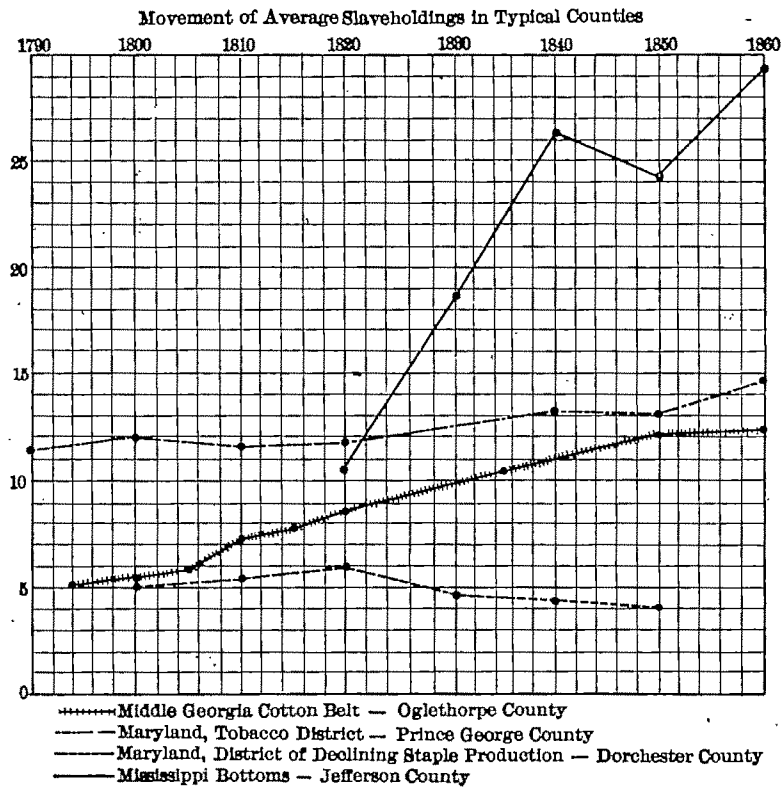
By study of these tables<sup>1</sup> and charts, which date from the time when cotton production began in the upland district, the effect of the growth of the cotton industry may be watched and measured. The tables deal with both the number and the size of the slaveholdings. Studying them with the chronology of prosperity and depressions in the cotton belt in mind,<sup>2</sup> we find the following facts:

1. The *average size* of slaveholdings tended to increase with moderation in ordinary periods, while in periods of either marked prosperity or severe depression there was nearly always a stimulated growth of the larger slaveholdings and a thinning out of the

<sup>1</sup>The manuscript returns from which these summaries were made are to be found in the court-houses at the respective county-seats.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Political Science Quarterly*, XX. 267.

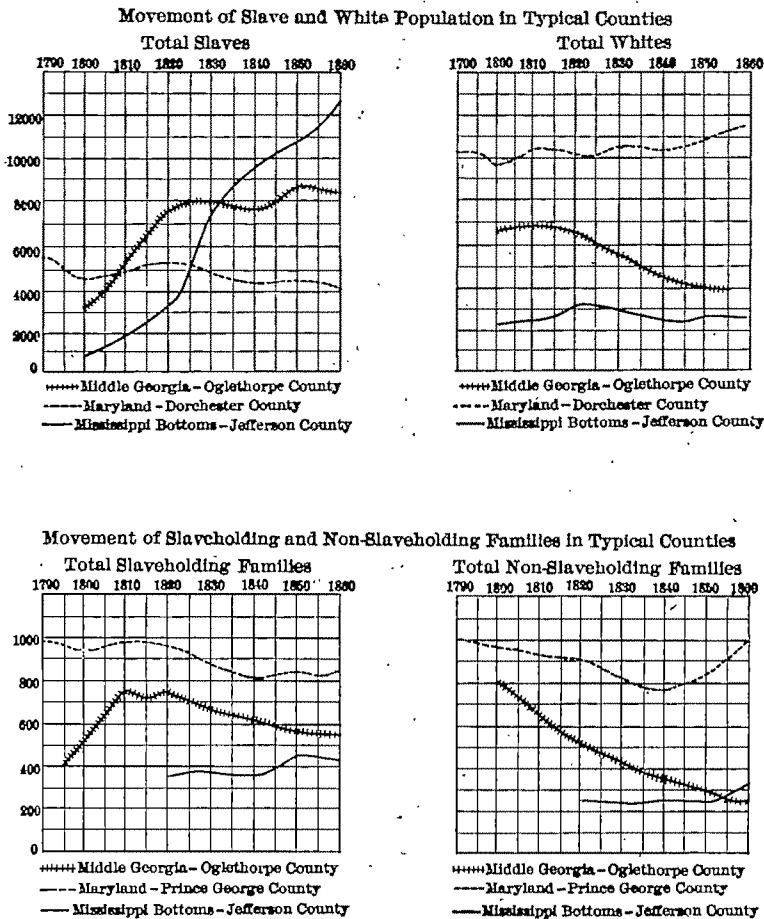
small ones, and hence a quickened growth in the size of the average slaveholding.



2. The *aggregate number* of slaveholdings tended to increase or decrease according to the stage of development which the community had reached. That is, so long as population was scanty and opportunity abundant, the small producers as well as the large ones flowed in. But when the land had become more completely occupied and opportunity restricted, an outflow would begin, and the smallest units would lead the exodus. Both flush times and hard times quickened this fluctuation of the total of units, merely hastening movements which were already in progress. These tendencies are illustrated more fully in Oglethorpe and Hancock Counties than in Clarke, for in Clarke County there lay the considerable town of Athens. A town, of course, contributed to the total of slaves a large number of domestic servants, who were not affected by the laws controlling the units in agriculture.

For the sake of clearness in the accompanying charts, Oglethorpe is used as a single type county for the upland cotton belt.

In the respective charts, the line for Oglethorpe County shows: (1) a moderate and steady growth in the average size of slaveholdings; (2) a fluctuating but almost continuous rise in the total number of slaves; and (3) a decline in the total of whites after about 1810; (4) that the number of slaveholdings increased until 1810, held its own to 1820, when the aggregate population reached its highest point, and decreased thereafter through the lessening of the number



of small slaveholders; (5) that the non-slaveholders, throughout the period covered, decreased continuously, though with diminishing speed in the later decades. The number of non-slaveholders for the several periods has been roughly ascertained by comparing the number of slaveholding families in a given year with the total number of families, as stated in the federal censuses.

MOVEMENT OF SLAVEHOLDINGS IN OTHER TYPICAL AREAS. (Statistics compiled from the United States Census Returns.)

| Year.                              | Numbers of Slaveholders and Slaves. |           |              |             |            |               | Largest Holding.      | Total Owners. | Total Slaves. | Average Holding. |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
|                                    | I<br>1-3                            | II<br>4-9 | III<br>10-19 | IV<br>20-49 | V<br>50-99 | VI<br>Over 99 |                       |               |               |                  |
| JEFFERSON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.     |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                       |               |               |                  |
| 1820                               | 125                                 | 97        | 75           | 40          | 6          | 2             | 158                   | 345           | 3,665         | 10.6             |
| 1830                               | 66                                  | 107       | 78           | 88          | 18         | 6             | 251                   | 363           | 6,700         | 18.4             |
| 1840                               | 72                                  | 74        | 58           | 95          | 39         | 11            | 456                   | 349           | 9,176         | 26.3             |
| 1850                               | 99                                  | 86        | 68           | 108         | 63         | 7             | 374                   | 431           | 10,493        | 24.3             |
| 1860                               | 81                                  | 87        | 70           | 99          | 71         | 17            | above<br>300          | 425           | 12,396        | 29.2             |
| BEAUFORT DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA. |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                       |               |               |                  |
| 1790                               | 143                                 | 110       | 88           | 153         | 67         | 24            | 607<br>(next,<br>265) | 585           | 14,236        | 24.3             |
| 1800                               | 107                                 | 127       | 115          | 152         | 70         | 26            | 300<br>610            | 600           | 16,031        | 26.7             |
| 1850                               | 148                                 | 189       | 174          | 184         | 131        | 83            | (next,<br>480)        | 909           | 32,279        | 35.5             |
| 1860                               | 202                                 | 253       | 188          | 216         | 142        | 69            | above<br>500          | 1,070         | 32,530        | 30.4             |
| PRINCE GEORGE COUNTY, MARYLAND.    |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                       |               |               |                  |
| 1790                               | 358                                 | 272       | 202          | 124         | 24         | 6             | 265                   | 986           | 11,176        | 11.2             |
| 1800                               | 294                                 | 294       | 180          | 117         | 31         | 5             | 155                   | 921           | 11,067        | 12.0             |
| 1810                               | 330                                 | 284       | 206          | 135         | 32         | 3             | 125                   | 990           | 11,760        | 11.6             |
| 1820                               | 315                                 | 290       | 199          | 132         | 34         | 3             | 117                   | 973           | 11,484        | 11.7             |
| 1840                               | 257                                 | 229       | 148          | 154         | 23         | 3             | 202                   | 814           | 10,636        | 13.1             |
| 1850                               | 256                                 | 241       | 164          | 166         | 28         | 5             | 198                   | 860           | 11,510        | 13.0             |
| 1860                               | 269                                 | 199       | 170          | 162         | 40         | 7             | under<br>200          | 847           | 12,479        | 14.7             |
| DORCHESTER COUNTY, MARYLAND.       |                                     |           |              |             |            |               |                       |               |               |                  |
| 1800                               | 465                                 | 304       | 85           | 28          | 1          | 1             | 121                   | 884           | 4,596         | 5.0              |
| 1810                               | 478                                 | 353       | 92           | 29          | 2          | 1             | 151                   | 955           | 5,063         | 5.3              |
| 1820                               | 560                                 | 382       | 100          | 21          | 1          | 1             | 200                   | 1,065         | 5,198         | 4.9              |
| 1830                               | 585                                 | 379       | 96           | 19          | 0          | 1             | 116                   | 1,080         | 5,005         | 4.7              |
| 1840                               | 531                                 | 355       | 81           | 8           | 1          | 0             | 65                    | 976           | 4,222         | 4.3              |
| 1850                               | 613                                 | 351       | 78           | 8           | 1          | 0             | 56                    | 1,051         | 4,281         | 4.0              |

The data for Beaufort district, South Carolina, and Jefferson County, Mississippi, illustrate the movements for those parts of the black belts in which the proportion of negroes was particularly great, and show that while there was a larger unit of maximum efficiency in the alluvial areas, the same general influences held good which prevailed in Middle Georgia. Beaufort is cited as an old plantation area, and Jefferson as a new and rapidly developing one. The statistical picture in these cases is slightly disturbed by the fact that stretches of pine-barrens alternated with the fertile bottom-lands, and offered a haven to a number of poor whites who were too low in the scale of industry to be affected by the competition of the

staple producers. The movement in the fertile areas was well described by Messrs. Simons and Alston in their speeches in the South Carolina legislature at the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the subject of the slave-trade. Their description, as reported, was as follows:

As one man grows wealthy and thereby increases his stock of negroes, he wants more land to employ them on: and being fully able, he bids a high price for his less opulent neighbor's plantation, who by selling advantageously here, can raise money enough to go into the back country, where he can be more on a level with the most forehanded, can get lands cheaper, and speculate or grow rich by industry as he pleases.<sup>1</sup>

The two Maryland counties analyzed are typical of the longest settled areas, in their two partly contrasting portions: the portion which maintained the plantation system, and the portion which had replaced its staple by varied industry and had abandoned plantation methods. The first of these is illustrated by Prince George, which was in 1860 the chief tobacco county in Maryland; the second by Dorchester, which by 1860 had altogether ceased producing the staple. In each of them the population, both whites and slaves, tended to remain fairly stationary. In Prince George the number of the small holdings diminished and that of the larger ones increased as time went on, while in Dorchester just the opposite movement was usually in progress. Where plantation methods were no longer followed, there was little incentive to the concentration of slaves. In such cases the negroes were wanted rather as "help" than as gang labor.

The districts which did not ever produce any of the staples in appreciable quantity lie beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it to say that in them there was little or no importation of negroes except possibly in rare periods of particular local prosperity; and when, after such importation, slave prices reached high levels in the country at large it was often found more advisable to sell the slaves than to employ them in the non-staple industries.

To summarize: the plantation system was the master feature in the régime of American slaveholding. In the prevalence of industrial competition, that system controlled in large measure the migration and the activity of both races. It tended to segregate the races; and, except for domestic service, it tended under limitations, in the long run, to eliminate the small slaveowner and to constitute the industrial system entirely of the two types, the paternalistic plantation and the democratic small farm, the one devoted always primarily

<sup>1</sup>"Diary of Edward Hooker", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1896, p. 878.

to the staples, the other as a rule depending little upon staple production.

The dynamic view is full of significance; industry and society while apparently static were really in continuous motion and change. Affairs proceeded much in a routine; but no repetition of process was ever quite identical with its preceding occurrence. The routine itself was essentially dynamic. Impelled by the force of competition and directed by the requirements of capitalized industry, the plantation régime promoted the growth of slaveholding accretions and extended the black belts wherever gang labor could be made the most effective system.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

## GAPS IN THE PUBLISHED RECORDS OF UNITED STATES HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

IN the spring of 1902 the Queen of the Netherlands issued a mandate to some ten of the foremost historical scholars of her kingdom, constituting them a Commission of Advice for National Historical Publications. Meeting from time to time, and proceeding with proper Dutch deliberation, the commission elaborated a valuable and suggestive report, which was presented nearly two years later.<sup>2</sup> In this they take up in a methodical manner the general aspects and the various subdivisions of the national history, and discuss carefully under each head the state of the original materials requisite for thorough knowledge and the question what portions of that material have been made accessible in print and what portions still remain that ought to be published. The whole proceeding was eminently Dutch, characteristic of a cautious and prudent nation, that can afford the time to do things on a right plan. Great as is the mass of published material for the history of the Netherlands, the government itself had in the last seventy years done much less of this work than several of the other European governments. There was a general feeling that more should be done. But those who had the matter most at heart had no mind that the government should proceed haphazard, printing this or that body of documentary material because it had been often talked of, or because some enthusiast, having for the first time made its acquaintance, had conceived an exaggerated notion of its importance and had persuaded some facile official to let him print it at government expense after some mode of editing dictated by his own fancy. On the contrary, the most expert intelligence available by the nation was first to consider with deliberate care the question what most needed to be done, and was then to devise a general and relatively permanent plan for doing it. The immediate result was a highly interesting survey, exhibiting clearly the relative documentation of the different parts or phases of Dutch history. The future result will be a well-ordered system of volumes and series, by which gaps will be filled and existing collections supplemented, so that in the

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Columbian Historical Society of Washington, D. C.

<sup>2</sup> *Commissie van Advies voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Overzicht van de door Brunnenpublicatie aan te vullen Leemten der Nederlandsche Geschiedkennis* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1904, pp. ix, 108).

end the original sources for the national history may be evenly presented.

In reading such a survey, it was impossible not to be struck with the thought, how largely the method followed was applicable to the United States. For our briefer history, though the national government has done relatively little, much documentary material has already been published. But much yet remains to be done, and we are proceeding to do it without system or order. Executive departments of the federal government, or clerks of Congressional committees, conceive and execute documentary compilations; but all is casual and miscellaneous. More than half the state governments are publishing or have published historical materials; and no two have followed the same plan. Historical societies are prone to publish what seems at the moment most interesting or most available, provided of course it is of date anterior to 1783, at which date for most of them American history comes to an end; certainly they seldom pay any regard to what other historical societies are doing. Many zealous individuals have added and are adding to the mass of valuable documentary print; but still in a casual manner. The result is chaos. Some parts of our history are relatively oversupplied with original material, while others are in this regard neglected, and therefore remain unwritten, or are left a prey to those writers who do not need documentary material in order to compose historical volumes. Figuratively speaking, we have bought enormous quantities of supplies for our excavations, we have engaged our workers, we have dug deeply here and there; but we have "made the dirt fly" before we have mapped our isthmus. Or, to vary the metaphor but still keep near to the earth, one great region of our national domain, the historical region, is still, so far as primary labors are concerned, largely an unsurveyed tract, subject to squatter settlement and squatter sovereignty. Would it not be more rational to take a lesson from the methodical procedure of the Dutch?

It would be both futile and presumptuous for an individual student to attempt, in any length of time, to make for his country so well-rounded a survey as that which has resulted from the joint labors of the Dutch commission. Yet it has seemed possible that, without attempting a detailed survey of the field, one might by a hasty sketch contribute to the evening's entertainment of a historical society, and perhaps suggest some thoughts that others might at a later time elaborate and even execute. It should be fully understood that in this sketch there is no thought of general histories or of monographs, of the question whether on this or that subject a historical



work has or has not been written. The sole thought is of that prior and more fundamental question, what materials exist and are available for the treatment of the subject, assuming that some one should wish to write upon it, or that, if already dealt with, it has not been treated in the light of all the evidence procurable. Suppose that nothing had yet been written on American history; in what state are the materials for attacking it? In order to have any practical utility, such an inquiry, it should also be observed, presupposes that we confine ourselves to materials which, however difficult of access or of use, still do exist. An absolutely even documentation of American history is not to be hoped for. We will limit ourselves to the consideration of the problem, how to do the best possible with that which the ravages of time, of war, of paper-makers, and of housewives have spared to us.

Nor can there be any thought of dealing with all the periods and subdivisions of American history. Only an illustrative selection can be attempted. If that selection is made mainly in the field of constitutional and political history, let no one make it a matter of reproach. It may well be that the historical writers of the next generation will lay all their emphasis on social and economic history. In France and Germany the tendency is already strong in this direction, and among us one sees the pendulum beginning to swing that way. Each age has its own fashion in the writing of history. "Historical writing", said Mark Pattison, "is one of the most ephemeral forms of literary composition." But even after the tide has set in the direction of economic and social history strongly, even violently, as is the manner of American currents, even in that socialistic millennium toward which we are no doubt advancing, it is to be hoped that students, however fascinated with the narrative and the theory of social movement, however penetrated with the conviction that economic forces have controlled all human destinies, will yet remember that for the last four hundred years the actual form in which human life has mainly run its course has been that of the nation. Perhaps we are approaching a period in which the leading organization of mankind shall be the industrial; when the union of unions or the war of trusts shall be more important than the union of states or the conflict of nations. But the whole course of American history thus far has lain in the era of nations, during which the most potent and visible unity of human affairs was the political. It seems then needless to apologize if, in a discussion of the materials for American history, printed and unprinted, one speaks primarily of those which

relate to the constitutional and political history of the United States and of the colonies out of which they grew.

Beginning with the colonial period, it is first of all to be observed, how far from adequate is our supply of published materials for the history of British control and administration. First in logical order stand the King and the Privy Council, and first perhaps among the desiderata is a properly edited series into which shall be drawn off from the manuscript records in London all those acts of the Privy Council, or orders of the King in Council, and accompanying papers, which relate in any way to the British colonies in America. The *Acts of the Privy Council* have been for some time in process of publication by the British government. But now that the series is approaching the accession of James I. and the period when it would be useful to students of American history, we are told that it will not be extended beyond the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. All the more reason why the American entries in the subsequent period should be drawn off and published, that we may have a complete and consecutive record of the doings of what was once the highest administrative and in most matters the highest judicial body of our government. Such a series is not limited, by the phrase used above, to the thirteen colonies of the mainland, and it should not be so limited. There is no more fruitful source of error, or at least of incomplete understanding, in respect to the British colonial administration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than the habit of confining attention to those thirteen colonies which finally established their independence. The only rational mode is to consider that administration as a whole, as a system embracing sometimes colonies to the northward and always a group of insular colonies to the southward, some of them usually more regarded, as elements in the system, than most of the colonies on the mainland. Accordingly our proposed series of Acts and Papers of the King in Council relating to America should not fail to include those entries in the registers of the Privy Council which refer to the West-Indian and other colonies of Great Britain as well as those which have to do with the affairs of the "Old Thirteen". Nor should the series stop with 1776, nor even with 1783, when the thirteen colonies were acknowledged to be outside of British colonial jurisdiction. On the contrary, it should be continued to 1815, for in those thirty years of warfare with France many Orders in Council besides those most famous orders of November, 1807, were of moment to American history. Also, it should of course embrace the relevant acts of the Council of State under the Commonwealth.

Similarly, we should have a series of the royal proclamations relating to the colonies. Here, it may be said, we are on a somewhat different ground, because royal proclamations were printed. But they were printed in so small a number of copies that it would probably be utterly impossible for even the richest and most determined collector to possess himself of a complete set of those useful to American history. Such print stands for our present purposes on the same basis as manuscript. It may be said that from 1666, when the *London Gazette* began, we are in a better position, since proclamations were printed in its pages and do not have to be separately sought for; but apparently only one American library contains a perfect file of that periodical.

Next perhaps in logical order to the records of the Privy Council stand the journals of the Board of Trade. The records of this advisory board, indispensable toward an understanding of colonial policy, must some time be printed. For the present it is less necessary than some other tasks, because by the public-spirited action of certain friends of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that society has been provided with an excellent transcript of the whole journal, in several scores of volumes of manuscript, which can always be consulted in Philadelphia. Ultimately however printing must be contemplated, though it is always more difficult in America to find the means for publishing documentary material that relates to all the colonies than that which relates to only one.

Parliamentary legislation for the colonies, as distinguished from administrative regulation, is, it is true, already all in print, and sets of the British statutes at large are not rare. Yet it would be very convenient if we had, separated from the mass and brought together in one book, all the acts of Parliament relating to America. The same is true of the relevant portions of the *Journals* of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, sets of which are few in the United States, and of the reports of the debates on American subjects. It is perhaps commonly supposed that all of this last material is in the earlier volumes of Hansard's *Debates*. But without going into the complicated bibliography of the pre-Hansardian Parliamentary reports, it may be said that this is far from being the case.

Let us pass now from the general matters of British colonial policy to the establishment and government of particular colonies. It would probably be supposed by a foreigner who saw our activity in historical printing that there must surely be no lack of printed collections into which had been gathered all the fundamental documents of that government, the grants of soil and jurisdiction, the

constitutions on which the right to govern rested. But this is by no means true. The charter governments are indeed better provided, for it is an easier task to present their fundamental documents; yet Poore is not complete, and Miss Farnham's elaborate compilation covers but a part of the area. After all, too, what we need is a complete collection of all letters-patent from the crown conveying either soil or jurisdiction, either in continental America or in the islands, both those which founded important colonies and those which proved abortive; for it is only when the whole series is studied in chronological order, not five letters-patent or thirteen but twoscore or more, that the nature and development of the colonial grant are fully seen. The grant of Avalon explains the grant of Maryland; the charters for Guiana and the Isle of Providence illustrate that of Massachusetts Bay.

So much for the charter colonies. But still greater is the need of the fundamental documents in the case of the unchartered colonies, or royal provinces. Indeed the very difficulty of finding and studying their constitutions, in comparison with the ease with which charters may in most cases be found and studied, has led to some of the strangest distortions in our colonial history. In reading the pages of many writers one would suppose that the charter government was nearly the universal type of colonial constitution, whereas, when one stops to think, only five of the thirteen colonies were living under charters in 1775. For the others, the royal provinces, the fundamental documents of the constitution were the royal commissions and instructions to the governors. Comparatively few of the commissions have been printed, still fewer of the instructions, and those that have been printed are widely scattered. Yet without thorough study and comparison of them it is impossible to understand that intricate combination of the written and the unwritten, of the British and the colonial, which formed the typical constitution of the chief class of American colonies, and to which we look for the genesis of the main features of the subsequent state constitutions.

But we must not forget that our origins, even our constitutional and political origins, are not all English. Of forty-five states, many have known French or Spanish domination, and the scribe of documents played at least as large a part under the French régime, and under the Spanish colonial system a much larger part, than under the English. The archives of old France and of New France, those of Madrid and Simancas, and most of all the Archives of the Indies at Seville, contain the materials for many documentary series which are needed for the understanding of the history of Illinois and Louis-

iana, of Florida and Texas. The administrative systems of France and Spain differed widely from that of England, the colonies had much less autonomy, and there are complications due to the subordination of the colonies now lying within the borders of the United States to superior authorities like those of the viceroyalty of New Spain or the captain-generalcy of Cuba. Under these Latin régimes we cannot so readily draw the line between what is constitutional and what is merely administrative regulation. Yet it is not too much to hope that we may some time have a complete collection of edicts of the French crown touching Louisiana and the Illinois region, similar to Moreau de St. Méry's *Loix et Constitutions*, or for the Spanish rule a series of the orders and warrants of the crown for the colonies (*real órdenes* and *cédulas*), or of the proceedings, decrees, and despatches (*consultas*, *decretos*, and *despachos*) of the audiencias and of the Council of the Indies.

To propose such definite and homogeneous series from foreign archives is to propose an unusual course of procedure. The common plan has been for a state government or a historical society, on hearing that in a foreign archive there was a group of volumes containing interesting materials for the history of their locality, to send at once and have them copied, and proceed to print, regardless of the miscellaneous character of what they found or of the question whether all had been found. For such a haphazard and piecemeal policy there was some excuse in the past, but there will be none in the future. The great European archives are no longer disordered masses, from the surface of which one had better pluck up what he could while he saw it, lest it never emerge to the surface again. They can be exhaustively explored; and by the plans which the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution is following, all the important materials that they contain for the history of the United States or any part thereof will within a few years be discovered, listed, and described. It will then be possible to select and print what is needed in order to make up a relatively complete chronological series of homogeneous documents of any given type.

Doubtless the political history of the colonies lends itself less perfectly than the constitutional to the composition of such methodical series. Yet here also some order can be introduced, in the gathering of spoils from European archives. If we ask ourselves, in the English case, what political series may claim for itself the foremost place, it is likely that the choice would fall on the letters which colonial governors wrote to the authorities in London, a series of documents frequent and continuous throughout the whole period, composed under

official responsibility and by men who, though sometimes prejudiced, were in an excellent position for observation of the events of colonial history. But large numbers of these letters have already been printed, more or less systematically, especially in the case of New Hampshire, New York, and North Carolina, and of some individual governors, such as Sharpe, Spotswood, and Dinwiddie. For this reason it might be a better plan to take in hand the almost untouched series in the British archives of letters and despatches from the military and naval commanders in America, or the papers of the commissioners of customs for the colonies, full of new information respecting the plantation trade, the importance of which is now better appreciated than ever before, as the commercial causes for the American Revolution are assuming greater and greater prominence in the minds of historical writers.

There is also an international class of historical documents, obviously of the first importance, a compact collection of which is an undoubted desideratum, and that is the treaties and conventions between European powers which have a bearing on American history. The mass of them is not great. Often it is but a small part of a treaty that has reference to American affairs. Old-world diplomats might higggle with minute detail over the frontier villages of Flanders or Alsace, and throw away half a transatlantic continent in a phrase. But the specific gravity of this material, so to speak, is exceptionally great, as the history of many colonial wars will testify. It is hard, however, for the student to obtain it. Treaties were printed, it is true. But they have often not been printed anywhere with perfect accuracy, and they can now only be found imbedded in great and expensive collections, and sometimes not even there. Probably no human being in 1903 wrote five pages on the cession of Louisiana without mentioning the treaty of San Ildefonso. It is fundamental to a great boundary dispute; but probably not forty historical scholars in the United States have ever seen its full text. (It happens not to be in Martens's *Recueil*.) The lack of a scholarly edition of all these treaties and parts of treaties is however being supplied by the appropriate department of the Carnegie Institution.

It is time now to pass to the American shores, and to consider what deficiencies are to be noted in the supply of historical material for our individual colonies. The first to be mentioned is one that would seem scarcely credible, in a country where so much historical printing has been done. Any one would say that among the prime requisites for intelligent work upon the history of our development

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should have given a prominent place to the laws of our colonies and to the journals of their legislative assemblies. But first as to the laws. Five states, Virginia, South Carolina, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, have provided the historical student with good sets of their statutes at large for the colonial period or even to the early days of the nineteenth century, and so has Connecticut in a way. Maryland and New Hampshire have begun to fill the gap. But unhappy the man who tries to follow the course of legislation in the other colonies. The Public Record Commissioners of New Jersey a few years ago declared that there did not exist in that commonwealth a complete set of the laws of the colony, province, and state; and in the case of Delaware and Rhode Island it is no longer possible to make good the deficiency. Authenticated copies of the earlier laws of those two colonies do not exist either in the state capitals or in London. Even in some cases where the laws have all been printed in usable collections, the records of disallowances by the English crown are fatally incomplete.

But with the legislative journals of the lower houses of assembly the case is much worse. The student has access to those of New Hampshire and North Carolina in modern editions, fairly complete; to those of Maryland to the end of the seventeenth century, to those of New Jersey for seven years, to those of Virginia for three. For Connecticut and for forty years of the earlier period of Massachusetts history he has journals of the General Court, or records of the doings of the legislature as a whole, with which he can make shift to content himself. For Rhode Island he has what is little more than a body of extracts. Substantially, then, he has before him hardly more than a third of the record. The rest still exists only in manuscript or in print almost as rare as manuscript. For Delaware nothing exists. A few fortunate libraries contain the complete sets for New York and Pennsylvania, which printed their assembly journals in goodly volumes. Virginia has begun the issue of a stately series which will ultimately give us the whole record of the House of Burgesses, the most important of colonial assemblies. Maryland is proceeding with the matter. Georgia is perhaps about to take it up, after a fashion. But Massachusetts, New Jersey, and South Carolina should lose no time in instituting such series, without which large portions of their colonial history are bound to lack definite substance and reality; Rhode Island should make her series complete; and New York and Pennsylvania should reprint.

One more desideratum of the colonial period must be mentioned, though its magnitude is such as to cause hesitation. Yet no one can doubt that the social history of the colonial period can never be conveniently studied or adequately known so long as the supply of colonial newspapers lies in its present unsatisfactory shape. There were nearly forty newspapers in the United Colonies in 1775. Of some but a few scattered copies remain, of others there are complete files. There are numerous subjects of our social history in the ante-Revolutionary period which so run through the various colonies that they cannot be treated adequately without full examination of all of this sort of material that has survived. Yet the writer believes that there is but one man who, in the pursuit of any subject, has ever had the requisite determination and patience to carry through an examination of newspapers which required journeys to Boston on the north and to Savannah on the south, so widely scattered are the files that he must inspect. Moreover, some of the best of these will certainly vanish if steps are not soon taken for their preservation by reprint. Thirty years ago there were two good files of the *Virginia Gazette*; now there are none. There is one superb set of the *South Carolina Gazette*; as it is not in a fire-proof building, its fate is plain. No doubt it is a great expense to reproduce a file of a colonial newspaper, either by print or by photography. But does it seem as if an age that had produced *Fads and Fancies* could possibly profess inability to float an expensive book?

But it is time to turn to the history of the American Revolution. Numberless subjects of colonial history, numerous opportunities for documentary publication, have been passed over in silence. It will perhaps have been observed that nothing has been said of all the process of discovery and exploration, that happy-hunting-ground of the history-writing mind. Let it be attributed to a conviction that here, if anywhere, the supply of original material is relatively adequate. The world has been raked fine for documents relating to that age of the Argonauts, and nothing would suffer if we allowed those heroes to rest in their present state of documentation, while we devoted ourselves to catching up with other classes of transactions and of material.

It may well be maintained that much the same is true of the American Revolution. To the mind of the average American legislator, for some obscure reason, the words "American history" denote almost always the history of American wars, and especially of the Revolutionary war. Therefore it has been comparatively easy to persuade the assemblies of our states to make appropriations for the



printing of documents relating to that interesting conflict. Nevertheless what would seem to be the most fundamental documentary series, a complete edition of the general orders of Washington as commander-in-chief, remains unexecuted. For the naval warfare, which in certain years at any rate was perhaps as important and as decisive as that which took place on land, our supply of material is relatively scanty, though the naval papers of the Continental Congress and the vast unexplored masses of the British Admiralty papers would furnish abundant material for illustrating even a warfare consisting so largely of detached episodes. Probably the huge fragment of Force's *Archives* ought on some improved plan or other to be pieced out to its completion. Until little more than a year ago we should have had to confess that we had only a most incomplete edition of so primary a record as the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. But now, thanks to the superb equipment and patient labors of Mr. Worthington Ford, we are being supplied by the Library of Congress with what is substantially a perfect edition of that invaluable body of material. We shall never be able to supplement that journal with the debates, as we are accustomed to do in the case of modern congresses. Yet a series has been devised, and is being executed by another agency in this city, which will supplement in a manner almost as vivacious the formal record of proceedings. It was the habit of many if not most delegates to the Continental Congress to send home at frequent intervals to their state executives, or to other local authorities, long letters or reports upon the transactions of the Congress. These are being collected from their official repositories in a dozen different states and, when all brought together in a chronological series, will illuminate the transactions of each week by side-lights varying with the individual angle, yet forming in combination, it is hoped, a supplementary light of the greatest value. Another desideratum, in the case of several states, is a proper presentation of the journals of their constitutional and other conventions. Also, for this period and for those which have followed it, we sorely need a new edition, revised and brought down to our time, of Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*.

For the Constitutional Convention of 1787 we have long had the primary records in reasonably good shape, on the one hand the Journal and on the other hand Madison's incomparable record of the debates; and lately these have been reprinted in a form which rivals the preciseness and almost exceeds the difficulty of a facsimile text. But Madison's notes have been supplemented from time to time by those of lesser diarists—Yates, King, Pierce, Paterson, Hamilton,

and now McHenry—and documents have come to light that mark stages in the progress of the convention's work or otherwise illustrate the making of the Constitution. There is needed a complete and scientific edition of the Records of the Philadelphia Convention, which shall bring together from their various volumes these fragmentary supplements to the main narratives and shall arrange all the data, old and new, side by side under the days or parts of days or phases of the discussion to which they relate. It is a pleasure to be able to say that this work is being done, and done too in a manner certain to satisfy the needs of scholars.

The federal government of the United States, from its installation in 1789, has never been seriously remiss in the printing of the annual records of its transactions, whether legislative or executive. At times the suspicion has not been lacking that it printed too much. At all events, the task of him who would suggest gaps in the historical record of the central government is lightened when we pass that celebrated year. Nevertheless it has been demonstrated by exceedingly careful examination that the volumes devoted to Foreign Relations in the folio series of the *American State Papers* do not embrace more than one-fourth of the material, for the period which they cover, in the diplomatic archives of the Department of State. Here then is a great work which the government should take up, both for the large amount of fresh material which it will afford to the student of our history, and also for the illumination and guidance which it may give to the conduct of our national relations with other states. Such a series, however, should not merely embrace the fifty years of history covered by the *American State Papers*, but should be brought down to the outbreak of the Civil War; for it is well known to all students of our diplomatic history that for the years from 1840 to 1860 even those documents which are in print are hard to procure in unbroken series and hard to manage when procured.

There are also a few great deficiencies in the earliest legislative records which need to be supplied. The *Annals of Congress*, like the *Histoire Parlementaire* of the French National Assembly, were apparently made up from but a few newspapers. A much better account of the earlier debates, anterior to the founding of the *National Intelligencer*, could probably be supplied by a compilation from a greater number of papers. What is certain is that, as is doubtless familiar, the earlier debates of the Senate are almost entirely unreported. For the first five years the Senate of the United States sat with closed doors. For the first two years, to be sure, we have the debates recorded in the diary of one of the senators. Perhaps

we ought to be grateful for what he has given us. But probably most persons have felt quite as much exasperation as gratitude at the thought that our sole record of those interesting, momentous, and formative discussions should come to us from the sullen, mean, and envious mind of Senator William Maclay. "All things look yellow to the jaundiced eye." Discussion of materials that do not exist was from the beginning ruled out of this paper; but it may be pardonable to express a devout and earnest hope that somewhere there exists another journal of those Senatorial proceedings and that in the future it may be laid before the world. It can hardly fail to be a fairer as well as a more generous record.

In the documentary material for the history of the United States in the nineteenth century, that age of copious print, it would be vain to pretend that there are gaps of the greatest magnitude to be signalized. To enumerate a great number of small deficiencies would be tedious. It may suffice to speak by way of specimen of two or three episodes in our history on which more light might well be shed. For one, and an extremely interesting one, there is the history of the striking process by which South Carolina, from being in the last years of the eighteenth century a Federalist state, came by 1830 to be the leader of the extreme state-rights school and the protagonist of sectional interests. The process remains an obscure one. The theory that Calhoun, disappointed in his ambition for the presidency by reason of his quarrel with Jackson, persuaded his whole state into the new path, is now well seen to be untenable; for it is plain that South Carolina led Calhoun rather than Calhoun South Carolina. For the same reason, there is equally little disposition to adopt Mr. Henry Adams's view, in accordance with which Calhoun was beguiled by the fitful ignis fatuus that rose from the decaying brain of John Randolph as he inflicted his wayward harangues upon the Senate, while the impassive Carolinian sat in the Vice-president's chair and transmuted the hectic utterances into the cold logic of the nullification theory. Failing such theories as these, we are forced to ask for more light, for more ample publication of Carolinian resolves, speeches, editorials, and private correspondence in the years between 1790 and 1830.

For a second instance, though the national government has put forth abundantly the documents of its own civil and military history and of the military history of the Confederacy, the stores of documentary material of the civil government of the Confederacy to which it fell heir at the conclusion of the struggle still for the most part await publication. The Journals of the Confederate Congress

are indeed being laid before us. But we need to know more of the history of Secretary Benjamin's diplomacy, of the struggle for recognition, of the operations of the treasury, and of its relations to the economic life of the seceded states.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, it may be permissible to say a few words respecting possible further publications of the private correspondence of eminent public men. Perhaps we are hardly warranted in speaking of gaps here, at least in the sense in which we can use the phrase when speaking of a governmental office or a legislative body which maintains a continuous record of its proceedings, so that if any part of it is not present in the printed series we allege a gap in the literal sense of the term. Yet there are some statesmen whose position is so important or so peculiar that if we lack their correspondence or memoirs we feel that we lack the key to many of the chief transactions of their age. Of all the Americans of the earlier period, there are perhaps none whose correspondence we so distinctly need as the two Adamses. From the elder we have a ten-volume edition of his *Works*. But it contains after all very little of his correspondence, and those letters are so vivacious that they shine out in a formal age, and compel us to wish eagerly for more. Of the younger Adams, while we have the invaluable *Memoirs*, surely one of the most remarkable of political diaries, we have almost no letters, though he wrote well and often, during a long and varied public career. In both cases, too, we should find our profit quite as largely in the letters written to the two Presidents, and preserved in the same repository, as in the letters which they themselves wrote.

Aside from John Adams, the chief desideratum for the period of the Revolution might seem to be a new edition of the letters of Richard Henry Lee, for the man was of high abilities and undeniably interesting, while the existing edition of his *Life and Correspondence* is one of the most preposterous, disorderly, and unusable of books. In the next period, we really suffer much from the lack of any full body of material on the Southern Federalists. We have only Iredell, and he was a judicial character. For lack of a full disclosure, such as the papers of James A. Bayard might afford us, many have been obliged to persist in the misrepresentation that the Federalist party was an aggregation of New-Englanders, although it is probable that, if the whole story were before us, we should perceive that the Middle-state and Southern Federalists had furnished the party with most of that ballast of moderate wisdom which its heady North-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. D. Richardson's *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy* (Nashville, 1905) has now partly filled this gap.

ern leaders so much needed, and with much of the momentum which enabled it to do its great work.

The list might readily be carried down to more modern times. It is needless to say with how much delight we shall all greet the publication of the papers of Andrew Jackson; but of this we are already certain. The papers of Van Buren and Polk are already assured of preservation. Their publication will surely illuminate many obscure places in our political history. In the period of the Civil War it is chiefly the papers of the principal Southern leaders, and above all of Davis and Stephens, that we most need in order to complete our materials; and on the Northern side those of the dissentient radicals like Wade and Thaddeus Stevens and Henry Winter Davis.

We are not infrequently invited to take a gloomy view of the future of the historian. We are told that the economist and the sociologist are steadily plucking away his most valuable feathers, and that our venerable muse is losing the fairest portions of her domain to far younger sciences, of which Herodotus and Thucydides never heard and to which, indeed, they might not have felt attracted. But at least it will be clear that in America the purveyor or editor of documentary materials for history has sufficient occupation for the immediate future, and much opportunity to persevere in the endeavor to secure for his science at least a broad and solid basis.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

## DOCUMENTS

### 1. *Letters of Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk, 1844*

THE following letters, written by Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk immediately before and during the Democratic national convention of 1844, are a part of the collection of Polk Papers recently acquired by the Library of Congress. The letter from Jackson to Butler is among the Van Buren Papers, also in the Library of Congress.

Van Buren's letter stating his position in opposition to the annexation of Texas appeared April 20, 1844. It was in complete antagonism to the expressed opinion of Jackson upon the same subject according to his letter to A. V. Brown, possibly written in 1843 but not made public until the spring of 1844. Jackson, of whose sincere desire for Van Buren's nomination there can be no question, attempted to neutralize the impression caused by Van Buren's attitude by a letter to the *Nashville Union* dated May 13, 1844, in which he stated that Van Buren's opposition to the annexation of Texas proceeded from a knowledge of the question only as it had existed in 1841. The communication to the *Union* was followed the next day by a confidential letter to B. F. Butler, chairman of the New York delegation at the Baltimore convention and Van Buren's personal manager. This was given to Donelson, Jackson's nephew, to deliver at the convention. After Van Buren's name had been withdrawn by Butler, he referred to Jackson's letter as the "prayer of Old Hickory for a re-united Democracy".

Donelson was accompanied to Washington by Laughlin and Pillow, both of them intimate friends of Polk. At Washington they met the other delegates from Tennessee. The delegation consisted of Pillow, the chairman, Donelson, Laughlin, Alexander Anderson (senator in 1840-1841, and a stanch Calhoun man), John Blair (representative from Tennessee from 1823 to 1835), Taylor, Childress (Polk's brother-in-law), Powell, and five congressmen from Tennessee: Blackwell, Cullom, Andrew Johnson, Cave Johnson, and George W. Jones. Pillow's letters show that Polk's ambition was limited to the vice-presidency. In the convention of 1840 Polk had received the vote of one delegate for the second place on the ticket. He had reason to hope for better support at the Baltimore

convention. The Tennessee state convention, which had expressed no preference for the presidency, indorsed Polk for the vice-presidency.<sup>1</sup> In Arkansas Van Buren and Polk had been selected as the choice of the state convention which met in December, 1843. The same preference was shown in the vote of the Mississippi convention held in January, 1844. Polk's name was therefore coupled with Van Buren's, but Van Buren's attitude on the question of Texas had wholly changed the complexion of affairs. Polk was taken up by the Van Buren faction after their candidate had been cut off from the nomination by the adoption of the two-thirds rule in order to defeat Cass, whose strength was increasing with each ballot.

JESSE S. REEVES.

I. ANDREW JACKSON TO B. F. BUTLER OF NEW YORK.

HERMITAGE,

May 14th. 1844.

*Confidential.*

*My dear sir,*

This will be handed to you by my Nephew Major A. J. Donelson who goes on to the Baltimore Convention to whom I refer you for the political news of the west, and the great excitement, Mr. V. Burens letter has created, and I fear it will be difficult to allay, and reunite the democracy in his favour. Clays letter had prostrated him with the Whiggs in the South and West, and nine tenths of our population had declared in favour of Mr V. Buren and annexation of Texas—when this, illfated, letter made its appearance, and fell upon the democracy like a thunderbolt. Had it have been in accordance, with the editorial of the Globe, all would have been well. *All* the democrats believed that Mr. V. Buren, under the present circumstances, would have been in favour of annexation, but from the present excitement, it will be difficult to reconcile those southern and western democrats, *all* in favour of *annexation*, to Mr. V. B. You might as well, it appears to me, attempt to turn the current of the Miss[iss]ippi, as to turn the democracy from the annexation of Texas, to the United States, by Joint Resolution, Act of Congress, or by Treaty. Had Mr. V. B. and Benton taken a view of the population of Texas, where from, and the places of the birth of the Texian prisoner[s] at Perote in Mexico, the[y] might have judged of the feelings of the South and West. If they had taken into view the exposed Situation of Neworleans, with Texas in the hands of Great Britain, added to the danger of British influence upon our Western Indians, on the event of war, and the *dreadful scenes apprehended from* a servile war, with the Indians combined, on our South and west,—the

<sup>1</sup>In a letter written after the Tennessee convention, Polk took pains to assure Van Buren that he and eleven of the thirteen delegates selected for the Baltimore convention were favorable to Van Buren's candidacy, notwithstanding the silence of the state convention. Polk to Van Buren, November 30, 1843, Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

feelings of the west might have been well judged of on this Subject. Why hesitate to accept the annexation from Texas, ["an independent nation" stricken out] with whom all the important nations have treated as an independent nation, when we treated with Mexico for a retrocession of that part of Louisiana, now Texas surrendered by that foolish Treaty of 1819—without the consent of Spain—extending the same rules to Texas as we did to Mexico, why hesitate to receive the proferred Boon from Texas, as we were ready to receive from Mexico by treaty, without waiting for the consent of Spain. But I refer you to Major Donelson, and my published letter in the Union in answer to many letters recd, on this allengrossing Subject. I must<sup>1</sup> remark in conclusion, that I have it in the most positive and authentic form, from the highest authority of Texas, that if her offer is now re-rejected [*sic*], Texas is lost to the United States forever, until regained at the point of the Bayonet. That her depressed situation, will, from necessity, compel her to seek relief by engagements with some foreign power—that *will be England*, unless indeed, Congress will gu[a]rantee her independence by Legislative enactment.<sup>2</sup> I say to you Frankly, that this is the fate of Texas, and nothing can restore Mr V. Burren [*sic*] But such resolution by the democratic convention. I hope for the best. I have been greatly grieved at the result. There was no *Tyler interest* in the South and west—and Mr. V. B. letter and Col Bentons is the only thing that could give him populari-[ty]<sup>3</sup> in the South or west. Such is now the united Sentiment of *all* in the South and west. Here it is not viewed as a party question, but the cry is that no candidate for the presidency or vice, will be supported, that are not in favor of speedy annexation of Texas—it is said *delay is dangerous*. I am so feeble I can scarcely wield the pen—and much grieved at the late occurrence, when Mr. V. B. would have been elected by almost acclamation by the South and West. And my friend Col Benton will not, I fear be sustained in his present position. Missouri, is for speedy annexation, regardless of the smiles or frown of foreign nations. The Safety of the Republic being the supreme law—and believing that the annexation of Texas is es[s]ential to the Safety of the Republic—and the key to that safety, being offered in peace to us by an independent nation, it is believed it ought to be speedily received, the door locked fast against all future dangers, and ["thereby all danger to" inserted] our glorious Union preserved and the harmony and prosperity of the whole Union restored. *The Union must be preserved*, and this step taken I have no fears of its disruption by evil men.

May God bless you my dear friend, and preside over the deliberations of the convention and confidence by all the democracy again united on Mr. V. B. is the sincere prayer of your sincere friend

B. F. Butler Esqr.

ANDREW JACKSON:

<sup>1</sup> Written "musk remark".

<sup>2</sup> "or Treaty" erased.

<sup>3</sup> End of line with hyphen. Word not finished.



P. S. Our friend Benton cannot sustain himself in the position taken, for he sustain[ed] the attempt to regain Texas by Treaty from Mexico, against the remonstrance, and without the assent of Spain. How I regret the present condition of things. Mr. V. B. had the united vote of the democracy in the South and West. Clays letter gave him two third[s] of the W[h]iggs—and this prospect dashed to pieces, by assuming ground, that we had disregarded as to Spain, when treating with Mexico for Texas, and which Col Benton had sustained. My *regrets are too many*, and I close A. J

[Address:] Benjamin. F. Butler Esqr

Delegate to the 27th. May Convention at Baltimore

By Major A. J. Donelson.

[Indorsement in pencil by Van Buren(?):] A J May 14 '44 By Donelson on his way to Convention.

II. GIDEON J. PILLOW TO JAMES K. POLK.

WASHINGTON CITY

May 22nd., 1844

*Dear Govr.*

Myself and Col. Laughlin reached this city yesterday evening. Since that time we have been busily engaged exami[ni]ng into the condition of things here and though I had expected to find much confusion and excitement among our friends, yet I confess myself much surprised at the extent of the *distractions* and the bitterness of feeling which exists between the Van Buren men and the disaffected portion of the party. This last party I am satisfied is daily gaining strength by the arrival of delegations from regions of the country which have been lost by V——'s letter. I have spent a good portion of this day in confidential consultation with Gov. Bagby<sup>2</sup> and Wright.<sup>3</sup> Last night I was with Cave J——<sup>4</sup> The *two former*, who are the leaders of the V—— force (Benton being excepted) and who represent the feeling and determination of the V—— B—— Democracy, say they are unable to suggest any remedy for the existing state of things. They say the northern Democracy will never yield up their preference for V—— and that his name will in no event be withdrawn.

The Democracy or rather the Delegates of the south west and west are making an extraordinary effort for Cass and many of them are going so far with their opposition to V—— as to declare they won't go into Convention if he is to be the nominee and that they won't support him in any event. If they continue to occupy that ground, they will break up *the party* and will leave no hope of reconciliation. Among the very

<sup>1</sup> Van Buren's.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur P. Bagby, senator from Alabama 1841-1848.

<sup>3</sup> Silas Wright of New York.

<sup>4</sup> Cave Johnson of Tennessee.

worst of these *aggitators* is [*sic*] your friends Geo. W. Jones and Genl Anderson. The last is doing us great mischief. He wants an office from Tyler and is violent in his abuse of V—— and is for Tyler or any body else. I have gone to work to try and get the northern and southern branches of the party to agree to meet in convention and to try who is the strongest man and to agree to submit to the Decision of the convention. I have to night had Powell, Blair, Jones, [and] Blackwell at my room, talking and consulting about the plan to be adopted. We have fixed upon Tomorrownight for general meeting of our Tennessee delegation to shape our course of action with an eye single to the restoration of the re-union of the party and of your nomination. I think we shall be able ultimately to get the divisions of the party together in the convention, but there [are] some serious difficulties in the way. The disaffected say they won't go into Convention unless Two thirds of the convention shall be necessary to make a nomination.

Understanding what would be the result of such a principle, the other party refuse to make any such agreement—insisting that a majority only shall make the nomination. In this attitude the parties now stand, abusing each other most bitterly. I do not despair of union, yet, but I confess the prospect is most gloomy. Both parties seem to look to you as the probable V—— P——<sup>1</sup> There is however so much distraction and division and difficulty about the *first*—that but little is said of the *second* and I think it now best to use all our influence and power to *heal the* wounds of the party and re-unite it if possible and until that is done, say but little about the V—— P——

If we do not unite *all is lost*. If we do unite we will then I feel confident get your nomination—although *old Dick*<sup>2</sup> is here and pressing himself strongly upon the party and actually electioneering with all his might.

You see we have troubles enough. We are certainly in deep water. My great effort shall be to *conciliate* and to hold things in attitude to secure your nomination no matter which party may succeed Laughlin and myself act together in this view of the case and I think we will be able to get all the Tennessee Delegation to co-operate in a silent acquiescence in the action of the Convention except Anderson and possibly Jones. No effort shall be left *undone*. If the party should not be totally broken up I think we will get you [on] the ticket. We are pretty certainly to have a *sort of ticket for* Tyler, and we are much afraid the disaffected will *secede* from the convention and join the Tyler Convention.

You see Gov. we are at *sea* and upon a *boisterous* one at that. I hope to succeed and you may rely upon all my exertions being used for that purpose. I have a good deal I should like to explain connected with Tyler's game here *to use up* the Democracy and buy them off from

<sup>1</sup> Vice-president.

<sup>2</sup> Richard M. Johnson.

V—— but I can't do it in this letter. I will write you again soon and make Laughlin do so to[o]. You shall be kept constantly advised of every movement of interest—and when you do not hear from us it will [be] because things have assumed no new aspect. Childress arrived this evening.

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW

[Address:] Hon: James K. Polk, Columbia, Tennessee.

III. PILLOW TO POLK.

WASHINGTON, May 24d.<sup>1</sup> 44

*Dear Govr.*

Since my last letter to you our troubles have *increased*. The anti-Van Buren party are becoming *stronger* and though Van can get, agreeably to the best estimates, I can make, about 145 votes in convention,<sup>2</sup> yet I fear the Two thirds rule will be *adopted* by the aid of the vote of Pennsylvania and that of a part of the Tennessee delegation who cant be controuled upon this question. Cass can get, as his friends think, about 80 votes on the first ballot and Johnson will get the ballance. On the 2nd. ballot Cass' friends think he will take the vote of Pennsylvania from V—— which will give him about 106 votes. These estimates, if correct, you will see render the result exceedingly doubtful. The Johnson votes, will go for Cass, which will give him a majority, but whether he can get *two thirds* so as to nominate him, under that rule is very doubtful.

The breach between the V——'s and anti-V——'s has become impassible. The parties will never meet except upon some other man than Cass, unless Cass should have strength enough to carry him through under the 2/3 rule. The Tennessee Delegation had a meeting night before last. Jones and Andy Johnson *were there* and were ready to *sacrifice* you, to get clear of V—— They both profess to be your friends and have been kind enough to say that they are unwilling for your name to go on V——'s ticket. So says Collum [Cullom], and *some others* of your friends, also.

Upon the subject of the Vice Presidency, not much has been said until to day. To day the report has been busily circulated that your friends were looking to Benton's and Van's friends for support for you, and with some it was even said that a distinct understanding existed etc. Having been called upon as your immediate representative by several of the disaffected I disclaimed in the most positive terms, any such understanding. They then pressed me and hard for our position and said that if Polks friends voted for V—— they would not vote for P——. These were a part of the Mississippi and part of the North Carolina delegation. I took the position that as we intended to place your name before the Convention, we thought it our duty to be

<sup>1</sup> Written over "23d".

<sup>2</sup> Van Buren had 146 on the first bailot.

modest and not to *be active* in arraying the parties, that I thought we ought not to interfere etc. but that we would cast our votes without reference to the V—— P—— etc. and when we had determined upon our course as we would before the convention met, it would be known etc. The object you will easily understand is to *force* me as your friend to commit myself against V—— and to compel all your friends to do so to[o]. What this move will result in I cannot tell. I do not think V—— will get the nomination. I think he will be cut off under the 2/3 rule—and I much fear the loss of strength to you, in Alabama—Miss—North Carolina and Virginia by the position we will be obliged to take with reference to the Presidency.

I am now satisfied that it is contemplated to run Stephenson<sup>1</sup> for the V—— P—— on Cass' ticket. This the disaffected deny, but the thing is sure to work out that way. If it were not for the present organization of parties here and the embarrassment which is brought upon you by the *Conspiracy*,<sup>2</sup> you have more strength with the Democracy than any man whose name has come before the country, and though by the[se] movements I regard everything as thrown into confusion and uncertainty I would not still be surprised if a compromise were finally made by both parties taking you up, for the P——<sup>3</sup> This I give as a *possability*.

Jones and Anderson are wholly *rabid* and we do not now consult with them at all. I saw your letter to C—— J——<sup>4</sup> and noted its suggestions. Medary and his Ohio people we think will certainly go for you for V—— though we can only judge from the intercourse we have. Gov. Mo[r]ton of Massachusetts is for you and he says his Delegation he thinks will all go for you. The Illinois and Indiana delegation[s] are friendly to you—some of the [*sic*] them particularly of the first mentioned State, are clear for you. It is said *Benton*, now prefers you. He keeps dark on the subject however. It is impossible for me to give you even a brief outline of one half I want to wright [*sic*]. You may consider every thing,—even the fate of the party—as at *sea*—every thing is *doubtful*. The foundations of party are all broken up here, and I do not believe they will ever be reconciled. You know I am not in this state of things *idle*. There are so many *aggitators* and reckless men who are looking to their own aggrandisement and care nothing for the party or the country, that it [is] impossible to controul the *moving mass*.

We will spare no effort to get things *quieted*. C—— J—— and all our friends are almost in *dispair* of *every thing*. We shall go to Baltimore tomorrow being Saturday.

Your Friend

GID. J. PILLOW

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, Speaker of the House 1827–1834, and minister to Great Britain 1836–1841.

<sup>2</sup> "The Anti-Van Buren Conspiracy".

<sup>3</sup> Presidency.

<sup>4</sup> Cave Johnson.

IV. PILLOW TO POLK.

WASHINGTON CITY

Saturday 25th. May '44

Dear Sir,

A better feeling prevails to day and I think there is now a prospect of ultimate union. I regard it almost certain Van Buren cannot get the nomination and I think his friends at the north so consider it. Some of them say if the Democracy cannot get along with him at the south and will fix upon a man upon whom the South will *unite*, that they will support him, and the Disaffected say if the North will withdraw V—— that the North may name the man. These concessions indicate a better feeling and will I hope, result in harmonious action. The chief difficulty in getting together under this state of feeling grows out of the rival claims of Johnson, Cass, Woodbury and others. The South may not be able to agree on any man and in this way, we may still have difficulty and it may even be possible, that when the disaffected find themselves unable to agree upon any other man, they may some of them come back to V—— If V—— should be withdrawn or beaten in convention, the chances are strongly in favour of Cass, unless V——'s friends should take you up and unite with your friends of the south to defeat Cass.

You have more friends here than any man in the field and if your name had been brought before the Country for the *first place*, we would have had far more unanimity. I am satisfied you are the choice of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Convention for the Vice, and almost everyone of your friends say they would prefer you for the Presidency. Things may take that turn yet. We of the South cannot bring *that matter* up. If it should be done by the North it will all work *right*, but if we were to make such a move it would in all probability injure your prospects for the Vice. Almost all the Delegates composing the convention have been here. I have made it my *special business* to become acquainted with them and to find out as well as I could, their preference for the *Vice*, and I think it is next to impossible to defeat your nomination if the Convention ever come to any conclusion at all. You are the choice of both branches of the Democratic family beyond all doubt for the Vice, and I do not believe if Stephenson should be brought out, that he can defeat your nomination. He certainly cannot unless there should be a very extraordinary change in the feelings of the convention. Our delegation that portion of it which we can manage are *still and silent*—urging harmony and peace and abstaining from all active interference in arraying the parties against each other. Powell—Anderson—Jones and Blair and Taylor are all determined to go for Cass. Johnson, Lafin, myself, Donalson and Childress are still waiting for further developments and light, before we act or determine what we will do.<sup>1</sup> As far

<sup>1</sup> Cave Johnson to Polk, May 25, 1844, Polk Papers, Library of Congress: "It is probable that Donelson Pillow and myself will scarcely yield Van whilst he is kept up by his friends". Tennessee, however, voted solidly for Cass until the eighth ballot, when Polk's name was brought forward.

as I know or believe or am informed, all V——'s friends are for you. We have carefully avoided saying or doing any thing to alienate their feelings. If we can retain their strength and your own in the south and west, you are safe.

The Ohio Delegates and the New England Delegates, I think are all or nearly so for you. So are New York, but they are very silent. C. Johnson is in low spirits about our prospects and seems to have lost his energy. I feel confident of your success, unless the convention should break up in a row. The Ultra-discontents, who care but little about Texas and only use the power of the measure as a lever to turn out Van and to kill off Benton as his successor, are understood now to play their game with the view of preventing any nomination—and have proposed to have another one in July. But they cannot affect their objects. I received yours of the 17th. Inst to day. We will give you two annexation men I think. The North has become alarmed at the excitement about Texas in the South and say we shall have Texas etc. We shall go to Baltimore this evening. I will write you regularly and daily if I can.

Yours Truly

GID. J. PILLOW.

I do not think you have lost a particle of strength by the report of which I wrote you in my last. It will endear you to the friends of V—— and will recoil on the heads of those who started it as slander and falsehood. I have not heard it mentioned for nearly 2 days. G. J. P.

V. PILLOW TO POLK.

[BALTIMORE,] May 28th. 44.

*My Dear Sir*

We have been all day engaged balloting for Candidate for President. We commenced at 149 for Van and 82 for Cass.<sup>1</sup> After 6 Ballotings we now stand 99 for Van and 116 for Cass—32 for Johnson and 35 for Buckhannon.<sup>2</sup> We have for 2 hours past had the most extraordinary excitement in Convention. The whole Convention had well-nigh got into a general pel-mell fight. The Ohio Delegation produced it all. At this moment the excitement is still wholly ungovernable by the Chair. If the balloting continues the chances will be for the nomination of Cass judging from the present vote. The V B—— men will not go for Cass and the Buckhannon men say they wont. I doubt very much if Cass can ever get 2/3 of the votes. I have within the last few minutes received a proposition from a leading Delegate of the Pennsylvania and of Massachusetts to bring your name before the Convention for President. I said to them that your name was subject to the will of the Con-

<sup>1</sup> The first ballot was: Van Buren, 146; Cass, 83; R. M. Johnson, 24; Calhoun, 6; Buchanan, 4; Woodbury, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The sixth ballot was: Van Buren, 101; Cass, 116; Johnson, 24; Buchanan, 25; Calhoun, 1. In the seventh ballot Van Buren had 99, Cass 123, Johnson 21, Buchanan 22, and Calhoun 1.

vention that I would not at present bring it before the Convention, that if it was the will of the Convention the name should be brought out by the North.

There is, I think a strong probability of your name ultimately coming up for President. I do not think it prudent to move in *that* matter now. I want the North to bring you forward as a *Compromise* of all interests.

Time will alone tell what will be done. You shall hear from us. We are about adjourning and it is night.

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW<sup>1</sup>

VI. PILLOW TO POLK.

[BALTIMORE,] May 29th. 1844

*Dear Govr.*

On this morning we brought your name before the Convention for the Presidency. On the first ballot you received 42 votes—on the 2nd. you received 266 votes, being every vote in the Convention. The Delegates of South Carolina, then made their appearance and pledged the State of South Carolina to support and sustain the nomination. Never

<sup>1</sup> Cf. George Bancroft to I. G. Harris, Newport, R. I., August 30, 1887, Bancroft Papers, Lenox Library Building, New York: "... Polk owed his nomination by the Democratic Convention to me. . . . I went into the nominating convention enjoying the perfect confidence of the delegation of Massachusetts, confidence that was so great that I might almost call it the power of direction. Van Buren lost the nomination by his declaration against the annexation of Texas, which was not made better by his promising to annex Texas if the Democrats were determined to impose that condition on their candidate. In this way, by Van Buren's own acts, it became impossible to name him; and Virginia came out with a vote for Cass which was followed by others and was rapidly making great headway, and would soon have carried the day in the convention. But I knew perfectly well that Cass could not have been elected. The hatred and jealousy which Van Buren bore him made it absolutely and undisputedly impossible for him to carry the State of New York, and without New York his success would have been desperate or rather impossible. Under those circumstances, I was the one who of my own mind and choice, first, on the adjournment of the nominating convention, for the day, resolved to secure the nomination of Polk. I went first and called our own delegation together, and they instantly and unanimously agreed with me in his favor. I then went and saw the New York delegation, and they also perceived how the case lay; but of course needed to proceed with more caution and more complete deference to Mr. Van Buren's wishes that those of any other state; but they looked at the case with exactly the same eyes as I did. Van Buren implacably detested the thought of Cass as a candidate. I proceeded to the delegation of Tennessee and they naturally accepted the name of Polk joyfully and distributed among themselves that part of the work which I thought they could best do. We went on in this manner; and I remember perfectly that we had gone to so many states with the nomination of Polk, and had met with such success that I knew his name would certainly be brought forward the next morning with the certainty of his gaining the nomination. . . ." Bancroft wrote Van Buren just after the convention that he had "many personal causes for regretting the result" (Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress).

was there such *unanimity*—never was there such *enthusiasm* before seen or witnessed in *any body*. I held you up before the Convention, as the "*Olive Branch of peace*", and all parties ran to you as to *an ark of safety*.

I was up nearly all night last night in bringing about *this result*. I had many *difficulties* to *encounter*. But I *FAULTERED NOT*, and this day I had the proud satisfaction of witnessing the *glorious result*—glorious beyond the expectation of any of our delegation or friends.

Silas Wright will be your *Vice* with almost as much ananim[i]ty [*sic*] as you were. What a *ticket*. How *pure*, and *elevated* and Herculean in intellects. I cannot in this letter give you an account of anything but the result. It is *glorious*.

We will sweep every Whig strong hold in the land—we will raise the shout all over the land.

Yours Truly

GTD. J. PILLOW

Wright is nominated by a vote of 258 votes on first Ballot. Alls well and glorious and all is *enthusiasm* and Union and Harmony.

G. J. P.

#### VII. PILLOW TO POLK.

BALTIMORE May 30th. 1844

My Dear Sir,

I wrote you to day giving you the result of the proceedings of this day in the Democratic Convention. I wrote under the influence of great excitement on my part, and in the Convention. I did not then and cannot now give you a full account of the effort made and the means used to bring about a result so astounding to every body. It was all done last night after my letter was written though I had laid the foundation for it yesterday. As I said in my letter of to day I was at it nearly all night. I entered into no Combination—I used *no improper* or *dishonourable* means. It was the *result* and *force* and *power* of *circumstances* which I seized hold of and wielded, as I think with *no little skill* and judgement.

I had good help in some *true-men* in the North who understood the whole *game* and whose names you shall in due *season know*.

I got no help on the work which was done last night from our home people. I communicated the plan and prospect to some of them and they had *no faith* in the *thing* and so expressed themselves. I was fully convinced it would *work out right*—and I worked on until nearly day this morning and this morning—the *boys* did not know what "*hurt them*". The fatal blow was given, but it was not *seen* nor known what produced such a result—nor where the blow came from.

I never saw such enthusiasm—such *exultation*—such *shouting for joy*. One Spirit—one *Soul* animates the great party, leaders and all. No one doubts the success of the *Ticket*. Victory is already hovering over our banner, which has been spread to the breezes under the lead of *Polk and Wright*.



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Some of our own *faithful* delegation—to whom I have referred several times in my letters—who have done all they could in their secret—assassin-like manner to destroy your prospects and sacrifice you—are overwhelmed with astonishment at this strange result. I shall defer giving you particulars until I can see you in person.

Laughlin has been sick for 2 days and not been able until this afternoon to be in the house.

C—— Johnson says “I am a *great General* and that the first war we have I shall command the Militia of Tennessee *By God*” I decline the honour of the compliment,—but as it comes from so stale and *sedate* an old gentleman and is so much *out* of character with him, I could not help telling you of it.

This morning just before we went into the Ballotting, my movements during the night had been discovered by a few and powerful efforts were made to defeat it by some of your—*now*—would be friends. Oh Governor how much good it did me to see the boys over-reached—outdone and *whipped* into the ranks. Every man in the Convention is *now* your *warm friend*. If you were here you would imagine yourself the most popular man in the world, and you would be sure you *never had an enemy* in the convention. You cannot know how much pains they take to give in to me *their adhesion* to you, and to impress me with the *great merit* of their *conduct*. I am almost ready to conclude that *your success* has made *me* a *great man*. Every body wants my “*address*”, and desires me to present *them* and their *services* in the proper point of view to *you*. I laid the foundation for last night's work during the day yesterday. I have written to you freely—fully and without the least reserve and desire that *all my letters* shall be considered *confidential*. I desire this as I do not want to create *enemies* about the matter resulting so *gloriously* as it has.

I shall leave here in the morning for Philadelphia and new York and will be at home about 15th. June

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW

2. *Apolinario Mabini on the Failure of the Filipino Revolution*<sup>1</sup>

JOSÉ RIZAL was the most notable of the Filipino propagandists for the extension, by Spain herself, of greater political rights to the islands, and the introduction of an era of greater intellectual freedom in general. Though he worked along peaceable lines entirely, aiming primarily at arousing his own people to their social unfitness, and when the final issue came for peace or war in 1896 put himself openly on the side of peace, yet the Spaniards courted their own destruction by destroying him, at the instance of the ecclesias-

<sup>1</sup> For this document, with its introduction and notes, the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Mr. James A. Le Roy, United States Consul, Durango, Mexico, recently appointed as Consul at Madrid. Ed.

tical reactionaries and because, truly enough, his propaganda had been the most effective in arousing the people. Begun from above, it had reached the masses below in a distorted form; this was the fault of Spanish governmental rigidity, but Rizal paid the penalty for the faults of the system. Apolinario Mabini was one of the younger of the sons of the people who had allied themselves fully in spirit with the reform propaganda. Though he protested his non-sympathy with the Katipunan movement of 1896, he too might have been made to suffer at that time, had it not been for his having borne a minor part in the propaganda that led the way to the rising of the Tagalog masses, and, furthermore, had not his paralysis at that early age led to the extension of executive clemency in his case, after some months of detention. His revolutionary spirit was full-fledged by 1898, and he came out early and openly against Spain, quite as he was later to act as the chief irreconcilable among the opponents to American rule. He was the great Filipino "character" produced by the revolution. He and Rizal stand out as the most conspicuous of what may be called the "Young Filipino Party" in the two distinct phases of the general movement which was, and still is, a Filipino *national* movement. Almost anything Rizal or Mabini could have written would be worthy of careful perusal, as affording an insight into the workings of these two minds, neither typically Filipino in all respects, each possessing an individual interest for us, and yet both reflecting also the aspirations and the undeveloped state of their people as they are in no other way made clear.

Born near together in Luzon (Rizal in 1861, Mabini in 1870), of pure Tagalog parentage, in the heart of the Tagalog country along the Laguna de Bay, and passing through a similar course of instruction in the Jesuit academy and friar university of Manila, their ways thenceforward diverged considerably. Rizal went to Europe, where, after a time spent under Latinic tutelage in Madrid (having taken up a course in medicine), his very instincts seemed to point him to Germany and the northern fountains of learning. Mabini remained in the islands (had never, it is said, left them until his deportation to Guam in 1901) and, on his own account, continued his legal education and his reading in history and philosophy, while a lawyer's clerk, as best he could. Ten years in advance of him, Rizal had been aided in breaking loose from the influence of a scholastic, metaphysical kind of education by coming into full touch with modern science as taught by the research method. With an equally powerful, alert mentality, Mabini was left to grope his own way out from the bonds and constraints of medievalism in thought.

With no practical knowledge of the outside world, living in a land where friars of the most backward sort censored literary output and restricted so far as they could the entrance of books revealing modern views on politics, science, and religion, is it any wonder that Mabini's mind, strong enough of itself to shake off these fetterings, should have been unduly influenced by the first new "school of thought" with which it came into contact? This happened to be the school of French socialism of the eighteenth century.

After being released by the Spanish authority in 1897, Mabini went to his home on the borders of Batangas and Laguna provinces. He seems to have been at least in sympathetic contact with the efforts of various leaders who had not profited by the Biak-na-bató bargain to rearouse revolt against Spain on a larger scale than before in the early months of 1898, before American intervention. Among Mabini's manuscripts is said to be a manifesto to the people outlining the reforms for which a campaign, possibly involving an appeal to force, should be made, dated over a week before the American victory in Manila Bay. Soon after Aguinaldo set up his headquarters at Cavite, Mabini was borne thither on a litter across the intervening country from the lake region, the regions first won from the incompetently organized and led troops of Spain. From that time forward, Mabini was the real inspiration of all Aguinaldo's plans for a future government, writing his decrees, preparing a provisional constitution, conducting a propaganda of reform among the Tagalogs. On military plans and operations, properly speaking, he never exercised, it is probable, very much influence. But, though he remained throughout 1898 merely an unofficial adviser of Aguinaldo, not taking office as head of the cabinet until January, 1899, when the party of conservative Filipinos had severed their connection with the Malolos government, he was the real power, first at Bakoor, then at Malolos, in framing a scheme of independent government, and then in resisting every step toward peaceful conciliation with the United States, provided it threatened in the least degree the full carrying out of the plans into which he had now entered heart and soul. Aguinaldo was plainly not averse to accommodation, on several occasions; but Mabini was, from first to last, inflexible in opposition to the efforts of the party of older and more conservative Filipinos to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Americans. Whoever may be said to have carried on the war, he chiefly made war inevitable, his plans as a civic reformer coinciding perfectly in this respect with those of the "war party" of young Filipinos who held military commands and were eager to

distinguish themselves in a campaign that they believed would bring easy victory over the Americans.

After the scattering from Malolos, the signal defeat of Luna at Kalumpit, and Lawton's easy occupation of San Isidro, the second whilom capital, in April, 1899, a peace party was formed in the revolutionary camp. Aguinaldo acquiescing, Mabini was deposed, and negotiations with the Americans were inaugurated during the following month. Luna, the Filipino military leader of most decision, began a series of arrests designed to coerce all opposition to him and his demand for a continuance of the war. Whether or no these movements pointed to a coming *coup d'état*, endangering the position of Aguinaldo if not his life as well, it is hard to say. Others besides Aguinaldo believed so. Mabini did not, or so he declared to the day of his death; and, whatever may be the truth, Mabini is by all exonerated of any sympathy, much less complicity, with any such plot. The end of it all, in June, 1899, was the assassination of Luna, Aguinaldo assuming openly a dictatorship again, and thenceforward moving on to his final rout and his expulsion from the scene of activities untroubled by a rival of any sort.

Mabini, until his discovery by the American troops who occupied Pangasinan province in November of that year, lived apart from the centre of the "government" at Tarlak; but his advice and influence were often sought, and were always for a continuance of the opposition, while yet he criticized the growing anarchy in the towns under revolutionary authority. He refused to take advantage of the amnesty offered in June, 1900, and the overtures of Generals MacArthur and Bell and of the Taft Commission during that summer and fall only resulted always in assertions of his irreconcilability. Finally, knowing that the project of deporting himself and others to Guam was in the minds of the American military authorities, he courted martyrdom by launching forth in one of the Filipino papers a defiant criticism of the war measures proclaimed by General MacArthur in December, 1900, likewise inciting opposition among the people who hung upon his words against those Filipinos who were co-operating to restore peace to the troubled provinces by means of the formation of the Federal Party. He remained at Guam for nearly two years, refusing for some months to take the oath of allegiance at Guam and accept the freedom and return to the Philippines that was offered to him after the general amnesty was proclaimed in July, 1902. He maintained that he should first be taken to the islands, to see if the conditions and disposition of the people justified his taking the oath. Finally, however, he yielded and swore allegiance on his arrival at Manila

at the beginning of 1903. Mabini, who, like Aguinaldo, was but twenty-eight years of age when the revolutionary decrees of 1898 were promulgated at Cavite, died at Manila of cholera in April, 1903, his frail body (enfeebled by the paralysis of the lower limbs which he had brought upon himself in his early years) not possessing the vigor of his mind nor the tenacity of his will.

The most interesting document that Mabini ever wrote, not excepting the Provisional Constitution which formed the basis of the Constitution finally adopted at Malolos, is a manifesto and new "Ten Commandments", addressed to the masses from Bakoor in July, 1898. Like the Provisional Constitution, this curious document seems never to have been published in the United States. Mabini's commandments (called the "True Decalogue"), designed to replace the "antiquated commandments" taught to the people by their old ecclesiastical masters, inculcate the love for liberty and learning equally with that for the fellow-man; but they also preach to the Filipino masses that their love for their *Filipino* fellow-man should be something altogether superior to their love for humanity in general. Upon this framework of racial fraternity Mabini would build up his patriotic, idealistic structure of a future Filipino society, remodelled by preaching and decrees, quite like the French promulgators of the early days of the Great Revolution. Aside from the political interest of this strange document, one has to note the great egotism and the almost total lack of humor of the young man of twenty-eight who put it forth.<sup>1</sup>

At his death, Mabini left in manuscript a work on which he had spent some of his time in Guam and which had received his chief attention during the few months spent prior to his death in Manila. It is entitled "The Filipino Revolution", but still remains unpublished as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The tenth chapter of the manuscript was, however, printed in *El Comercio*, of Manila, on July 23, 1903. It deserves translation and presentation in the United States not alone

<sup>1</sup> I hope to reproduce the "True Decalogue", in a translation direct from its Tagalog version, and the main features of the Provisional Constitution, showing how the Malolos Constitution was built upon it, in a work reviewing the data of the years 1898 to 1905 in the Philippines.

<sup>2</sup> It was known to friends of Mabini who never had shared his radical views to the full, and who now desire to avert so far as possible the manifestations of factional feeling and personal jealousies which have always in the past been so disastrous to every Filipino enterprise, that in one chapter of these memoirs as written there was a bitter attack on Aguinaldo. This part of the work, they hoped, could be kept from publication for a time at least, till passions should have died down and the men and measures of the past few years could be judged more soberly in general. But the inveterate agitator Dominador Gomez y Jesus, who had constituted himself, with the consent of Mabini's relatives, a sort of literary executor of the late revolutionist, gave this part of Mabini's memoirs to a Spanish newspaper of Manila, *El Comercio*, to print.

as a Filipino's relation of the events of 1899 in the Philippines, but also in a particular way because it presents, as authoritatively as any but a very few Filipinos could do, the incidents centring about the assassination of Antonio Luna in June, 1899. The cause of Luna's assassination is so much a matter of common notoriety in the Philippines that Governor Taft probably never thought that he might be charged with making insinuations against the character of Aguinaldo when, in testifying before the Senate Committee on the Philippines at Washington in 1902, he implied that Aguinaldo had been responsible for the deed. The publication of this chapter of Mabini's memoirs raised a storm of comment and protest among Filipinos. In the main, they condemned Mabini's criticisms of Aguinaldo on the ground that Mabini himself had been largely responsible for the governmental acts of Aguinaldo, and therefore must share in whatever blame there was; this apart, of course, from the incident of Luna's assassination, as to which event no Filipino of any faction, in all the controversy aroused, presumed even to hint that Mabini's plain inferences as to the cause of Luna's death were unwarranted. As to Aguinaldo's part in it, the most common opinion expressed by Filipinos is that he was unduly influenced by certain enemies of Luna who surrounded him at that time. There is, of course, difference of opinion among Filipinos as to whether or no the removal of Luna was justifiable on moral grounds or advisable from the point of view of the best interests of the revolutionary cause. Roughly speaking, it all comes down to the blunt question, Was it a choice between the slaying of Luna or the death of Aguinaldo himself at Luna's hands? When the lips of some Filipinos who are now preserving strict secrecy are unsealed, we shall know more about this. Mabini's account and comments are as follows:

#### X. END AND DOWNFALL OF THE REVOLUTION.

As I had foreseen, our improvised militia could not resist the first onslaught of the disciplined troops of the Union. Moreover, it is to be confessed that the Filipino troops posted about Manila were not that night ready for an attack. General Ricarte, who commanded the detachments of the south, and General San Miguel, commander of the east zone of the city, were in Manila on the night referred to.<sup>1</sup> Little

<sup>1</sup> These facts are well established, though it is also true that the Filipinos had been getting ready for a fight around Manila for some time prior to February 4, 1899. General Otis, who had at first implied in his cablegrams to Washington that the outbreak of that night was a premeditated attack by the Filipinos, a few days later cabled that the outpost trouble which brought on warfare between Filipinos and Americans had come prematurely for the Filipino commanders, who were caught unprepared.

accustomed to war, the Filipino officers scarcely comprehended the value of military instruction and discipline; for this reason, the duties of the detachments were kept up in a manner far from regular and strict. The Filipino General Staff had not worked out and established a plan for movements in advance or retreat in case of an outbreak of hostilities; and Señor<sup>1</sup> Aguinaldo, who very little appreciated the advantages of unity in command and in movements, had not made the necessary preparations for a speedy re-establishment of communications between the various fractions of the army, whenever a sudden retreat might give rise to the interruption of the telegraphic line of communication. Señor Aguinaldo desired to retain the immediate command of the forces which surrounded Manila, directing them from his residence in Malolos, although he could not devote himself entirely to the proper fulfilment of the obligations of this charge, on account of his duties as chief of the government and his caprice for despatching by himself many matters that ought to have been handled in the departments of the central administration. Only after the outbreak of hostilities, when telegraphic communication was already interrupted, did he appoint Luna chief of the forces operating around Manila; but then the various fractions of the army had already deserted their old positions, and communication between them was difficult and slow. Moreover, because the Secretary of War had disapproved one of his measures, Luna soon afterward resigned his post, but returned to the command of the defensive operations north of Manila when the Filipino government was obliged to withdraw from Malolos to San Isidro, province of Nueva Ecija.<sup>2</sup> Luna succeeded in reforming our forces in Kalumpit, organizing various companies of soldiers who had served in the former native army under the Spanish government; and around them, as a foundation, he set up a rigid discipline, to combat the demoralization of our troops. But many officers of rank, jealous about their authority, failed to give him the necessary efficacious co-operation.

<sup>1</sup> Note how he is scrupulous always to give Aguinaldo the title of "Señor".

<sup>2</sup> The Secretary of War was Baldomero Aguinaldo, cousin of Emilio. Emilio, and to a certain extent Baldomero Aguinaldo had made reputations in the guerrilla operations of 1896-1897. Antonio Luna was one of a family of Ilokans who had been educated in Spain and in Paris, his brother Juan having made a reputation in Spain as a painter, while Antonio was a bacteriologist. Under a Liberal administration, he had obtained a post in the Manila city laboratory, but Blanco was compelled to imprison him by the many denunciations against him and Juan in the fall of 1896, charging them with complicity in the Katipunan revolt. They escaped execution only after most abject and humiliating retractions addressed to Blanco's successor and to the Spanish archbishop in Manila, and were sent to Spain, where they were released in 1898. Juan died in Hong-Kong, on his way back to the Philippines. Antonio arrived in the islands in September, 1898, and at once threw himself into the organization of future resistance to the United States. He had read Spanish treatises on military tactics, and merely on the strength of his pretensions in this direction was given a great reputation among the young Filipino war party. Aguinaldo and his cousin seem to have recognized a dangerous rival in him from the very outset.

Hence there resulted, in rapid succession, the subjection to actual military force of some officers who did not recognize his authority, the court-martialing of those who abandoned their posts in front of the enemy, and the disarming of troops who disobeyed orders.<sup>1</sup>

However, Luna would have been able to impose and maintain discipline, despite all these difficulties, if Señor Aguinaldo had supported him with all the power and prestige of his authority. But the latter began to be afflicted with jealousy as he saw that the former was making his influence felt, little by little, by his valor, audacity, and military knowledge. All those who were displeased by the conduct of Luna were urging upon Aguinaldo that Luna was conspiring to seize from him the supreme authority. After the taking of the Kalumpit bridge by the American forces, principally on account of the scarcity of ammunition,<sup>2</sup> Luna came to see me at San Isidro, to beg me to help him convince Señor Aguinaldo that the time had come to adopt guerrilla methods. I promised to do as he wished, but pointed out to him that I had no confidence in the outcome, since my advice received very little attention in connection with military matters, because, not being a soldier but a man of letters, my understanding of military science was of little or no account. I could not keep my promise, because I was not able to see Señor Aguinaldo until some time afterward, when he came for the express purpose of consulting me as to whether or no a change of cabinet was desirable. Not being able to disregard the delicacy [of personal feeling?], even in the midst of these circumstances, I answered in the affirmative, and, after having turned over my office to the Most Excellent Señor Pedro A. Paterno at the beginning of May, 1899, I left

<sup>1</sup> This is a one-sided statement of Luna's efforts to establish discipline among the Filipino forces. He showed animus against officers who owed their position to Aguinaldo's favor, and assumed the full powers of a military dictator at times. Manuel Argüelles, who had been on the first commission to go to Manila and discuss an arrangement for peace with the Americans, ventured to question the advisability of keeping up the fight, in a private conversation with Luna after the rout at Kalumpit, while at the same time expressing his willingness to do his share in the war if the majority of leaders thought it best. For this, Luna imprisoned him without having authority to do so, had him tried for treason, arbitrarily interfering to secure the imposition of a death sentence, and, while he kept him imprisoned for some weeks, sent him weapons several times, with which he was advised to commit suicide. This was the most notable of Luna's acts of aggression in repelling by terrorism the attempts for peace. Argüelles was released by Aguinaldo after Luna's death, and was one of the men instrumental in forming the Federal Party in 1900.

<sup>2</sup> This was the place where two men of Colonel Funston's Kansas regiment performed their famous feats of swimming the Rio Grande, in the face of some hundreds of Filipinos in intrenchments high on the opposite bank, fastening a rope by which a handful of companions crossed and literally stampeded the Filipinos out of an intrenched position. Luna's personal chagrin was all the greater because he had advertised his position as "impregnable". Yet he had not even taken precautions against being flanked by a crossing of the river below him, so that his men mistook a band of Filipinos marching up to reinforce them for a party of Americans who had crossed the river.



for the town of Rosales, near Bayambang.<sup>1</sup> Some weeks later, Señor Aguinaldo telegraphed to Luna, asking the latter to come to see him in Kabanatúan, to confer with him. But, when Luna arrived in the appointed place, he did not find Aguinaldo in his residence, and he was traitorously assassinated by the soldiers on guard there [at Aguinaldo's house]. Colonel Francisco Roman, who accompanied him, died with him. While Luna was meeting his death by assassination, Señor Aguinaldo was taking upon himself, in Tarlak, the command of the forces which the dead man had organized.<sup>2</sup> Before his death, Luna had had his offices in Bayambang and had been in Benget reconnoitering to see if the place possessed good natural conditions for defense in case of a retreat; besides that, he was already having sent there the heaviest parts of the machinery to be used for the purpose. Nevertheless, Señor Aguinaldo established himself with his government in Tarlak and devoted his time to political and literary work, an oversight which General Otis improved by disembarking troops in San Fabian, while the cavalry [the column, that is, under Lawton's superior command and Young's immediate leadership], winding around by San José and Umingan, took possession of San Quintín and Tayug, thus cutting off Señor Aguinaldo's line of retreat and delivering a mortal blow to the revolution.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paterno and Buencamino were the leaders in the cabinet formed after a meeting of members of the Malolos Congress at San Isidro in the first week of May, 1899, which decided in favor of peace on the terms which the first Philippine Commission had stated at Manila, and declared also that Aguinaldo ought to dismiss Mabini as the chief obstacle to peace. After Luna began making arrests of those favorable to peace, this movement came to naught.

<sup>2</sup> Aguinaldo's wife and mother, also Felipe Buencamino, are said to have been in the residence at Kabanatúan, in the province of Nueva Ecija, when this tragedy occurred at its doors. Compare the testimony of Felipe Buencamino at Washington in 1902 (*Committee Reports, Hearings, etc., Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 1901-1903* (Washington, 1903), pp. 233, 234, 254, 314): "It was found that General Luna wanted to effect a coup d'état to supplant Aguinaldo. . . . Then General Aguinaldo decided on the suppression of General Luna, and he collected 4,000 men and went to look for General Luna. . . . General Luna was living in Bayambang, about 75 miles from Cabanatuan, so that it took Aguinaldo four days to arrive at the town of Bayambang. But what I can not explain is the coincidence that upon the same day that Aguinaldo was arriving at the residence of General Luna, General Luna on the same day and at the same hour was also arriving at General Aguinaldo's house. . . . General Luna was killed in the lower part of General Aguinaldo's house by General Aguinaldo's guards. . . . Luna was found with 36 bolo wounds, and more than 40 bullet wounds."

<sup>3</sup> This was the "involving campaign" directed by General Otis in October and November, 1899, under MacArthur (proceeding along the railroad against Tarlak), Lawton (operating through Nueva Ecija into Pangasinan), and Wheaton (proceeding by water to the west coast of Pangasinan). Aguinaldo had, as a matter of fact, already directed the dispersion and the beginning of guerrilla warfare when MacArthur reached Tarlak, to find it deserted; Wheaton failed to close up from the sea-coast and connect with Young's heroic troopers; and Lawton broke into an outburst of complete disgust that quite defied the bounds of discipline, when he found that the dilatory direction of movements had let Aguinaldo get through along the west coast of Luzon, to carry insurrection to the north.

I have not believed, nor can I now believe, that Luna was working for the overthrow of Señor Aguinaldo from the lofty position which he occupied; but it is certain that he aspired to be the chief of the cabinet in place of Señor Paterno, with whom he was not in agreement, because the autonomous programme of the latter was an infraction of the fundamental law of the state and as such constituted a punishable offense.<sup>1</sup> This was shown by an announcement which the newspaper *La Independencia*, under the inspiration of Luna, published a few days before his death, saying that the Paterno-Buencamino cabinet was going to be substituted by another of which Luna would be chief and at the same time Secretary of War. When, a few days afterward, he received the telegram from Señor Aguinaldo summoning him to Kabanatúan, Luna may perhaps have thought that the subject of the conference would be the new cabinet. He did not expect that they were planning to assassinate him precisely at the critical moment when the revolution had the greatest need of his strong and intelligent arm. He could not suppose that a legal and proper ambition would inspire fears on the part of Señor Aguinaldo, who had named him general-in-chief of the Filipino army. True, Luna at times allowed himself to say that Señor Aguinaldo was a man of weak character and an incapable leader; but these words were merely the explosions of an ardent spirit, which saw its plans frustrated for lack of the necessary support. His acts all revealed uprightness and patriotism, united to a zeal and an activity which were the utmost that the conditions permitted. If at times he was precipitate and even cruel in his decisions, it was because the army was in a desperate situation, owing to the demoralization of the soldiers and the lack of supplies; only deeds of valorous temerity and of extraordinary energy could prevent its dissolution.

The death of Andrés Bonifacio had plainly revealed the possession by Señor Aguinaldo of an unrestrained ambition for power, and the personal enemies of Luna, by means of skilful intrigues, exploited this weakness to the ruin of the latter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The precise question then before the Filipino revolutionary leaders was whether they should retreat from the extreme claims put forth at the time of the formal adoption of the Constitution in January, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Andrés Bonifacio was, in large part, the organizer of the Katipunan, and was its leading spirit in Manila and the Tagalog provinces lying around Manila, where it became an effective and really serious secret organization in 1895 and 1896. This Tagalog of slight education, porter in a German warehouse of Manila, who had been carried away by reading of the French Revolution and dreamed that he was to play a part in repeating it on Philippine soil, summed up in himself the popular character of the blunderingly organized revolt of 1896. Emilio Aguinaldo was a local chief of the Katipunan in a small section of the province of Cavite, unknown outside of that section except to the leaders of the movement in Manila, when the premature disclosures in August, 1896, of the Katipunan plot for an uprising later in the year led to spasmodic outbreaks against Spanish authority around the city of Manila and in Cavite and Bulacan provinces. Aguinaldo led a little force which captured a small guard of native

If Señor Aguinaldo, instead of letting Luna be slain, had aided him with all his power, to say that the revolution would have triumphed would be presuming much; but I have not the least doubt that the Americans would have had a higher opinion of the valor and military capacities of the Filipinos. With Luna alive, I am sure that the mortal blow given by General Otis would have been prevented, or at least avoided in time, and the incapacity of Señor Aguinaldo for military command would not have been clearly shown. Moreover, in order to get rid of Luna, Señor Aguinaldo made use of the very soldiers whom Luna had punished for infraction of discipline; Señor Aguinaldo, then, slew discipline, destroying his own army. With the fall of Luna, its staunchest support, the revolution fell; and the ignominy of the fall, recoiling entirely upon Señor Aguinaldo, caused in turn his own moral death, a thousand times more bitter than physical death. So Providence punishes the great.

To sum up: the revolution failed, because it was badly directed; because its director gained his place, not through meritorious, but through opprobrious acts; because, instead of supporting the men of most usefulness to the people, he, jealous of those men, rendered them useless. Believing that the aggrandizement of the people was nothing more than his own personal aggrandizement, he did not rate the merit of men according to their capacity, character, and patriotism, but according to the degree of friendship or kinship that united them with him; and, wishing to have his favorites disposed to sacrifice themselves for him, he showed himself lenient even toward their faults. For his having thus contemned the people, the people abandoned him; and, because the

soldiers, who were led by a Spanish sergeant, but who were themselves ready to desert to the rebellion; this incident, which travelled far in Cavite province and grew as it went, was the original foundation of Aguinaldo's reputation. He speedily became chief among the native leaders in that province. Meanwhile, the conspirators north of Manila, under Bonifacio, were fleeing, surrendering under Blanco's amnesty proclamation, or being captured. Bonifacio made his way into Cavite province, carrying 20,000 pesos of the funds that had been raised. He and Aguinaldo were virtually joint commanders, with separate headquarters, during the early months of 1897, when General Polavieja was making ready for the campaign that was to restore the control of the province to Spanish authority. The rout of the revolutionists on all hands in March, 1897, led to bitter recriminations between the leaders. The most reliable report is that Aguinaldo had Bonifacio seized and tried by one of the summary courts which Bonifacio himself had been employing to remove those hostile to him. Some say that Bonifacio was acquitted by the court, others that he was convicted but publicly pardoned by Aguinaldo as a sign of clemency, being seized again and secretly executed. What is certain is that he disappeared at this time. As to his execution, there is no certain information. Some say that he was shot and thrown over a rock in western Cavite, some that he was made to see that it was best for him to jump over a rock. Again, it is declared that he was condemned by the military court and executed in "legal" form—as legal, that is, as the forms he himself had been employing. Aguinaldo was henceforth the recognized "generalissimo" of the revolution, until the bargain at Biak-na-bató.

people abandoned him, he had to fall, like an idol of wax, melted in the heat of adversity. May we not forget a lesson so terrible, learned at the cost of indescribable sufferings.

The introduction to this manuscript of Mabini's on the revolution is in the form of a "Manifesto" to the Filipinos, which is chiefly interesting on autobiographical grounds.<sup>1</sup> For Americans, however, it is of especial interest to note the reasons which Mabini assigns for reaching the conclusion that the Filipinos have, by a great majority, willed that the war should stop. Among other things, Mabini seems desirous of asserting that he had been more conservative than radical; at least he asserts that he was one of those who in 1896 thought agitation and work along educative lines better than a campaign of revolt. Looking back, then, upon the whole period of Filipino agitation, and particularly to that phase which began with the formation of the "Liga Filipina" among the educated reformers in 1892 and ended with the Katipunan revolt in 1896, Mabini would stamp himself as one preferring to be enrolled under Rizal's banner rather than that of the revolutionists.

In this "manifesto" we have the theorist speculating on theory and practice, saying: "If truth is found in the harmony between reason and experience, so in the harmony between theory and practice is virtue found." "Virtue" has a broader scope of meaning in Spanish than in English, to be sure, but Mabini himself could scarcely have explained just what he meant by this sentence, one of a sort favorite with him. His definition of what religion meant to him is also of interest, especially in connection with his "True Decalogue" of 1898, which has been mentioned above.

We may smile at the dominant note of egotism, the occasional touch of childishness, its author's want of experience, and the lack of a saving grace of humor; but this testament of a young-old man on the brink of the grave is too pathetically serious to be dismissed thus, even merely as an individual human document. Viewed as an expression of Filipino racial sentiment, of a nascent patriotism, the still tenacious assertion of a dawning national consciousness, it touches too intimately upon the underlying bases of a grave problem of state now confronting us of America to permit of its going unheeded into the archives of unread documents. Mabini was not a neurotic, errant Filipino genius, though he occasionally appeared in that light; he was the true spokesman of the "Young Filipino Party", the best of whose aims we must hope to see the Filipinos as a people rise into ability and disposition to carry out.

The involved sentences of the original text have been translated

<sup>1</sup> It was printed in *El Comercio*, Manila, July 29 and 30, 1903.

very literally, not to run into difficulties of another sort than that of extracting logical meanings from some of them. The document follows:

MANIFESTO.

Although from May, 1899, till the following November, when I was captured by the American forces, not only did I not occupy any official position, but I also lived at a distance from the Filipino government; nevertheless, having been treated as one of the defenders of the cause of the people, I believe it part of my duty to give account to my compatriots of my efforts, now that I believe it proper to consider them at an end.

From my capture until my deportation to Guam, I had the honor to confer in great detail with Generals MacArthur and J. F. Bell over the termination of the war and the pacification of the islands. A summary relation of the general results of these conferences will give an idea of my procedure.<sup>1</sup>

The said generals began by expressing to me their keen desire that I should aid in the pacification of the islands, since, by this means alone would the Filipinos come to attain their own well-being. To which I replied that I ardently wished the same thing, and asked them to point out the manner in which they would appreciate my co-operation. They then told me that they would have confidence in me and would accept my services only after I should have recognized unconditionally American sovereignty in the Philippines, especially if I would then aid them in the establishment of a government which they thought the most efficacious for the happiness of the Filipino people. I again replied that, in so far as I should do what they demanded of me, in the state of mind in which my fellow-countrymen then were, the latter would at once withdraw the confidence which they had in me, and, my influence among the Filipinos being lost, I should be of no use for the purposes of pacification nor for any other useful purpose.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On May 5, 1900, General Arthur MacArthur succeeded General Otis as commanding general and military governor in the Philippines, and soon after General James Franklin Bell was called in from the command of the district including Pangasinan province to serve as provost-marshal-general of Manila. After the proclamation of amnesty in June, 1900, many efforts were made, especially by Bell, who often visited Mabini in person, to secure the influence of the latter in behalf of peace. Mabini also had an interview with the newly arrived Taft Commission. Mabini was at this time given quite complete freedom of movement and wrote for the Filipino press when he chose. He would not, however, commit himself to acceptance of American sovereignty. His reasons, outlined below, were given at greater length in the correspondence he had with General Bell, which was published in the Filipino press.

<sup>2</sup> Mabini omits one, perhaps the chief, reason why he and others held off from acceptance of the offers for conciliation made by the McKinley administration both through the military authorities at Manila and through the Civil Commission; this was the hope of such an outcome of the presidential election of November, 1900, as would secure the recognition of Filipino independence and

The generals mentioned saw nothing in my reply but a pretext for continuing in a state which they characterized as one of systematic opposition to the plans of the Americans, declaring to me on this account that they were convinced that my intransigent attitude and that of Señor Aguinaldo were the only obstacles to the wished-for peace, and, as they were determined to secure it, for the welfare of the Filipinos themselves, they might find themselves compelled to remove such obstacles by deporting the intransigents. I stated that, in my judgment, the revolution had been produced not by mere personal ambitions, but by the unsatisfied aspirations of the people; that I was fully convinced that, should Señor Aguinaldo and I work in open disagreement with public opinion, we should become men without prestige and finally incapable of preventing new leaders, sooner or later, taking up the fight to continue it; that true peace was to be brought about only by the confidence which the Americans might learn how to inspire in the Filipinos, and a proceeding as arbitrary as violent was never going to inspire such confidence; that the experience acquired during Spanish domination shows that deportation serves only to arouse hatred and hostile feelings, because it is cruel and unjust to impose the double punishment of imprisonment and banishment for an indefinite period upon persons the charges against whom have not been proved in legal form. And I concluded by saying that, far from opposing the plans of the Americans, I had tried to show sincerely the real sentiments of the Filipinos in general and of the revolutionists in particular, to prevent ignorance on these points developing a policy mistaken and prejudicial to the cause of peace; and that I thought to preserve my prestige at every cost, moved alone by the desire of being useful not only to the Filipinos but also to the Americans. The latter might be mistaken in their estimates, it might be that, in spite of my deportation, and of the capture or surrender of Aguinaldo, minds (*las ideas*) would not be pacified; in such case the aid of the Filipinos who had not lost the confidence of the revolutionists would be indispensable for the realization of peace, and for this purpose I wished to hold myself in reserve, in lack of others who were better, or at least to aid and serve these latter.

Studying now the subsequent events, I do not find any evidence that the deportation to Guam contributed in any way to the capture of Aguinaldo and Lukban or to the surrender of Malvar and other Filipino leaders. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that this mistake had not a little influence in prolonging the war and in causing more shedding of blood. Diplomacy having been despised as a weapon of the weak, the war necessarily ended only when the revolutionists ceased to possess means to continue it.<sup>1</sup> The ordinary and natural course of

also, they believed at the time, the immediate recognition of the late Filipino government itself.

<sup>1</sup> Here again Mabini is not quite candid, or at any rate he omits to state fully the circumstances leading to the quite general laying down of arms in early

things is not that the weak should conquer the strong. We fought under the conviction that our duty and dignity demanded of us the sacrifice of defending, while we could, our liberties, because without them social equality between the dominant caste and the native class would be practically an impossibility, and so we should not succeed in establishing perfect justice between us; but we knew that it would not be long before we should exhaust our scanty resources and that our defeat was inevitable. War became, then, unjustifiable from the moment when the immense majority of the people preferred to submit to the conqueror and many of the revolutionists themselves passed to his ranks, because, not being able to enjoy their natural liberties while the American forces prevented it, and not having the resources for removing this obstacle, they deemed it prudent to yield and to have hope in the promises made in the name of the people of the United States. The surrender of the last opposing bands was followed by a proclamation of amnesty, and on August 24, 1902, the deportees in Guam were told that they might return to their country, provided they should swear to recognize and accept voluntarily the supreme authority of the United States in the Philippines and to maintain sincere fidelity and obedience to the same, without mental reservation or thought of evading this obligation. In order to quiet scruples of conscience, since it did not seem to me reasonable nor proper to give my word without first assuring myself whether I ought or ought not to do it, I asked that they bring me as a prisoner to this capital [Manila], in accordance with the proclamation, which stated that the oath might be taken before any authority in the Philippine archipelago. The governor of Guam promised to communicate my request to the proper authorities, but after saying that he probably would not learn the decision for some months. Nevertheless, I preferred to wait, and on February 9, 1903, the officer of the prison handed me a letter from the governor, notifying me that I was free to go anywhere, except to the Philippines, whither I could not return without taking the oath of obedience and fidelity.

I asked time to consider, for it was not so easy for me to decide as at first it seemed. In the first place, I believe like any other man in certain truths which, after the fashion of a guide or rule, direct my conscience in judging my acts, constituting my religion. That religion

1901. "Diplomacy" and conciliation were employed, particularly by means of the Federal Party, a Filipino peace-organization, and by means of the conciliatory measures for the inauguration of civil government in towns and provinces and the laws of the Civil Commission regarding civil service reform, education, etc. These accompanied a more rigorous military campaign, which undoubtedly played its part; but to ascribe the ensuing peace in a majority of provinces entirely to military sternness and the exhaustion of the people would be very wide of the truth. Mabini does not mention the revolutionary leaders, many of them of more authority and prestige than either Lukban or Malvar, who surrendered both prior to and soon after the capture of Aguinaldo, itself merely a spectacular incident in the general movement toward peace at the time.

teaches me that all authority over the people resides in the people themselves, by the provisions of natural law. Hence it was that, before the idea of the oath recognizing and pledging fidelity to the authority of the United States, I should imagine myself invoking God to sanction an act contrary to the law or order which He Himself set up at the moment of establishing His plan of the world. My conscience told me it was a blasphemy to ask God to aid in a thing which He Himself disapproves. Moreover, if the free expression of thought is one of the privileges of every citizen in the Philippines, would it be legal to require of me to renounce my beliefs from the moment when I promise to lead a peaceful and honorable life? If the practice observed in all civilized nations extends the said liberty to all doctrines that do not promote the disturbance of the social order and the corruption of customs, could an oath be considered valid that was imposed by the executive power against the spirit of American institutions and the right interpretation of the laws governing in the Philippines? Having taken the oath of unconditional fidelity, would it be lawful for me, without being false to the fidelity sworn, afterward to advocate the lessening of that authority, asking for the people the self-government publicly promised to be conferred upon the Filipinos when they shall be fit? If every obligation contrary to natural law is essentially null, is it not more practicable and helpful to try to find some other procedure that will reconcile the respect due to the law and the fulfilment of the proper duties of every state with the liberty of conscience and the promises of the government, in order that the Filipinos may not become accustomed to looking upon perjury as lawful? If at all events the government must use force to punish those who disobey it, is not requiring the oath of a simple citizen the same as confessing that it has not a right to rule without his consent?

It is true that he who attempts to govern only with theory must fail, because the science of government is essentially practical; but it is true also that every practice contrary to theory, or rather to reason and truth, is properly an abuse, that is to say a corrupt practice, since it corrupts society. The success of him who governs always results from practice (*la práctica*) adjusted to the natural and unchangeable order of things and to the special necessities of the locality, which success is obtained by the aid of theoretical knowledge and of experience. It is not, then, theory, but practice confused by evil passions or ignorance, which is the origin of all governmental failures. If the government of the United States has been able to conduct the Union along the road of prosperity and greatness,<sup>1</sup> it is because its practices have not

<sup>1</sup> Here Mabini's conception of government as a thing proceeding from above again exhibits itself. Social reform, in his conception, was a matter of governmental decrees; practical rulership depended entirely upon the rulers. The notion that the United States has given the world the great example of a successful republic, not because of a clever scheme of government and able rulers, but because of the spirit and temper of the people themselves, is something that had never dawned upon him.



departed from the theory contained in the Declarations [*sic*] of Independence nor from the Rights of Man, which are an exposition of the principles of natural law established by the revolutions of science in the field of politics. If truth is found in the harmony between reason and experience, so in the harmony between theory and practice is virtue found.

Nevertheless, after many vacillations and much anxious mental searching, I felt at last the tranquillity produced by a firm conviction. My conscience is satisfied that it was permissible for me to take the oath, because I could not avoid it, for the reason that a necessity more imperious than love for the truth demanded my return to the islands. The more we read the history of humanity, the more we observe that, in the frequent wars which have afflicted the peoples of the earth from times most ancient till the present, if places and cities had always to surrender to the conqueror, reason and justice had to yield also, many times if not always, to the exigencies of force. The conquered peoples submitted to the impositions of the conquerors to save their existence, indispensable for the preservation of mankind, the supreme necessity or law of nature. Now that the Filipino people has submitted to the authority of the United States to avoid ruin, my remaining outside of the islands might be interpreted as opposition to the popular will, as persistence in the continuance of a strife which, because of its unequal conditions, must be ruinous in the extreme. When the people plunged into the war, I felt it my duty to be at its side, aiding it in suffering to the end; now that it feels itself unable to continue striving for its rights, I feel that I ought also to be at its side, to bid it not to despair, but to have greater confidence in itself, in justice, in the future.

In truth, I never had sufficient valor to disturb my countrymen so long as they preferred to live in tranquillity. I was an enthusiastic laborer by the side of Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, and others who formerly, after having opposed the evils which a discretionary, arbitrary administration imposed upon the Filipinos, asked of the Spanish government that the Philippines be made politically the same as a province of the Spanish peninsula, for the very purpose of preventing that many Filipinos should seek in separation the remedy for these evils, through the organization of such a society as the Katipunan and an uprising like that which occurred in 1896. Knowing the calamities and miseries which always arise from the disturbance of public order, I was not a member of the Katipunan nor did I take part in the uprising. But when, in 1898, I observed everywhere the unrest and indignation produced by the blind obstinacy of the Spanish government and the cruelties with which it repaid the services of those who had shown it the dangers of its bad administration of the Philippines and had offered plans for doing away with these, I saw the popular will clearly manifested and declared it my duty to obey it and take up the revolutionary cause, in order that, destroying only the decaying and the useless of the old régime, it might

establish another and a new régime, more adequate to the real needs of the Filipinos and more adaptable to the changes or reforms which its civilization as it progressed should demand. I went into the struggle, believing that I followed the voice of the people, and I now abandon it for the same reason.

A past of this sort fixes the rule for my future conduct. Instead of plotting new uprisings, I have to seek the methods for preventing them; for such, it seems to me, is the duty in time of peace of every honorable citizen who truly loves his country. The very tenacity with which I have defended in war the rights which natural law confers upon us has been substituted by the conviction that the recognition of these rights by the United States is the surest guaranty of peace and the strongest safeguard against future insurrections. Struggling as long as our strength and reason permitted, we have only succeeded in showing our love for liberty; and, now that the United States has seen fit to grant us this in part, guaranteeing to each citizen the exercise of certain rights which make the social life one less narrowly restricted, it devolves upon us to show that we only wish such rights, that we only desire the free exercise of our activities, to increase the stock of our culture and our welfare through honorable labor, that we may possess the capacity that will justify our claim to the promised recognition of the remaining part. [Literally rendered.]<sup>1</sup>

As for the United States, I may say that it will very probably seek to carry out its promises, inasmuch as it knows: (1) that its authority has not been sought by, but imposed upon, the Filipinos; (2) that upon its treatment of them depends the decision whether the present paralyzation of the war shall mean a real peace or simply a longer or shorter truce; (3) that Spain, by prohibiting in the Philippines the formation of associations and political parties in order to prevent their being interpreters of the people's desires, fostered the formation of guerrilla bands, and, by proscribing the Philippine League<sup>2</sup>, justified the Katipunan; (4)

<sup>1</sup> Proof that Mabini was sincere in counselling acceptance of American government (while making a campaign by peaceable methods for the future independence of his people) was afforded during the interval spent in Manila prior to his death, by his letter of advice to the bandit leader San Miguel. See this letter and his subsequent correspondence with Governor Taft on the subject in *Report of Philippine Commission, 1903*, I. 26-29.

<sup>2</sup> The Liga Filipina, organized by Rizal upon his return to Manila in 1892, but practically suppressed by his deportation to Mindanao almost immediately thereafter. In order to forge a chain of proof of consistent conspiracy against Rizal after the Katipunan outbreak in 1896, the Spanish military prosecutors made out that the Liga had been formed with the express object of working for political independence. This claim was not put forth in 1892, and had not good evidence in its support in 1896. Rizal declared that the object of the league was to "raise the arts", stimulate his people to greater activity in things commercial, industrial, and educational—to prepare the people, in short, for greater political liberty; such broad general aims may, of course, have looked to future political independence of Spain, but that does not make the league an illegal conspiracy to that end, at least under any free government.

that, finally, every colonial régime which does not understand how to adjust itself to the always growing needs of the colonies and their constantly easier and closer communication with civilized peoples fosters the separation of the colonies at the same time with the political corruption and the decadence of the metropolis. If we add to these counsels of reason and teachings of history the pride of a people which knows its own power and greatness and believes that it has the practical understanding of life, we may assert that at present there exists not a single reason to justify confidence on our part, and yet we ought to forget past grievances and sacrifice them in behalf of reconciliation and fraternal union between Americans and Filipinos. Not only has the United States assured us that this union is the surest guaranty of our happiness, but it has by force compelled us to this belief, making itself arbiter of our fate. So be it, then; but in the meantime let us strive that our intelligence and our soul may be worthy of all that is ennobling and honorable in life, waiting till time shall lift the veil of the future to show us the true path of progress and happiness for us.

Fearing that my sickness has been the principal cause of the inefficacy of my labors and incapacitates me for the tasks demanded by the solution of the great problems of the present situation, I return to the obscurity whence, thrust forth by circumstances, I emerged, in order to hide my shame and grief, not for having committed any improper act, but for not having been able to render better service. I am not, indeed, the one called upon to say whether I have done well or ill, have labored intelligently or under error; nevertheless, I do not conclude without saying that I possess no other balm to assuage the bitterness of a painful life except the satisfaction produced by the conviction of not having committed any error voluntarily. May I be able to say the same at the hour of my death!

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904.* Edited by HOWARD J. ROGERS, A.M., LL.D., Director of Congresses. Volume II. *History of Politics and Economics, History of Law, History of Religion.* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. ix, 661.)

THIS second of the eight volumes which are to give us the remarkable series of papers read year before last by the scholars of the Old World and the New at the St. Louis Exposition covers three of the six "Departments" which made up what was known as the "Division" of "Historical Science". Doubtless the three remaining Departments of that Division—History of Language, History of Literature, and History of Art—will furnish the content of another volume.

At this late date it would be idle as well as invidious to question or to discuss the Congress's classification of human knowledge or its choice of the scholars who should represent the divisions thus created. Nor could it serve a useful purpose to recapitulate within the brief limits of a review the authors and the titles of the three dozen able addresses which compose the present volume. As everybody will remember, each Department, after listening with its fellow Departments to the opening paper of the Chairman of the Division, and after hearing two addresses of its own—one on the fundamental methods and conceptions of its branch of science, the other on its progress during the past century—was then to dissolve itself into "Sections", each of which should likewise listen to two papers, the first dealing with the relations of its sub-topic to neighboring fields, the second with its own present problems. Loyally carried out in the main, though with often a happy excursion and now and then a frank departure, the project in its literary incarnation lies now before us. What can be said of the result as a whole?

Already in his opening address Chairman Woodrow Wilson strikes a key-note. With admirable tact taking as his theme "The Variety and Unity of History", he finds place and mission for each of the great lines of study into which the Congress has divided "Historical Science"; but it is only to insist with a warmer emphasis on the essential oneness of the historian's field. The subject of History is not politics or economics or law or religion or literature or art or language. It is not all these combined. It is that of which these are but a few of the myriad changing phases. "All history has society as its subject-matter" (p. 8)—its theme is human life. From these opening thoughts of President Wilson to the final papers in the closing group—to Professor Har-

nack's underscored assertion (p. 622) that "The history of the church is part and parcel of universal history, and can be understood only in connection with it", and Professor Reville's jubilant affirmation (p. 645) that "The water-tight bulkhead which separated the so-called 'profane' from the so-called 'sacred' studies has been removed" and that "the progress of our general historical knowledge makes us recognize ever better that the history of Christianity . . . is intimately bound with the economical, moral, social, and religious history of the surrounding world"—this conviction of the oneness of History is the most recurrent note. As the programme of the Congress knows "science", but not "sciences", so its historians will have no divided history.

Most striking is this in that first body of speakers whom the logic of the programme has grouped under the rubric of "Political History". Their neighbors, however they protest their freedom, devote themselves to the field prescribed them; the political historians not only protest, they rebel. Not one of them restricts himself to the history of politics or seems to suppose himself expected to do so. Few of them even put political history foremost. One or two expressly remand it to the background. The apostasy is the more significant because it is clearly so unconscious. Who shall say that it is to be regretted?

All the groups, and not alone the opening speakers in each, are much concerned with questions of historical method. Yet, strange to say, that fundamental problem as to the logic of the historian's processes which is just now so exercising historians and logicians alike receives hardly a mention. Even Professor Colby's sparkling paper on "Historical Synthesis", though it touches it in passing, scarcely grasps its full import. Professor Lamprecht, whose own tenets are so hazarded, is of course not oblivious; but his attention is here mainly given to the positive exposition of his "socio-psychologic" theory—a theory of which, it is to be feared, he will find almost as little echo in the papers of his colleagues. Doubtless courtesy to such a guest contributed to this silence. Doubtless, too, many, like Professor Colby, "doubt whether academic utterances as to what history is or should be, help us very far forward" (p. 166). The unstudied implications of these thoughtful papers are, when they skirt the topics in dispute, of all the greater weight. Among the questions more largely ventilated is that as to the right of history to be an art as well as a science—or, as Professor Robinson, who makes this the chief topic of his paper on "The Conception and Methods of History", prefers to phrase it, the "relations between history and literature". Another old friend whose face peers out from many a paper is the issue, in its older form, between the narrator and the historical philosopher.

But perhaps the most gratifying quality of the volume as a whole is the sane and generous spirit with which even questions so hotly mooted as these are lifted out of the mire of altercation. It is, for example, precisely Professor Adams, who most keenly points out the besetting faults of the sociologist and the economist in their dealings with history,

who is most earnest in appeal to them for help, declaring (p. 137) that "without the work of the economic historian and the sociologist, the task of completing our scientific knowledge of medieval history" seems to him almost impossible.

To discuss the individual qualities of a series of studies so rich in variety and in personality is here impossible. There is in them little that suggests perfunctory work. All are suggestive, many are brilliant, a few seem notable contributions to knowledge or to thought. The briefer papers contributed to the sessions by those not officially speakers are here printed in abstract only. A somewhat unexpected but well-made and useful appendix to the several groups is a select bibliography of the literature of each subject.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship.* By J. G. FRAZER.  
(New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 309.)

SINCE the simultaneous appearance in 1861 of Maine's *Ancient Law* and Bachofen's *Mutterrecht* each year's research has revealed more and more clearly the relative culture-value of institutional history. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that the history of institutions is pure *Kulturgeschichte*. It is the essential element in sound sociological and anthropological investigation. The fact is gradually becoming familiar that all institutions are the slow resultant of human experience, the residuum of social struggle. As Frazer remarks (p. 3), even the great institutions of our civilized society, such as marriage, private property, and the worship of a god, "have their roots in savagery, and have been handed down to us . . . through countless generations, assuming new outward forms in the process of transmission, but remaining in their inmost core substantially unchanged". In particular the study of primitive magic promises to become a rich field for the discovery of institutional beginnings. Already this field has been partially explored by several English writers whose works show decided originality. Spencer and Gillett's detailed investigation of the sexual customs and other social conditions of the *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899) has been supplemented (1904) by their account of the *Northern Tribes* of the same region. In his *Mystic Rose* (1902) Crawley sought the origins of matrimonial institutions in the various usages arising in sexual taboo; while in 1900 Frazer's *Golden Bough*, an epoch-making study of magic and religion, reached the second edition.

The present work deals with the "sacred character and magical functions of kings in early society". It consists mainly of "fresh examples or illustrations of principles" (p. 2) already stated in the *Golden Bough*; and in substance it will appear in the third edition of that book now in press. The text is composed of nine lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, during 1905; and it is a very clear and entertaining discussion of a difficult subject, but supported in the numer-

ous foot-notes by a full bibliographical apparatus. The author finds that the primitive kingship is a development of the office and functions of the sorcerer or magician. As a starting-point for his discussion, he takes a particular case of the sacred kingship, "the priesthood of Diana at Nemi, which combined the régál with the sacred character; for the priest bore the title of *Rex Nemorensis* or King of the Wood, and his office was called a kingdom" (p. 9). In the first chapter evidence is adduced to prove "that the worship of Diana in her sacred grove at Nemi was of great importance and immemorial antiquity; . . . that associated with her was a water-nymph Egeria, who discharged one of Diana's own functions by succouring women in travail, and who was popularly supposed to have mated with an old Roman king in the sacred grove; further, that Diana of the Wood herself had a male companion, Virbius by name [identical with the Greek hero Hippolytus], who was to her what Adonis was to Venus, or Attis to Cybele; and, lastly, that this mythical Virbius was represented in historical times by a line of priests known as the Kings of the Wood, who regularly perished by the swords of their successors [always runaway slaves], and whose lives were in a manner bound up with a certain tree in the grove, because, so long as that tree was uninjured, they were safe from attack" (pp. 26-27). In the sequel, each element in the facts thus established is acutely interpreted in the light of the comparative history of sacred kingships, and in that of the correlated general principles of magic.

However, before considering the genesis of the kingship, the theory and practice of magic are expounded in the second, third, and fourth chapters. Here the author has made a distinct advance upon the results won by earlier investigators. In his view, magic rests upon two fundamental principles of thought: "first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact continue to act on each other even after the contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion" (pp. 37-38). From the law of similarity "the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it"; from the law of contact "he concludes that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not" (p. 38). "Sympathetic magic" thus has two branches: "homœopathic magic" and "contagious magic". These are illustrated by a wealth of examples. Especially helpful is the division of the system of sympathetic magic into "positive precepts," and "negative precepts". "The positive precepts are charms: the negative precepts are taboos. The whole doctrine of taboo, in fact, would seem to be only a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact" (p. 52). Thus, if magic be distinguished as theoretical magic or pseudo-science, and practical magic or pseudo-art; then sorcery will represent the positive and taboo the negative side of the pseudo-art.

Of vital significance for understanding the rise of the kingship is the distinction between private and public magic. The public magician, the rain-maker for instance, is supposed to perform a service for the whole community. Accordingly the ablest men are called into the service of public magic. Moreover, in self-protection, they are stimulated to acquire real knowledge of nature's laws in order to diminish the danger of failures. True science is thus developed from pseudo-science. In turn this special knowledge becomes the basis of magisterial power. The monarch arises. "On the whole, then, we seem to be justified in concluding that in many parts of the world the king is the lineal successor of the old magician or medicine-man" (p. 127). The special class of sorcerers, entrusted with functions upon which the public welfare and safety depend, tend to "blossom out into sacred kings". In a further stage of evolution the magician yields to the priest; and the human king becomes an incarnate god.

In the concluding five chapters of his book Dr. Frazer has with extraordinary insight minutely applied the principles thus won by his investigation to the interpretation of the rites and myths connected with Diana at Nemi and her priest-king, the *Rex Nemorensis*. There is not space here even for a summary of his argument. He has made a notable contribution to the literature of primitive sociology; and the further development of the subject, promised in the forthcoming edition of the *Golden Bough*, will be eagerly awaited.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

*A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest.* By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxx, 634, with 200 illustrations and maps.)

THIS book fills a great want. Hitherto there has been no history of Egypt in the English language at once sufficiently reliable, full, and popular. The best English work, W. M. F. Petrie's valuable *History of Egypt*, has the great disadvantage of being written entirely for Egyptologists. Breasted has followed chiefly the plan of Eduard Meyer's very readable sketch (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, now antiquated); expanding it somewhat after the model of Maspero's larger work. His book is lucidly and elegantly written, and I have heard that it reads like a novel, to the non-orientalist. The illustrations, among which there are some good, new photographs, contribute considerably to the attractive nature of the book, which doubtless will meet with great success.

The specialist will find many recent discoveries and researches incorporated in the volume and several original observations, for example, the account of the rise of the twelfth dynasty (pp. 154-155). Some general sketches of the culture of various periods are meritorious, for example, that on the earliest period (chapter 3), chapters 13, 18, etc.



The book is not addressed to the student of historical science who is himself no Egyptologist. It lacks the apparatus of references which the scientific worker cannot do without. There are, indeed, some foot-notes, but with rare exceptions the author refers only to his own publications (among which, it is true, there is a very comprehensive collection of translations). Furthermore he does not emphasize the many uncertainties and problems of Egyptian history as the historian would like. A popular work, of course, must smooth over such difficulties. The writer has done this very largely and has filled out gaps; often with some poetic license. Thus he claims, for example, that the famous queen Hatshepsout was "beautiful and gifted" (p. 267); but the dry historian must insist that we have neither the mummy nor a reliable picture to prove her supposed beauty, nor a line of writing which would exclude the possibility that she may have been a very ordinary person or even an idiotic cipher, serving as a legitimizing pretext for the ambitions of her ruling officials. (This latter possibility might even seem much more plausible, especially, if Breasted's partly hypothetical construction of her reign (chap. 15) should prove to be correct.) Other instances of poetic license might lead to more serious misunderstandings, for example, the hypothetical "free middle class, liable to military service" (p. 246). Not everybody would agree with the amount of faith given to Greek historians (Herodotus, p. 37), especially to Manetho (*e. g.*, p. 148).

It is not possible to notice here rather numerous points of disagreement in regard to detail. I would only criticize some general principles. The writer seems to me to view Egypt too often not as a critic but as an over-enthusiastic lover and admirer, a fault rather general with the older school of Egyptologists. In face of the one-sidedness of historians who knew only Greece and Rome, orientalists found it necessary to paint the Orient and its importance sometimes with very thick coloring. Nowadays it seems no longer necessary to do this; we may even show numerous defects without fear of reviving the old injustice. For example, the most remarkable bequest of ancient Egypt is, doubtless, its art, which was long underestimated. But to ascribe even chiaroscuro (p. 378) to painters who never advanced to recognizing light and shadow seems a strong overstatement. The poetic enthusiasm of our writer manifests itself in a quite unbalanced overrating of the small military achievements of the Egyptians, one of the least military nations of antiquity (*e. g.*, p. 320). He concentrates his interest so strongly on this period of Syrian conquests and its (I believe, cheap and fruitless) laurels that he treats the period after 1200 B. C. rather slightly and breaks off with the Persian conquest. This is not just. That later period, to mention only one side of it, offers so many points of contact with the history of other nations that it may seem to very many people the most interesting epoch. However, it would rob the book of its most attractive features, if its warm enthusiasm should be reduced everywhere to meagre, cool, cautious statements accompanied by the

heavy apparatus of the historian. The real purpose of the work, to interest wider circles in the land of sphinxes and pyramids, has certainly been maintained with great literary ability. I hope it will spread much interest in the ancient East.

Only the treatment of the transliteration of Egyptian names, abounding in unwarranted innovations and inconsistencies, is hardly suited to a popular work. True, the transliteration question is the weakest spot of Egyptology; and there is little hope that the general uncertainty and confusion will soon be removed. How necessary a general reform is may be seen from Breasted's mistaking the *t* (*i. e.*, *ts*) of a certain system of transcription for the Semitic *t*, *i. e.*, English *th* (*cf.* "Ereth", p. 483, etc.).

W. MAX MÜLLER.

*The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.* By GEORGE STEINDORFF, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology at the University of Leipzig. [American Lectures on the History of Religions, Fifth Series, 1903-1904.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xi, 178.)

THIS brief sketch of Egyptian religion, in five lectures, betrays ability to present dry and difficult subjects in a popular way. It is readable and clear, and avoids unessential details as well as unsafe and unintelligible transcriptions. Some faulty transcriptions are retained on account of their venerable age, for example, the old "Piankhi" (p. 84) or conventional forms like "Maat" (p. 92; but late Egyptian *mêi* suggests different vowels). Why not use for the unwarranted transcription "Twet" (nether-world, p. 126) the late Egyptian pronunciation *Têi*?

The booklet follows the general outlines, style, and largely also the views of Adolf Erman's chapter on Egyptian religion in his *Life in Ancient Egypt* (1894). The chapter on religion proper is extremely brief compared with others on by-paths of religion, such as the burial customs. The chapter on temples and ceremonies is proportionately very full, and includes some new matter.

A criticism of Steindorff's views on Egyptian religion proper is not easy for one who does not share those views in several essential respects. Steindorff reproduces the opinions of a school of which Maspero was the ablest exponent, opinions which have been dominant for some twenty years and are still held by many. The nucleus of our most important difference of opinion may be found on p. 5: "a religion which, like the whole of Egyptian culture, followed its own development in entire independence of all foreign influence". This greatly overstates the independence of Egyptian culture. We know that Egypt, at all periods, was in close communication with all centres of civilization, at least, of south-eastern Europe and western Asia, and that nothing was more strongly subjected to constant foreign influences than its religion. Hence it is impossible to understand the riches of Egyptian mythology from any other standpoint than the comparative one. This point of view is totally

absent here. True, this deficiency is not very visible to non-specialists, as the booklet hardly touches the immense store of Egyptian mythology, mentioning only what Erman gave, namely, the sketch of the so-called Osiris-myth, the "destruction of mankind", and some mythological facts which are placed in the chapter on magic art (pp. 107 *et seqq.*). This gives an unjust idea of the wealthiest mythology of antiquity. However, it must be admitted that this wealth still remains largely unexploited and that five lectures could not treat it adequately.

Steindorff gives, unfortunately, no bibliography or references which enable the non-Egyptologist to control the book. From the few references in the foot-notes no reader can see what science owes, for example, to Maspero's *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes* and to Wiedemann's handbook of Egyptian religion. I select from numerous minor criticisms a few: Did the religion of the ancient Egyptians (p. 1) really penetrate into their life even more deeply than was the case with Israel? Were they not rather the most superficial people of the ancient Orient in that regard? Their abundant superstitions did not exclude a lack of true religiosity. Some scholars question the solarization of the local divinities for "quite the earliest ages" (p. 20). What do we know of the development claimed (p. 24) for "somewhere about the Second Dynasty"? We have no monuments. Giving, however, a god, who usually appeared as an animal, the power to appear also in human form cannot have been only a later development; a god without that power would lack divinity. The divine name *Nun* (p. 36), so seductive for Assyriologists, is one of the many misunderstandings of the later Egyptians. Its original consonants were *N(y?)w*. The hypothesis of the origin of the obelisks (p. 41) is not warranted by the monuments which always distinguish the pillar (*'n, yn*) of On from the obelisk. What the latter means has been shown by Winckler. The true name of the goddess (pp. 54, 89, etc.) was *Ubastet*, *Webastet*, not "*Bastet*", and the Greeks call her city *Bubastos*, not "*Bubastis*". The history of the "reformation" (pp. 58 *et seqq.*) by that heretical king is obscure; we have no proof, however, that the persecution of the Theban divinities meant a general abolition of the other local gods. P. 62, ult., conflicts with p. 161, etc. No "*Baalim*" (p. 69) are known in Egypt, only "the *Baal*". "*Kadesh*" (*ibid.*) as an "urban goddess" is a misunderstanding of an abandoned theory, which connected her with the city of *Kidsh*. That *Anat* (*ibid.*) was "the Syrian goddess of war" cannot be substantiated; her warlike character seems an acquisition of Egyptian origin. The powerful position of the high priest of *Amon* (p. 96) was a rather late development. The necklace of the Memphite high priest (p. 99) showed no "curiously barbaric figures of animals" from prehistoric time, but those of the well-known worshipping "spirits of *Pe*, *Dep* and *Nekhen*". The decree of *Zoser* (pp. 101 *et seqq.*) is one of the clumsiest priestly forgeries. The "Shadow" as another representation of the human soul ought to be mentioned (p. 122). The question of human sacrifice (p. 141) is much more complicated. The

duplicate of the head in clay (p. 153) points to the cutting off of this seat of life, so exhaustively treated by Wiedemann. The alleged Egyptian influence on Jewish ideas (p. 169) is not successfully illustrated. Still more unfortunate is the reviving of the old theories about Egyptian influences on Moses and his contemporaries, for example, the long-refuted comparison of the "golden calves" and the Apis cult (p. 167). I repeat, the booklet gives about as good a picture of a complicated and wide subject as could be given in such limited space, and some further minor criticisms would not alter this judgment.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

*Greece from the Coming of the Hellenes to A. D. 14.* By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, Litt.D. [The Story of the Nations.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. Pp. xix, 416.)

THE author of this smoothly written history has "tried throughout to lay stress upon the political, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Greeks, rather than on the history of military operations" (p. vii). "The thought of the Greeks and the things done in Greece" form his general theme. We are thus justified in expecting much from the book. It belongs, of course, to a popular series, and can count upon a large circle of readers. Hence it is important that it represent the best modern opinion on the subject. It does not. It contains simply the traditional exposition of Greek history, extended at the end, because of the general insistence that Hellenistic affairs have been too long neglected, not by the new interpretation of the third century B. C., but by a detailed account of the Roman conquest and organization of the East.

The book shows no evidence of contact with continental scholarship since the days of Karl Otfried Müller's *Dorians*. Wilamowitz, Meyer, Busolt, and Beloch have been neither an inspiration nor a warning to Dr. Shuckburgh; but these gentlemen have no right to charge him with national antipathy, for he has treated Bury, his own countryman, with similar indifference. It need hardly be said that writers of less comprehensive works have been ignored also. What sort of a Greek history is possible under these circumstances?

The extension of the name Pelasgian in the post-Homeric literature has no significance for the author, nor does he think the view worth mentioning that Achæan, as a generic term, is an epic convention (pp. 11 *et seqq.*). For him the Pelasgians and the Achæans are real races, as real almost as the Hellenes, who (subdivided into Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians) succeeded them some time before 800 B. C. The Achæans are Homer's people: the Hellenes Hesiod's. Herodotus and Thucydides (God forgive them) stand sponsors for the Pelasgians. And so it goes—hard against the grain of one who has painfully unlearned these opinions.

The work has many apt characterizations and fine pieces of descrip-

tion, but it abounds with misleading half-truths and positive blunders. Thus: Delphi, says Dr. Shuckburgh, "became also the national banking-house, in which most of the leading states had treasure-houses," etc. (p. 42). *Χρήματα δὲ*, says Pausanias (X. 11), *οὔτε ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἂν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλω τῶν θησαυρῶν*. It is not true that the Pylagorae "represented the great branches of the Greek race, so many being sent by Dorian, Ionian, and Æolian states respectively" (p. 46). The old error is repeated that in all the Greek states "the slaves were more numerous than the free"; or does the author draw no distinction between serfs and slaves (p. 52)? "Military commanders", says Dr. Shuckburgh (p. 62), "were from the first elected, and not chosen by lot." Yet "the archons [of whom the polemarch, who "till some time after B. C. 490 . . . took command in the field" (p. 61), was one] from very early times were appointed by lot either directly from the four primitive tribes, or from a number of names selected by them (*ἐκ προκρίτων*)" (p. 62). What evidence is there for the local division into men of the heights, men of the plain, and men of the sea-coast prior to the legislation of Solon (*ibid.*)? Is it not high time that the sequence, Draco, Cylon, was abandoned, and the view given up that the policy of trying the Alcmaeonidae for sacrilege originated with Solon (p. 67)? There should be no doubt that the Seisachtheia was a direct cancelling of debts (p. 68). The Solonian assessments were maintained throughout the fifth century (p. 73). There is no evidence that the Thetes were *ever* qualified for the financial offices, the archonships, or the army (*ibid.*). Registration on the deme-list took place at eighteen, not at sixteen (*ibid.*). The theory that one thousand of the six thousand jurymen annually enrolled were kept in reserve to revise the laws was disproved twenty years ago (p. 74). No one with Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, section 22, before him should repeat the transparent story that Kleisthenes was ostracized (*ibid.*). The revolt of Cyrus was fixed in 553 B. C. (not in 559, p. 83) by the cylinder of Nabunaid found in 1881. What warrant is there for the statement (p. 107) that "before B. C. 484 the state [Athens] was able to maintain at least two hundred" triremes? The Acropolis was ravaged in 480: Athens was not burned till 479 (p. 117). Constantine followed Plataea by eight not seven hundred years (p. 124). There is no trustworthy authority for the view that the suppression of piracy was an object of the Delian Confederacy (p. 129). The reviewer finds it incredible that "It was understood [in 478/7] that each state [in the Delian Confederacy] was to have a democratic government more or less after the model of the Athenian" (p. 130). Athens policed its empire by sixty not seventy ships (*ibid.*). The walls of Athens were constructed in 479 not 477 (p. 135). There was no entrance-fee for the theatre (p. 139): the state compensated the poor for their attendance. It is not true that the *phoros* was increased by one-third between 478 and 440 (p. 145). On the contrary it had decreased somewhat.

But enough of details. It is of course impossible to enumerate here

the thousand and one places in which the contents of the book might have been enriched, the emphasis altered, or the analysis strengthened by consulting the modern literature. The author seems to have taken his task too lightly. He has acquired only a superficial acquaintance with Greek historiography. He has failed to co-ordinate properly the data supplied by Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* with the facts previously known; and his treatment of the social and economic development lacks substance and reality through his neglect to use the statistics so laboriously gathered from the ancient books, coins, sites, stones, and papyri. The result is a work of some literary merit, but one pregnant with mischief through restating old misconceptions in graceful language. And yet there was an urgent need for somebody to do for Greek history what Wilamowitz has recently done for Greek literature, to animate a scholarly summary of recent work with the breath of a genial personality.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*Ancient Legends of Roman History.* By ETTORE PAIS. Translated by MARIO E. COSENZA. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiv, 336.)

This volume is made up of lectures given before the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1904-1905, supplemented by others delivered at the universities of Harvard, Columbia, Wisconsin, and Chicago. It "contains special and minute demonstrations of subjects already succinctly treated" in the author's *Storia di Roma*, the scope and nature of which may be indicated by a list of some of the titles: The Excavations in the Forum Romanum, and their Importance for the Most Ancient Roman History; Acca Larentia, the Mother of the Lares and Nurse of Romulus; The Saxum Tarpeium; The Legends of the Horatii, and the Cult of Vulcan; The Fabii at the River Cremera and the Spartans at Thermopylæ; On the Topography of the Earliest Rome; etc. The lectures proper are followed by six elaborate excursuses on such topics as: The Authenticity of the Etruscan Tile from Capua, and the Supremacy of the Etruscans in Campania; The Relations between the Square Palatine, the Square Palisades in Emilia, and the Pretended Terramara of Tarentum; and Servius Tullius and the Lex Ælia-Sentia.

The first lecture, on the critical method to be pursued in the study of early Roman history, is a brief statement of the principles which the author has already laid down in his *Storia di Roma*. The first volume of this work appeared in two parts, in 1898 and 1899, and was devoted to an exhaustive criticism of the sources of the traditional history of Rome down to the time of Pyrrhus. It has been widely discussed and many of its conclusions vigorously opposed, but most scholars will at least agree with Holzapfel's recent statement: "es verdient daher sein Werk, dessen Lektüre stets zu weiterem Nachdenken anregt, . . . bei allen Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der älteren römischen Geschichte die eingehendste Berücksichtigung."

Pais's attitude in the *Storia* is one of the most pronounced skepticism; and a storm of abuse has descended on his head in consequence of his uncompromising hostility to the present chauvinistic tendencies of the so-called "Italian School" of historians and archeologists. These lectures mark a further advance along the same lines; and while in the *Storia* Pais called in question the validity of early Roman history down to and including the decemvirate, he now seems to cast doubt upon everything that is said to have happened before the Samnite wars. I believe that the conclusions that he reached in his previous work are justified for the most part, and that they must be accepted in large measure as a basis for further investigation, but I cannot say the same of the results arrived at in these lectures. The author is seldom content with giving his views as theories, but states them as truths that admit of no doubt. He is very learned, a master of the whole field of ancient historiography; and the reader is continually carried away by his admiration for the marvellous ingenuity displayed in combining data that apparently have no connection. Too often, however, imagination has driven sober judgment from the field, and, sad to relate, Pais has fallen a victim to the sun-myth theory, which he employs in explanation of early Roman legend so persistently and relentlessly that Cox and Max Müller seem timorous in comparison.

To illustrate the nature of Pais's conclusions, we may take his view of Servius Tullius, who was introduced into Rome from Aricia, and of whom Pais says (p. 147): "Instead of being the sixth *rex* of Rome, he was, originally, the *rex servus*, the priest of the cult of Diana Aricina transferred to the Aventine"; and later (p. 149): "Servius is a Latin conception, and belongs to a solar cult and to that group of legends with which are to be connected, not only Virbius of Aricia and Hippolytus, but also Pelops and Hippodamia." Again (pp. 157-158), by a remarkable combination of the two explanations given by Plutarch of the name Cocles, the story that Horatius Cocles received a wound in his thigh, and the belief that a statue of this hero was erected *in area Vulcani*, together with some other indications, our author concludes that "the statue in the area of Vulcan, supposed to represent the lame Cocles, rather than being the statue of a legendary hero, was that of Vulcan himself"; and he regards Horatius therefore as an "emanation from Vulcan". In the application of his principle that the cults of all the neighboring Latin cities were transferred to Rome, Pais proceeds to make statements like these: "We know that Æneas . . . was merely an ancient Latin god . . . and . . . at the same time, a solar and river divinity . . . Numa and Tullius, kings of Rome, were merely river and solar divinities" (p. 200); "As the result of this process, not only Numa and Servius became kings of the earliest centuries of Roman history, but also the stream Egerius and the lake Turnus were inserted into the history of the deeds of the fifth century. . . . In like manner, the stream Turnus, the rival of Æneas, was changed into that Turnus

Herdonius . . . the god Minucius was transformed into a tribune of the people, or a *praefectus annonae*" (p. 201).

I can quote only one or two more instances of the author's peculiar views: "*Tarpeius* and *Tarquinius* are but two forms of the same word" (p. 105), and "Tarquinius Superbus . . . is that same person who was by others called the guardian of the citadel and the father of the vestal Tarpeia" (p. 122); "the competition and the vicinity of the two market-places [the Macellum and the forum Cuppedinis], and the fact that one was so close to the *lacus Servilius*, gave origin to the story of the jealousy and the rivalry between Maelius and Minucius, and to the tale of the arm (*ahala*) which was severed by Servilius" (p. 212).

In the chapter that deals with the recent excavations in the Forum, the views of the author agree in general with those now held by the best topographers, but elsewhere we find statements that will hardly commend themselves, such as the placing of the *saxum Tarpeium* on the Arx (p. 109), and the assumption of a second *Roma quadrata (mundus)* near the Lupercal, distinct from that in front of the Palatine temple of Apollo.

The translation is marred by some constantly recurring errors like "arrive to", as well as by many single instances of incorrect usage. Typographical mistakes are numerous, and now and then a slip like this: "Ceres . . . was identified with the Greek Proserpina, who, once a year, descended into Hades in search of Kore" (p. 71).

Very few of the radical views advanced in these lectures will ever be generally accepted, but they cannot fail to arouse opposition and to stimulate fruitful discussion. The erudition and acumen of the author are truly remarkable.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

*Old Provence.* By THEODORE ANDREA COOK, M.A., F.S.A. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xxiii, 348; xiii, 445.)

AFTER an introduction come chapters on: The Dawn of History; Marius in Provence; Rome at St. Remy and Orange; The Pacification of Provence; Greece and Rome at Arles; Ancient Religions in Provence and Greek Art at Nîmes; Life under the Roman Emperors (I., Above Ground; II., Beneath the Surface); and in Volume II.: The Churches and Cathedrals of Provence (I., The Alyscamps and the Kingdom of Arles; II., St. Trophime and St. Gilles); The Fortresses of the South (I., Les Baux; II., Carcassonne; III., Aigues-Mortes); Avignon (I., Bricks and Mortar; II., The French Popes); The Good King René (I., The Troubadours; II., Vaucluse; III., Beaucaire; IV., Tarascon). There are about seventy good illustrations, mainly from photographs, and several reproductions of old maps and plans.

To give the titles of the chapters is almost to review the book. As they suggest, the author has read and travelled. He was interested in



his theme, and he has produced a readable though not entirely artistic work. But to treat the kaleidoscopic life of southern France from the dawn of history to the *Félibres* is a large undertaking, particularly for one who has not devoted himself exclusively or primarily to this field. The two important facts about the region are that it was a distributing centre of Greek-Latin civilization and a hotbed of new culture in the medieval period. To the first subject sufficient space and emphasis have been given, but perhaps the treatment is not entirely judicious. Will many concede that the Greeks "have here left traces upon the soil of France that are as remarkable as any to be found in Italy" (I. x), when they recall Paestum, Segesta, Girgenti, Taormina, and Syracuse? Will all subscribe to this method of erasing what has been written by a generation—Maissiat included—upon Hannibal's passage of the Rhone: "I have examined the locality and I have made up my mind, after considerable labour, that a certain route is right, and without further complication or argument I shall give the one which was first suggested by Gilles in 1872, and which no subsequent theories have ever shown to be impossible" (I. 45)? And is not this a trifle hard on the art of topography as well as on the ancients and their commentators: "The classical authorities present a merely unintelligible maze till you have walked over the battlefields they describe" (I. xii)?

Of the other great office of "Provence" Mr. Cook hardly seems to be aware. The troubadours are treated as a subtitle to "The Good King René", who was not a troubadour. Almost nothing is said of the culture of their day. Several of the most important are barely named or not mentioned, while "Geoffrey Rudel", "Guilhem de Cabestan", and (under two different names, neither correct) Folquet de Marseilla are dwelt upon, and two pages are given to a legendary Clémence. The somewhat rambling style of execution is suggested by the author's summary of the chapter (selected at random) on "Rome at St. Remy and Orange" (I. xviii): "The Politics of Rome—Marius and Sulla—Caesar and Pompey—The Problem of the Allobroges—Importance of Vienne [said elsewhere to lie outside the author's field]—Triumphal Monument to Marius at St. Remy—A Spurious Inscription—The Policy of Julius Caesar—His Triumphal Arch at St. Remy—Arch of Augustus at Carpentras—Glanum, Freta, and St. Remy—Roumanille—Nostradamus—Frédéric Mistral—Arch of Tiberius at Orange—Its Inscription—'Arc Admirable' at Arles—Theatre of Orange—The Princess of Orange—William of Orange and of England." It is hard to be satisfied with the author's reason for virtually omitting Toulouse, Narbonne, and Marseille. In short, the work needs a clearer plan, more adequate special knowledge, better judgment and critical discrimination, many more references (there are but very few), more personal reserve, a better index, and a real map. It is pleasant, semi-learned magazine writing.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A History of Modern Liberty.* By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D.  
Volumes I. and II. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxii, 398; xi, 490.)

THOSE who feared that history was in our day passing into an age of specialism, whose products, instead of literature, would be only the scientific results of microscopic research, must long since have begun to smile at their fears. Historical science would seem just now rather to have cause for alarm lest all the time of her best trained workers be devoted to the popularization of her results. And this new work of Dr. Mackinnon, whose first two volumes—"The Middle Ages", "The Age of the Reformation"—lie now before us? Are they popularization or research or perhaps a broader and bolder synthesis?

Their novel title might promise almost anything. Yet, on second thought, is the subject so new as it seems? Lord Acton, too, dreamed of a history of liberty. Could his thought have suggested Mr. Mackinnon's? But no: Mr. Mackinnon tells us that these two volumes of his work were complete before he so much as learned of Lord Acton's dream, and of those two Bridgnorth lectures which were at least a hint at the dream's fulfilment he has clearly never learned at all. Lord Acton's, too, would have been a history of liberty from the beginning—the longer of his two lectures is devoted to antiquity: Mr. Mackinnon begins with the Middle Ages. Yet its scope is much broader, on the other hand, than that of the eloquent Frenchman, Albrespy, who thirty years ago wrote his *Comment les Peuples deviennent Libres* to demonstrate the identity of liberty with Protestantism; and, as for Dr. Scherger's recent book on *The Evolution of Modern Liberty*, that is only a study of the development of political theory. Dr. Mackinnon's is that, too, but only incidentally: his theme is all liberty—political, social, intellectual, religious—and his is, above all, a history of events. Yet, as one turns its pages, one still has doubts. "The Emancipation of the Italian Communes", "The Third Estate and the States-General", "Religious and Social Revolt in Bohemia", "Communeros and Cortes", "Constitutional and Social Progress in Mediæval England", "The Renaissance and the Emancipation of the Intellect", "The Conflict for Religious Liberty in France", "Reformation and Revolution in Scotland"—thrilling topics these, but surely not unfamiliar. This liberty of his, is it any other than that which all liberty-loving historians have made implicitly their theme? He understands it, he says, to be "the free development of man, subject . . . to the limits . . . inseparable from human life" (p. vii), and it is the object of his book to trace its realization by man as a citizen. What, then, have our universal histories, our histories of civilization, been about? Can any treatment less broad than theirs be adequate to the infinite complexity of such a theme?

Yet let us not do Mr. Mackinnon injustice. Vast though his subject

is, it is something frankly to have recognized liberty as a goal and resolutely to have kept one's eye upon it; it is much to have discerned the unity which lies behind her varying faces, even though, like Mr. Mackinnon, one is content to assume it without discussion. What really interests him, indeed, though his book shows everywhere the influence of recent research as to the growth of political theory, and though he devotes in each volume a chapter expressly to the discussion of this growth, is much less the rise of the conception of liberty than the struggles, however blind, for its achievement. It is to these stirring episodes that his narrative is chiefly devoted, and with a glow of sympathy that lends both cogency and fire to his style. Of fresh research or original speculation there is, for the most part, little enough. Though he has dipped often and fruitfully into the contemporary sources, it has been for color rather than for light. The books to which he is most indebted—they, too, are conscientiously listed at the end of his chapters—are the manuals and monographs familiar to all scholars. From them he has here drawn for us what he doubtless meant to draw—a brilliant and inspiring series of lectures. If this seem less than the promise of his title, it is but fair to note that the first of the present volumes professes to be only an introduction, and that the second grows in learning as it progresses.

Where so much has been done, and well done, it is ungracious to point out defects. In the field of political history Mr. Mackinnon's reading, if by no means exhaustive, has been wisely chosen, and his instinct for facts is singularly sound; it is only his bibliographies which, here as in his earlier books, betray a carelessness strange for an academic writer. If his love for the dramatic leads him still to cling to legends like those of Tell and Winkelried, it is not often from ignorance of what is urged against them. But when he turns to the history of social, of intellectual, of religious liberty, his information is less ample. Even in his chapters on the Reformation, where his vigor is at its best, his reading is often sadly in arrears. How can a modern scholar write of the tolerance of the German reformers without knowing the studies of Nikolaus Paulus? How of Calvin and his opponents without knowing Buisson's *Castellion*? Yet even here Mr. Mackinnon's intuitions serve him well. Taken all in all, his book is both readable and instructive. It may safely be commended to all whose enthusiasm for liberty needs a stimulant.

*A Short History of Italy (476-1900).* By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. x, 443.)

THIS is one of those books the object of which is to tabulate results under strict avoidance of discussion. If we would be fair to the author, we must recognize that under the necessities inherent in the nature of his task he would have to strive for swiftmess, brevity, breadth, and in-

telligent appreciation, remaining watchfully on the lookout against the details which are the product of special studies, and dexterously skirting all debatable questions. In consequence the amount left out is almost the sum of the minute and special information accumulated since history became a science, while there is offered in compensation that general survey for which the demand is perennial and without which the close investigator would run the risk of degenerating into a mere grub and of losing touch with the essential processes of society.

Mr. Sedgwick's method may be illustrated by opening his book at random. In chapter XI. he deals with the rise of the communes. The long and vivacious debate which has been carried on over their origin is just glanced at, and the whole complex question disposed of with the statement that there they are, products of new social activities, prepared to make war upon and displace the clumsy and wasteful feudal organization which hampers them. The breathless pace of the narrative threatens to become indecorous, and leaves us wondering if it was not possible to make a pause and enlighten us with some of that instructive matter about the timid beginnings of self-government collected by such writers as Ficker, Villari, and Davidsohn. The investiture issue, Barbarossa's championship of beaten feudalism, the invasion of Charles VIII., all the phenomena of fifteen hundred years of evolution are summarized with the same unvarying rapidity. By this method the countless circumstances, the sum of which constitutes life now as then, are reduced to a few ordered formulae, most suggestively and spiritedly presented by the author, but calculated to mislead the unwary reader into the belief that history is divided into definite chapters, each of which, like a problem in geometry, presents an issue solvable by rules of reason and terminating in a triumphant Q. E. D. Of course the author is aware of this fallacious simplicity, and tries to counteract it with a generous selection of contemporary utterances, which envelop each period in its proper atmosphere. Henry IV. and Gregory are permitted to state each his own side of their quarrel, St. Francis appears to us mirrored in the eyes of his contemporaries, Dante is bidden bear witness for Henry VII. and his imperial claims, Machiavelli, Aretino, and Cellini renew the cinque-cento with actual words from their own mouths. These selections are uniformly made with a taste and precision which give proof of wide reading and, above all, of the most delicate appreciation of the subtleties of the ever fascinating Italian race.

So much it was necessary to say if the author's method of swift generalizations, corrected and illustrated with pregnant excerpts from characteristic documents, was to be made intelligible. The attractive feature of this book is that behind the method rises a personality. Mr. Sedgwick's relation to his material is so sympathetic, his spirit so free and masterful, that he never lets his facts, innumerable though they be, reduce him to the despondent tone into which writers of general histories almost invariably drop. He furnishes proof of the great advantage to the historian of being also a literary artist. Without his

lively gift of phrase—which after all is a gift of insight—the author could not have given us his many concise and luminous statements on a long line of princes, ministers, poets, and artists. It is easy to make an anthology of his epigrams. They abound on every page. S. Maria degli Angeli “covers the Portiuncula of St. Francis, like a bowl turned over a forget-me-not” (p. 306). Frederick II. suggests a Caesarean Byron, Carlo Alberto an Italian Hamlet. Napoleon in Italy “arranged the peninsula as a housekeeper shifts the furniture in an unsatisfactory room” (p. 365). If his figures and comparisons do not always hit the mark, they invariably light a taper which throws a thread of light far into the darkness.

The proportions in a sketch of this sort are a grave embarrassment. One might complain that the nineteenth century has received too little attention, the seventeenth and eighteenth too much. And yet we would not sacrifice a word of the delicate and ironical treatment of Italian decay. The conclusion with its twentieth-century outlook is decidedly meagre. Against these doubts stands the fact that this book securely constructs the essential framework of Italian history. Mere differences of view as to relative emphasis will keep no fair-minded person from doing full justice to the author's grasp, his sober judgment, and his charm of manner.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

*Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slavischen Altertumskunde.* Von K. RHAMM. Teil I. *Die Grosshufen der Nordgermanen.* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn. 1905. Pp. xiv, 853.)

IN this substantial volume the question of the structure of early Teutonic society is approached from the point of view of the agrarian historian. Believing that Anglo-Saxon institutions should not be studied in isolation, the author restates the conclusions of Hanssen, Meitzen, and Maitland, compares them, and discusses at length, in the light of Scandinavian and Frisian evidence, a number of special points. With the object of elucidating the relation of the social classes to the land, he investigates the agricultural arrangements, field measures, plows, and units of landholding of the North German stocks (the Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and Frisians). In pursuing this line of inquiry the author is struck by the fact that a large *hufe* of from twenty to thirty hectares is common to all the North Germans, and accordingly discusses in turn the hide, the carucate, the old Danish *bol*, and the Swedish *attungshufe*, together with their respective subdivisions. The size of the plow-team and the weight of the plows, too, are taken up with the conclusion that the heavy plow with the full team of eight oxen was the original implement of all North Germans.

Of especial interest is the section of the book headed “Die Jard und das Breitensystem.” In the view of Herr Rhamm too little atten-

tion has been paid to the system of delimiting the strips in the shot in use among North Germans. Where this system, the *Breitensystem*, prevailed, the width of the strip was the same in every strip in the shot. The length might vary, but the width was the same. According to the *Flächensystem*, the more truly "*deutsches*" system, on the other hand, the aim is to divide the land into pieces of equal area. The width of the strip is of less importance and the shots are small and irregular in size. In the word used to denote the strip of the *Breitensystem*, in Oldenburg, *Jard*, among the Frisians, *Jerde*, we find a clue to the origin of the yard-land. Although of the width of two rods, the strip becomes the yard in England and the foundation of the yard-land. The yard of land as a superficial measure is a half-acre, not a quarter-acre as Maitland holds. The origin of the intermixed holdings in the common fields made up of strips of equal width seems to Rhamm to need particular explanation. To apportion strips of both good and bad land to the several members of a community he regards as the natural method of securing the equality of all shareholders, and this equality, in turn, is proved by the fact that the strips are equal in width. Professor Knapp's criticism (that a conscious policy, aimed at the maintenance of economic equality, is too rationalistic for early Teutons) is answered by the antiquity and wide spread of the *Breitensystem*. "This [latter] fact stands so fixed that it says to all Hildebrand's analogies, all Knapp's deductions, and all Rübel's wild fancies, 'Hands off.'" Thus "the common free-man" finds support.

Throughout the book Scandinavian and English conditions are compared. The development of agrarian relations in the frame of the large *hufe* is to be explained in Scandinavia by co-operative agriculture, while among the Anglo-Saxons the organization of society played a more important part. To illustrate, the hide is to be regarded as the holding of a ceorl who has only public obligations to perform, while the yard-land is the holding of a dependent ceorl and owes its importance to this fact. The influence of the small "German" *Landhufe*, exerted before the conquerors of England left Germany, explains the size of the yard-land.

The effect of the book is not to make one reject Professor Maitland's theories. It rather supplements his line of argument by giving us a wider range of facts to aid in the solution of the problems of early English economic history. It is surprising that no reference is made to Kovalevsky's *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas*.

H. R. SHIPMAN.

*Mohammed and the Rise of Islam.* By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.  
[Heroes of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P.  
Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxvi, 481.)

ALTHOUGH various lives of Mohammed have appeared, and although some of these may be fairly characterized as excellent, yet of late years

so much progress has been made, not only in Oriental studies pure and simple, but also in such subjects as psychology, ethnology, and comparative religion, subjects the importance of an acquaintance with which for the investigation of various phenomena in Mohammed's career and in the rise of Islam is at once evident, that there was room, in English at least, for a work which should embody as many as possible of the results of these researches. We therefore welcome this volume which Professor Margoliouth has contributed to the "Heroes of the Nations" series.

Personal or doctrinal bias has so often seriously diminished the value of lives of Mohammed, which otherwise would have been excellent, that in considering a new biography of the prophet one naturally regards the attitude of the author as of prime importance. It is a pleasure to be able to say that a perusal of this volume shows that Professor Margoliouth has sincerely tried to give a just and impartial account of the career of his "Hero", and that he has succeeded in his avowed aim of making his book neither an apology nor an indictment. That his views in regard to all matters of detail will meet with universal agreement is not to be expected in a subject of so much difficulty, and one in which there is so much room for honest difference of opinion. It will probably be generally admitted that the author has not over-idealized Mohammed. Some will feel that the author shows insufficient sympathy for the Jews in his story of Mohammed's dealings with them, and it is certain that his slur on their fighting qualities (p. 36) will be resented in some quarters, even though he says (p. 194) that, "Fighting under foreign commanders, and by the side of brave men, the Jews have often proved themselves as good soldiers as other men."

Some idea of our author's treatment of his subject may be gained by a glance at the titles of the chapters, which are, respectively: The Birthplace of the Hero; Early Life of Mohammed; Islam as a Secret Society; Publicity; History of the Meccan Period; The Migration; The Battle of Badr; Progress and a Setback; The Destruction of the Jews; Steps towards the Taking of Meccah; The Taking of Meccah; The Settlement of Arabia; The Last Year.

In addition to a number of illustrations there are a plan of Meccah, a map of Arabia in the seventh century A. D., and one of West Central Arabia in the same period. The combined index and glossary, covering as it does only eight pages and a half, was manifestly not intended to give a complete list of all the passages where a given name or a given topic occurs. In fact some names occurring in the text are not entered in the index.

In a short review it is impossible to go into many details, but attention may be called to one little slip, namely, in the note at the bottom of page 57. Professor Margoliouth is, no doubt, perfectly aware that rain does fall in Egypt; moreover, what Professor Nöldeke actually says in his *Sketches from Eastern History*, chapter II., pp. 30-31, is: "he makes the fertility of Egypt—where rain is almost never seen and never

missed—depend on rain instead of the inundations of the Nile (xii. 49)."

The book is packed with information, references are very freely given, and from these and from the bibliography (pp. xxiii-xxvi), together with various notices in the preface, the student can get an excellent general idea of the bibliography of the subject. The proof-reading has been carefully done. As remarked above, difference of opinion as to details there is bound to be, but Professor Margoliouth has in this work produced a life of Mohammed which no student can afford to neglect.

J. R. JEWETT.

*England under the Normans and Angevins, 1066-1272.* By H. W. C. DAVIS, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen and Company. 1905. Pp. xxii, 577.)

THIS, the second in chronological order in Professor Oman's series, is an attractive book, at once well-planned, well-written, and scholarly. The narrative is crisp and clear and the characterizations pointed, and Mr. Davis treats his theme broadly, contriving to say something on practically every aspect of the period, and finding space for two readable chapters on intellectual and social conditions. Indeed the treatment is in some places so broad as to lead to unnecessary and even unhistorical digressions. The author cannot take up the conquest of Ireland without applying the fable of the hare and the tortoise to the Celtic and Teutonic characters, and he considers it part of his business as a historian to decide whether the influence of monasticism and the Crusades was good or bad, after a fashion which recalls the *Würdigungen* once popular in certain German schools of historical philosophy. Such lapses into teleology are, however, brief and infrequent, more common defects being a tendency to subjective judgments and sweeping statements.

The book claims (p. xi) to be "based throughout upon the original authorities", and while we cannot suppose that this is meant to be taken with literal exactness, it is plain that Mr. Davis has read widely in the printed sources and used them to good purpose. The monographic contributions of English and German scholars have also been industriously utilized, but there is a curious neglect of the results of American investigations. Of the various studies of Gross and G. B. Adams he cites only the *Gild Merchant* and *Coroners' Rolls* and Adams's brief note on the commune of London. He has evidently not seen Adams's interpretation of the writ of Henry I. regarding the local courts (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII. 487-490), or Lapsley's *County Palatine of Durham*, or Thatcher's *Studies concerning Adrian IV.* A perusal of Larson's *King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* would have saved him from the statement that the household of the West-Saxon king was a copy of the Carolingian (p. 44). He would also have found evidence in this *REVIEW* (VIII. 625, note 3) that the



Norman *bailliae* are older than Henry II., and (X. 440) that Beard's *Justice of the Peace* is not one of the "Harvard Studies" (p. 326). French writers fare better, although Mr. Davis has overlooked three recent books of importance for his subject: Guilhiermoz's *Origine de la Noblesse*, Lot's *Fidèles ou Vassaux*, and Richard's *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*. Baldwin's notable studies of the king's council and Schäfer's new interpretation of the Concordat of Worms probably appeared too late to be utilized.

There are several useful maps and some brief appendixes which deal at somewhat greater length than the text with such topics as the condition of Normandy before the Conquest, the earls of the Norman period, and local justice under the Norman kings. We are glad to see attention here called to the decrees of the council of Lillebonne of 1080, the importance of which has not been sufficiently recognized. The ten-page bibliography serves no useful purpose, as it contains exceedingly little that could not have been found in more adequate and accurate form in Gross's *Sources and Literature*, of whose existence the reader is not even informed. The proof-reading is apt to be careless, particularly in citing the titles of books, as when Ulysses Robert appears in the Welsh disguise of "W. Roberts" (p. 534) and (p. 538) Léopold Delisle is made the editor of an unidentifiable edition of Joinville. Other obvious slips are the placing of the accession of Louis VI. in 1100 (p. 147) and the death of Gregory VII. in the same year as that of the Conqueror (p. 88). Such forms as "Mellent" and "Yprés" (also "Yprès", pp. 170, 171) would be difficult to justify. It is important, if true, that Alexander Neckam lectured on the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle at Paris in 1180 (p. 502), but, unfortunately for our knowledge of an important and obscure matter, the statement is not true, unless Mr. Davis has found some new evidence which he refrains from citing. The date of Neckam's teaching at Paris is quite possible, though it would seem to rest upon the untrustworthy authority of DuBoulay, but nothing has yet been brought forward which shows that the "new Aristotle" reached Paris before the year 1200.

Mr. Davis's account is more comprehensive and the narrative portions of it are less detailed than is the *History of England* from 1066 to 1216, recently published by Professor G. B. Adams, which is restricted to political history by the plan of the series in which it appears; but though he is often fresh and suggestive, he does not give the impression of having pondered so deeply as Professor Adams the fundamental problems of English institutions which the historian of this period must face. Thus Mr. Davis is rather elusive on the results of the Norman Conquest and fails to give any such discussion of the relations of the Conquest to feudalism as seems necessary to a proper understanding of Anglo-Norman history. In sharp contrast to Professor Adams and the general trend of recent investigations, he holds (p. 68) that the policy of Henry I. was essentially a continuation of that of William Rufus and that "the improvements for which Henry is responsible are extremely modest in

their scope". He treats the reign of Stephen quite briefly, and maintains against Mr. Round, whose conclusions Professor Adams accepts, the view of the anarchy which he has developed more fully in a recent number of the *English Historical Review*. In discussing the Great Charter Mr. Davis does not take account of the views of Professor Adams and Professor Maitland, according to which the most significant feature of the Charter lies in its assertion of the principle that the king is below the law. It would be interesting, did space permit, to follow out in detail the comparison of these two books, but enough has perhaps been said to show that they differ widely in general scope and in the treatment of particular topics and supplement each other in such a way that there is plenty of room for them both.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*Chronicles of London.* Edited with introduction and notes by CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. Pp. xlviii, 368.)

THE chronicles printed in this volume set forth important events of local or national interest arranged under the names of the successive mayors and sheriffs of London. Mr. Kingsford mentions the instance of a Bristol chronicle of this type preserved in the *Kalendar* of Robert Ricart, who was town clerk of Bristol in the time of Edward IV. and who compiled his work at the bidding of the municipal corporation. But there were many mayors' chronicles or calendars in other boroughs besides Bristol to which Mr. Kingsford might have called attention, for example, at Chester, Coventry, Leicester, Plymouth, Shrewsbury, and York. They vary in fullness. Some are mere catalogues of mayors with meagre memoranda of municipal transactions, while others, especially those of London, widen into a narrative of national affairs, and are of considerable value for the history not merely of the city but also of the kingdom. In fact, London is the only English city which produced chronicles comparable with those of continental towns. The oldest are the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, written in Latin in 1274, and the French *Croniques*, compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Mr. Kingsford has made a substantial addition to our knowledge of this branch of historical literature by editing three English chronicles of London from the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum. One of them, extending from 1189 to 1432, was written about the year 1435; another covers the period 1415 to 1443, the year in which it was probably written; and the third gives a narrative of events from 1216 to 1509, the early portion compiled about 1440, from which year it was continued by other writers. Down to the end of the reign of Henry IV. they have much matter in common and seem to have been derived from one original source, but from the year 1414 onward they were written contemporaneously with the events which they record. From them Fabyan, Hall, Holinshed, Arnold, Stow, and other later London

*Lindner: Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung* 885

chroniclers derived much of their material, as Mr. Kingsford points out in detail in his introduction. He also indicates the method by which the old chronicles of London reached their present form, and shows that the main sources from which they were derived were private or official letters and civic or public documents. Moreover, he gives a detailed account of the contents of the chronicles which he edits, indicating the additions which they make to our knowledge of English history, especially in the fifteenth century.

The Vitellius Chronicle (1216-1509) is particularly interesting. Its value as one of the best contemporary sources for the study of the reign of Henry VII. has been recognized by Dr. Busch and other authorities. The accounts of the Cornish rising and of Perkin Warbeck are among the fullest that have come down to us. Under the year 1498 (p. 224) there is a passage concerning John Cabot, "a Straunger Venisian", which furnishes important evidence for the English discoveries in North America (see pp. 327-330).

Mr. Kingsford deserves much praise for the scholarly work displayed in this volume, which is provided with ample notes, a useful glossary, and a good index.

CHARLES GROSS.

*Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung.* Von THEODOR LINDNER, Professor an der Universität Halle. Vierter Band. *Der Stillstand des Orients und das Aufsteigen Europas: Die deutsche Reformation.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Pp. x, 473.)

WHEN a scholar of forty years' experience in critical investigation writes a *Weltgeschichte* which is avowedly an empirical interpretation of history, the event is not without significance in view of the widespread tendency to regard minute criticism as the only worthy task of the historian. In order to show how the volume under review illustrates the method and principles which underlie the whole work, it is necessary to go back to the preliminary volume, entitled *Geschichtsphilosophie*, for a brief summary of these principles.

History is the account of the development of human groups. This development results from the action of the opposite tendencies of change and persistence, which are never equal, so that there is always some movement. Natural and historical conditions and need are the underlying causes of these tendencies; and in them economic life, intellectual activity, and the state have about equal weight. Need, which is psychic as well as economic, is the force which leads to change. It gives rise to ideas, which are simply thoughts directed to the satisfaction of needs. The idea begins with the individual, not with the group; but it is effective only when taken up by a large number of men. The group is the element which makes for persistence. In it are felt the needs which give rise to the ideas. Great individuals may, with some truth, be said

to be the product of conditions; they are not indispensable, although they accomplish much when they are present.

Volumes three to five of the history are concerned with the period of transition from medieval to modern times; the fourth carries the narrative from the early fifteenth to about the middle of the sixteenth century. Its first and second books are devoted to political and constitutional history. The fall of the Eastern Empire, the rise of Turkey, and the history of each of the European states are described in turn. The third, fourth, and fifth books take up economic and social history—chiefly that of Germany, humanism and Renaissance in Italy, humanism and intellectual life in Germany, conditions in the church, the German Reformation, and the discoveries.

This arrangement hardly fulfils the promise of the author to show how each nation contributes to the history of the world; for it makes it difficult to trace the interrelations of politics, economics, and intellectual life. The ends of synthesis would be better served by a unified treatment of the whole history of a nation instead of separating its political and economic history from its economic and intellectual. Such a division of material would show more effectively, for instance, that states and politics do not determine great lines of development but rather are determined by them, a principle that is illustrated by the fact that the political conditions of Europe in the fifteenth century gave no promise of her coming conquest of the world, which was due to her civilization (pp. 53, 234).

The treatment of humanism brings out very clearly the author's interpretation of the period of transition. In Italy humanism developed from the thirteenth century on; we find the church less influential, the cities rich, and a general joy in the world (p. 268). These conditions produced humanism and not vice versa. Neither did humanism create the individual; for the individual existed in the Middle Ages as he always has existed. He now merely obtained better means of expressing his individuality; and the classics furnished the best models for doing this (pp. 269-270). Complete enlightenment was not attained before the middle of the seventeenth century. Not the whole people but only the learned were affected for some time (p. 279). There is always danger of assuming too general a penetration of great movements; the most we can say is: "Im ganzen ging die Welt ihren Weg weiter" (p. 235). The period produced great works of art; but the development was not caused by humanism (pp. 283-284). The economic basis of civilization is stated, in one case, in a rather radical and startling fashion. Literature paid better in money and honors than in the Middle Ages, so that there was more incentive to literary effort (p. 274). In Germany the humanistic movement brought literary and historical criticism, and led back to the sources (p. 281). This was its contribution to the Reformation, which it aided but did not create. The discoveries were due to the feeling of need—intellectual as well as economic—for a wider

knowledge and command of the earth. Earlier discoveries of America were not effective because Europe was not ready for them, *i. e.*, did not feel any need (pp. 407-408).

The preliminary investigations for the history have evidently been thorough, the material has been well thought out, and then set down in a clear, succinct narrative. As the fourth volume comes in the period to which the author has confined his earlier critical investigation, it is likely to prove one of the most useful of the nine. The principles of method and interpretation which are advanced are interesting and suggestive; and scholars may certainly be glad that the author ventured to write "another *Weltgeschichte*".

ASA CURRIER TILTON.

*A History of the Inquisition of Spain.* By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. In four volumes. Volume I. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xii, 620.)

It is now nearly twenty years since late in 1887 Mr. Lea gave to the press his great *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. An institution whose history had for centuries been obscured by vituperation and apology had at last found scholarly treatment; and the work met a welcome from the world of scholars such as has greeted no other product of American historical research. The verdict has not been changed by the riper study of the last two decades. Within the last half-dozen years the book has been honored by translation into French, with an introduction by Paul Fredericq, the most fruitful European student of the Inquisition; and at this moment a German edition is in process of publication at the hands of Joseph Hansen, the foremost German scholar in this field of study.

But his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was only the lesser half of the great task which Mr. Lea had marked out for himself. For the second portion, too, as we learned from the introduction to that work, he had made large collections of material, and through it he hoped "in due time to continue the history to the end". Perhaps the best testimony to the fundamental quality of the American historian's studies is the fact that throughout these twenty years, eager as has been the research in neighboring fields, there has been no serious invasion of that territory which he was understood thus to have reserved for himself. The Belgian Fredericq has indeed been giving us volume after volume on the Inquisition's activity in the Netherlandish domains of the princes who were also the rulers of Spain; the Italian Amabile has illumined its work in their Neapolitan realm; the Spanish-American Medina has added to his history of the Peruvian Inquisition a similar study of the Chilean and in these last days one of the Mexican as well; the German Schäfer has even invaded the Spanish peninsula itself and published a considerable body of the Inquisition's records relative to its

suppression of Protestantism in the sixteenth century; but none of these, not even the last, has found it wise to forestall that thoroughgoing investigation of the origin and development of the Spanish Inquisition which all have awaited from the pen of Mr. Lea.

It has seldom been the fortune of any scholar so to hold the whole learned world in anxious suspense. The Inquisition of Spain, even more than that of the Middle Ages, has for centuries been a subject of hot dispute. It has been more reviled by its foes and more lauded by its friends. It has touched more interests in more quarters of the globe. As to the share of Church and of State in its creation and in its control, as to the nature and the result of its activities, as to the numbers and the character of its victims, opinion has gone wide asunder. The old books of Limborch and of Llorente, valuable but never adequate, were long out of date. Those of later compilers, like Rule or Hoffmann, dealing with the Spanish Inquisition only as part of a larger theme and with no access to fresh sources, scarcely rose above the level of that flood of hysterical "exposures" which, for centuries have darkened knowledge—at best only an offset to the reckless apologists, such as Joseph de Maistre. Even the better documented works of Spanish writers—the *Historia Verdadera* of Rodrigo, the *Procedimientos de la Inquisicion* of Melgares Marin—fell almost as sadly into the class of wholesale apology or that of wholesale abuse. The records of the Inquisition itself were at last open to research, but no scholar had yet grappled with them. What it meant thus to grapple with the unsifted records of four centuries of the proceedings of the busiest of Spanish courts may be guessed by those who know the verbosity and *Schreibseligkeit* of Spanish procedure. The scholar who in 1888 girded himself for the task was already in the sixties. At nearly the age at which our universities are proposing to retire their professors he entered on what to many a less virile worker might well have seemed a life-work. Born in 1825, he had passed his eightieth birthday before its completion freed him from his desk.

But, if with him a world of waiting readers may heave a sigh of glad relief, it is not because Mr. Lea has at any time left us in doubt as to his continued vigor. Chips from his workshop have been constantly in evidence. Already in 1890 his *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* suggested the trend of the results of his study. In 1892 he dared to lay it aside while he brought out an enlarged edition of his *Superstition and Force* and edited for the press that interesting find, his *Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary*. In 1896 he startled us by the publication of a three-volume work, itself a monument of scholarship, on a subject wholly foreign to that on which we thought him busied—his *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*. Returning to the Spanish Inquisition, he offered us in 1901, as another by-product of his research, his monograph on *The Moriscos of Spain*. In 1902 he found time to contribute to the *Cambridge Modern History* its

fresh and stimulating chapter on "The Eve of the Reformation." All this while, too, there was flowing from his pen a stream of lesser papers on themes as diverse as the interests of his scholarship and the demands upon his public spirit; and yet, before the beginning of 1906, his publishers could set us at rest by the announcement that the completed manuscript of the great *History of the Inquisition of Spain* is in their hands. Surely not even the generation which has witnessed the sustained energy of a Ranke and a Mommsen, and which still beholds a Goldwin Smith writing with all the verve of his youth at eighty-three, has seen a courage and an industry so defiant of age.

Mr. Lea's preface to the work is dated in October of 1905. The first of its four volumes, now before us, appeared in January. A second is due in July, and the third and fourth will follow at intervals of six months. The present volume includes two books—the first on the Inquisition's origin and establishment, the second on its relations with the State. In his opening chapter—"The Castilian Monarchy"—the author depicts in startling colors the political chaos which might well seem to Ferdinand and Isabella to demand the most desperate remedies; but he is far from accepting the view that the aim of the creators of the Inquisition was primarily political. This tendency "to regard the Inquisition as a political engine for the conversion of Spain from a medieval feudal monarchy to one of the modern absolute type" he declares an error (p. 28). "It was impossible that a king so far-seeing and politic as Ferdinand and a queen so pious as Isabella, when reducing to order the chaos which they found in Castile, should neglect the interest of the faith on which, according to medieval belief, all social order was based" (p. 34); and it was for the solution of "burning religious questions which, to sensitive piety, might seem even more urgent than protection to life and property"—to wit, the effective christianization of their Moorish and Jewish subjects—that they resorted to this extraordinary means. Nor will Mr. Lea admit for a moment the apology that "the hatred felt for Jews and Moors and heretics, in the Spain of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries," was due to any "inborn peculiarity of the race—a *cosa de España* which must be accepted as a fact and requires no explanation" (p. 35). On the contrary, he holds that "The influences under which human character can be modified, for good or for evil, are abundantly illustrated in the conversion of the Spaniards from the most tolerant to the most intolerant nation in Europe" (*ibid.*), and it is to the explanation of this profound change that he devotes the remaining chapters of this introductory book, dealing first with the policy of Church and of State toward the Jews and the Moors in Castile before and after their nominal conversion to Christianity and with the establishment of the Inquisition in that kingdom, and then taking up in turn for similar treatment Navarre and the realms which made up "the Crown of Aragon". Even in Castile, as will have been inferred from a passage already quoted, he counts Ferdinand not less

responsible than Isabella; for, while he believes that vigorous lady to have been a queen in fact as well as in name, he has been led to the conviction that her share in the administration of her kingdom has been greatly exaggerated, and points out (p. 27) that "In the copious royal correspondence with the officials of the Inquisition the name of Isabella rarely appears. To those in Castile as in Aragon Ferdinand mostly writes in the first person singular."

In the second book, that on the Inquisition's relations with the State, the five chapters treat successively its relation with the Crown, its "super-eminence", its privileges and exemptions, the conflicting jurisdictions which vexed it, and the popular hostility from which it always suffered—a hostility which, as Mr. Lea hastens to assure us, was in no wise due to its religious persecution, but only to "its abuse of its privileges in matters wholly apart from its functions as the guardian of the faith" (p. 539). Appended to the volume are useful lists of the inquisitorial tribunals and of the Inquisitors-General, a brief essay on Spanish coinage which will be of service to many besides the students of the Inquisition, and nearly a score of precious documents hitherto unpublished.

In style and treatment the book shows to the full the qualities so long familiar in Mr. Lea's work—the same wealth of detail, the same direct dependence on the sources, the same avoidance of polemics and of all rhetorical amplification. It is everywhere the work of one who still believes that the history of jurisprudence is the history of civilization. And if, as usual, he seldom stops to moralize, the moral which he long ago told us no serious historical work should lack is none the less clear in all he shows us of the daily operation of a tribunal of which, as he suggests in his preface, "the real importance is to be sought, not so much in the awful solemnities of the auto de fe, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed on the Spanish intellect—in the resolute conservatism with which it held the nation in the medieval groove and unfitted it for the exercise of rational liberty when the nineteenth century brought in the inevitable Revolution."

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Mary Queen of Scots, her Environment and Tragedy: a Biography.*

By T. F. HENDERSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xii, 353; viii, 355-690.)

MR. HENDERSON has added this contribution to Marian literature because he believes that recent monographs and concise biographies render a work desirable which deals in a somewhat detailed and critical fashion with the main episodes in her entire career. He writes with especial reference to the publications of Fleming, Pollen, Lang, and Hume, and his book is both a narrative biography and a critical study.



The results of much destructive criticism are stated in positive form without discussion; individual errors of his predecessors are criticized; the crises in Mary's career are plainly stated; and a logical theory of the fundamental causes of her failure is developed with unusual force and rigidity. Some fresh material is produced, but the author's positive contribution to the facts of the subject is comparatively slight, confined mainly to matters of detail in the critical portions of the work.

The value of the book lies chiefly in its clear presentation of general conditions underlying the crises of Mary's career and particularly of the influence of foreign affairs upon their shaping and development. Among the best features are the following: the detailed examination of relations between England and Scotland prior to Mary's departure for France; the unusually good description of the matrimonial negotiations of 1563-1564 and their interrelations; a fine discussion of the interplay of forces leading to Riccio's murder; while the chapter on the early relations of Elizabeth and Mary in Scotland is perhaps the best in the book. Here Father Pollen's monographs have been of marked assistance, especially in regard to the succession and Mary's religious policy. Froude, Fleming, and Lang maintain that fear of assassination was the chief cause of Elizabeth's refusal in 1561 to acknowledge Mary as her successor; Henderson, independently occupying the same ground as Pollen in his interpretation of the celebrated phrase about the "winding-sheet" (I. 195), maintains with apparent justice that the argument is an anachronism. Mr. Henderson also throws new light upon an obscure point in connection with Huntly's overthrow and solves Lang's puzzle (*History of Scotland*, II. 102-103) concerning the supposititious presence of Lord James Stuart at Nancy.

The critical apparatus is defective. References are not always correct and often fail to cover all the points at issue. Erroneous dates appear far too frequently. Twice, at least, Fleming's position is inaccurately stated (I. 172, 256). And Henderson asserts (I. 346) that, among other reasons why Elizabeth could have settled the succession upon Mary without danger, "Mary was illegally debarred from it."

Henderson's fundamental theory as to Mary's failure is diametrically opposed to Hume's theory of ruin caused by personal passion and is essentially the same as Lang's, with personal reasons minimized and with greater rigidity. Mary was the predestined victim of a bitter religious quarrel. The difficulty of her task—in itself all but impossible—was so aggravated by accidental circumstances that a chance was hardly left of escape from signal calamity. "The processes which determined her life toward its tragic close seemed ever to go on with the regularity of clock-work." "Her imperfections and mistakes become dwarfed into insignificance as the determining causes of her failure, by reason of the ascendant influence in her life of what may be termed fate."

The fate theory, thus stated, requires an affirmative answer to each of four questions. First, was Mary justified in refusing Elizabeth's offer

of an interview; made through D'Oysell in 1561, on condition that Mary should ratify the treaty of Edinburgh? Lang maintains that she "threw away this admirable chance of settling the feud"; Henderson argues strongly, perhaps convincingly, to the contrary. It is their most important disagreement—although Henderson's unusually favorable view of Maitland diverges widely from Lang's, and his absolute belief in Mary's guilt and the authenticity of the Glasgow Letter leads him to subject Lang's theories to a searching examination in an appendix. Second, was the Darnley marriage inevitable? On this crucial point Henderson and Hume are at variance, the former maintaining that Mary was never in love with Darnley and that passion did not supersede ambition as a motive-force until after Riccio's murder, when political exigencies, combined with an irresistible reaction from hopes irretrievably ruined, threw her into Bothwell's arms. Hume's argument (*The Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots*, 225-226) is the more convincing, and, if true, makes Mary the wilful architect of her own ruin by voluntarily accepting a chance. Third, was Mary's Catholicizing policy after the Chase-About Raid forced upon her? Could Maitland's policy have been successful? If not, would Mary have necessarily lost more than the gratification of her English ambitions? Fourth, was the Bothwell marriage necessitated? Henderson does not prove it, and Hume's argument (*op. cit.*, 7-9), that Mary's ultimate ruin was caused rather by the permanence given Bothwell's power than by her mere complicity in Darnley's murder, is very cogent.

The illustrations in the book are notable for the completeness of their range, rather than for their artistic value. Individually they are excelled in this respect by the illustrations in Lang's *The Mystery of Mary Stuart* and in the Goupil edition of Sir John Skelton's *Mary Stuart*. In at least two instances—Knox, from Beza's *Icones*: and Mary, from the picture in the possession of the Earl of Morton—Henderson has assigned them to wrong originals.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

*Scotland and the Union: a History of Scotland from 1695 to 1747.*

By WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1905. Pp. xiii, 387.)

THE present volume is designed as "a continuation, on a broader and more comprehensive plan", of Mr. Mathieson's *Politics and Religion*, published in 1902. Strictly speaking, however, it is not a comprehensive history of Scotland during the period covered. The whole treatment centres about the Union, with the main emphasis on its political aspects. Industrial and religious questions are dealt with only so far as they relate to the main theme. Yet, although the author regards the material side of the subject as the more important, and devotes nearly three-quarters of his space to it, his chapters on the church constitute his most novel and interesting contribution.

This is due to the fact that in tracing the history of the purely political and economic aspects of the Union Mr. Mathieson has had to traverse a path already blazed by Dr. James Mackinnon in his *Union of England and Scotland*, which appeared in 1896. While the present author has used some new material and has apparently worked independently, for he nowhere mentions his predecessor, he does not seem to have superseded the latter in any essential features. Notwithstanding, Mr. Mathieson's pre-eminent merits deserve recognition, his acute and profound reflections, his vivid characterizations, his grasp of material, and his absolute impartiality. While he understands his people and sympathizes with their aspirations, he holds no brief for them. For instance, he recognizes evidences of self-seeking in Paterson that Dr. Mackinnon would not see (pp. 35-36, 56), and is much more reasonable in his discussion of charges of bribery against certain members of the Scotch parliament of 1706 (p. 143). Moreover, he is able to see across the border, and his estimate of King William's attitude toward Scotch affairs is very just.

Although there are many pages of vigorous and vivacious writing, much of the book is very hard reading. Many things are alluded to or taken for granted which call for fuller explanation. For example, a description of the form of government in Scotland at the time of the Union and an account of the principles and aims of the court, country, and Jacobite parties when they first appear would have been welcome. Then, to be more minute, we are not told (p. 277) how Scotch traders expected to evade the tobacco duty by shipping tobacco from England and sending it back again, and (p. 90) the cause of Simon Fraser's flight to France, as stated, is a little misleading. The difficulty of reading is not infrequently due to cumbersome and involved sentences, and, occasionally, the author is a bit careless about the placing of his clauses. On page 48 we are told that members of the crew of a certain vessel "went into the hold to draw brandy with a lighted candle".

The risings of 1715 and 1745 are, of course, sketched only briefly, but the long and complicated negotiations leading to the Union are discussed in detail, new material being introduced to illustrate the arguments for and against the measure. By an analysis of the addresses sent to the Scottish parliament in the autumn of 1706 Mr. Mathieson is inclined to think "that a very large section of the middle and lower classes was decidedly hostile to the Union, and that a more important, if a smaller, section was disposed to hold aloof" (p. 132), and, by an examination of the division lists, he concludes (p. 143) that the parliamentary majority in its favor was drawn "in overwhelming numbers" from the first estate—chiefly nobles under English influence. The apparent paradox that the sentiment of nationality, "which had proved its efficacy as a motive of separation, was to be equally efficacious as an incentive to union" (pp. 155-156) is lucidly explained. His predecessor had already pointed out the importance of the "New Party" or "Squadron" in

determining the result. Commercial considerations are adequately considered, and the author confirms, with some additional evidence, Dr. Mackinnon's gloomy picture of the material conditions of the country during the forty years following 1707. This is all the more interesting since Dr. Mackinnon's views on this point have been challenged by at least one competent Scottish historian. In the three chapters on the church Mr. Mathieson is on ground where he is *facile princeps*. Most excellent are the accounts of the rise of latitudinarianism, the strife over clerical appointments, the intrusion of methodistical enthusiasm, the secessions, and all else that vexed the repose of rigid orthodoxy.

The statements of fact to which one might take exception are few and unimportant. In speaking of the final negotiation for the Union as the third (p. 110) the author must leave out of account that under Cromwell, who, if he forced his measure on the Scots, at least went through the form of having commissioners appointed. In stating that Walpole resigned in February, 1742, on "finding that his majority had almost disappeared" (p. 341), he seems to ignore the well-known fact that the Government had been actually defeated in the vote on the Chippenham elections. Again, perhaps it is hardly correct to speak of the "discoveries" of Vasco da Gama (p. 342). Although he opened the trade-route from Portugal to India, Diaz had already rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and the waters over which he sailed thence were already familiar to Mohammedan traders. But after all has been said the book forms a welcome addition to a most important phase of British history.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

*The Old Colonial System.* By GERALD BERKELEY HERTZ, M.A., B.C.L., Lecturer on Constitutional Law. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, No. III.] (Manchester: At the University Press. 1905. Pp. xi, 232.)

THIS very enlightening discussion of "the causes, character and results of Great Britain's old colonial system" is timely; for it supplements in a remarkable way the recent researches of several other writers in the same field. The author's conclusions rest upon a more sustained and critical examination of the "immense storehouses of the writings of the day", particularly the controversial pamphlet literature produced in the British isles, than hitherto has been made. The mercantile imperial theory appears clearly as the primary cause of the separation of the colonies; and in this regard Mr. Hertz's conclusions are in sharp contrast to the views of some recent writers in the United States, who are almost inclined to view that theory as a deterrent rather than a provocative of revolution.

Under the old régime there was no conscious oppression, no deliberate malice. "In actual fact, the old colonial policy was based upon the very sensible ideal of a self-sufficing empire. That ideal was applied with a selfish bias by British ministers" (p. 38); but it was a

common ideal throughout Christendom; and it was "encouraged by the popularity of mercantilism". Politically and to some extent economically the system had its advantages. Thus, in the hope of making the empire self-sufficing, liberal bounties were offered for colonial products. Though these efforts were in part a failure, "we can only say that the ideal for which such sacrifices were made was in itself great and good" (p. 44). Yet, for this ideal, the slave-trade was deliberately encouraged by the empire. This was due "partly to the British resolve to force the colonies to cultivate tobacco rather than to follow industries calculated to compete with home manufactures" (p. 45).

The first of the twelve chapters into which the book is divided deals with "Great Britain and the Seven Years' War." In this war the old colonial system "reached the height of its power". It was largely a contest for trade; and its mercantile aspects are here appreciated in a most interesting way. In the second chapter "Pitt's Influence as Minister" is considered; and the conclusion is reached that Pitt fully believed in the adequacy of the prevailing colonial theory, and made no attempt to create a form of colonial policy which might have perpetuated the fabric of the expanded empire. The analysis of the "Dialectics on the Question of Taxation" in the fourth chapter shows how naïvely English disputants took "America's economic disabilities as matters of course and irrelevant" (p. 78); and it tends to sustain the thesis that George III. has been too harshly criticized as the cause of the dissolution of the empire. "The American colonies would have tried to sever themselves from Great Britain, had she been a republic instead of a monarchy, and George III. been a cypher instead of a despot" (p. 90).

The seventh chapter is devoted to a strong defense of the case of the "United Empire Loyalists", particularly the merits of the constructive scheme of Galloway; while in the eighth and following chapters the fact is clearly established that the war spirit of the British during the Revolutionary struggle was supported by the traditional colonial theory which had never been abandoned, except so far as the innovation of taxation for revenue was concerned. In fact, the old colonial system in essential principle was maintained in the Canadian provinces until it produced the rebellion of 1837.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

*The Development of the European Nations, 1870-1900.* By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xi, 376; v, 363.)

THESE volumes bear a suggestive and promising title, and the reader who is acquainted with Mr. Rose's thorough work in the Napoleonic age will open them with large expectations. It will be discovered very quickly however that the ambitious title is misleading, and that, whatever may be the merits of the work, it is not a presentation of the "Development of the European Nations". It might be fairly called

"The Development of International Relations"; except in the territorial sense there is surprisingly little study of national growth even in the narrow political limits set down for the author by the prevailing English historical proclivities. This is indeed indicated in the preface, when Mr. Rose declares (pp. vi-vii) that he has found it advisable to limit his work to "external events" or "events which had a distinctly formative influence on the development of European States". But enough space is given to purely domestic conditions to show that the author supposes himself to be really presenting national development from this point of view; one is led to the suspicion that there is here a confusion of the nation and the state (in the international sense) that is surprising in a writer of Mr. Rose's experience.

The real scope of the work will be made clear by the tables of contents. Volume I., after a brief introductory reference to earlier events, devotes three chapters (pp. 28-108) to the Franco-German war, two (pp. 109-152) to the founding of the French Republic, one (pp. 153-183) to the German Empire, four (pp. 184-343) to the Balkan Peninsula (mainly from the international point of view), and closes with a sketch of Russian domestic conditions (pp. 344-376). Volume II. opens with a description of the Triple and Dual Alliances (pp. 1-43), and is thereafter devoted to the expansion and rivalries of the great states in Asia and Africa, ending with a brief critical Epilogue (pp. 320-336), mainly on British foreign policy. There are of course many brief scattered references to domestic conditions, but they are all fragmentary, and entirely subsidiary to the presentation of foreign relations. The chapters on Germany and Russia are the only ones that profess to deal with internal development throughout the period, and they are exceedingly meagre and unsatisfying. There is no serious study of the progress of nationality, of the results of the new unity in Germany or in Italy, the two new national organisms whose history would seem to be specially indicated in Mr. Rose's title; absolutely no attention is given to Austro-Hungary, the most interesting and critical region in Europe from the standpoint of national growths. Most writers have hitherto agreed in regarding a heightening of national spirit with respect especially to the elements of race and language as a general and peculiar manifestation in this period; this work neglects the topic almost utterly. Such a topic would properly embrace a study of the democratic development underlying this nationalism and distinguishing it from the nationalism of earlier periods; the obligation lies lightly on Mr. Rose. These are sides of this matter which even the narrowest English view would recognize as properly belonging to "political" history; it is of course not surprising that we find practically nothing in these pages as to industrial or commercial developments, even from the point of view of the place of the new industrial rivalries in the later international relations.

It is then very clear that the author has had a conception of his task different from that which his title naturally suggests. It is a disappointing fact; for a great service might be rendered in the field which

has here been left unworked—a much greater, it would seem, than through any degree of scrutiny or analysis of the elusive windings of the diplomacy of the last generation.

As to the value of the studies of international relations which make up most of these volumes students will probably differ. The chapters on the causes of the Franco-German war and on the English-Russian rivalry in Near Asia are undoubtedly valuable; the others do not seem particularly fresh or thorough or suggestive (compare, *e. g.*, Driault's *Problèmes Politiques*). What Mr. Rose means by referring to himself as a "pioneer" in this field (preface, p. 1) is not clear; these topics have been frequently presented, and Mr. Rose himself mentions the concluding volume of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale*, covering more fully precisely the same period. There is doubtless incorporated here some new material and a good deal of hard work; but with respect to the test of pioneer work—value to the later more thorough historian—it does not clearly appear that any serious change is made in the situation. There is no adequate treatment of, indeed almost no reference to, the papacy as an international element. A good deal of space is given to military movements, which are well described; it is however noticeable and perhaps characteristic that there is no effort to examine thoroughly the great military and naval development of the period, even to the extent of clear statements of the principles and operation of the systems or the extent of the forces. The narrative is usually clear and pleasing, with some marks of haste. A happy reference is made to the militaristic development in a concluding sentence with respect to German and Italian conditions: "After struggling for a generation through a wilderness of plots and punishments, those two peoples reached the Promised Land, only to find it a parade ground" (II. 334); we need an occasional flash of this kind to reconcile us to being told of Lord Beaconsfield at the Congress of Berlin that he "disdainfully sipped nectar of delight that rarely comes to the lips even of the gods of diplomacy" (I. 279), or of Boulangism that "its challenging snorts died away in sounds which were finally recognised as convulsive brayings" (II. 30). To haste may be mainly attributed various dubious remarks with regard to Central European development; as when we are told that "most of the political occurrences on the Continent in the years 1815 to 1870—the revolts, revolutions, and wars, that give a special character to the history of the century—resulted directly from the bad or imperfect arrangements of the Congress of Vienna and of the so-called Holy Alliance" (I. 6), or that "The completion of the national movements in Germany and Italy put an end to the period of unrest supervening on the Napoleonic wars" (II. 321). For these statements seem to indicate an inadequate appreciation of the place taken throughout the whole modern period by the problem of Central European political organization. The unrest in this region long antedated Napoleon or the Congress of Vienna; the new factors introduced into the situation after the opening of the French Revolution are less important than the older ones.

The reviewer is led to these strictures largely by the pretentiousness of this work, and by the suspicion that a good deal of rather journalistic work is here masquerading in the guise of solid historical research. This period cannot at present be a field for solid research or full treatment, in the realm of international relations; and though Mr. Rose's essays have considerable value, they are very far from justifying his title or constituting a history of the period.

VICTOR COFFIN.

*A History of Modern England.* In five volumes. By HERBERT PAUL. Volume IV. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. vi, 409.)

THE fourth volume of Mr. Paul's work begins with the Andrassy Note of December 30, 1875, regarding the settlement of the Balkan question, and ends with the defeat and resignation of Mr. Gladstone's ministry in June, 1885. It covers, therefore, almost exactly ten years, and it falls naturally into two nearly equal parts: the last five years of Disraeli's ministry, which had begun in 1874 and ended in 1880, and the second administration of Gladstone, from 1880 to 1885. The period thus covered is of the highest interest and importance, and one circumstance gives the present volume unusual value. It is the opportunity presented in the choice of these ten years to contrast not only the two great leaders of English opinion, but to draw a striking parallel between the opposing tendencies which have in turn swayed English political life for a generation. It does not often happen that such an antithesis of leadership and ideas occurs either in politics or in literature, and Mr. Paul, who has selected his decade doubtless with reference to exactly this point, makes the most of it.

The Beaconsfield chapters, which cover rather less than the first half of the book, are three in number: "The Storm in the East", "Lord Beaconsfield's Position", and "The Fruits of Imperialism." The Gladstone chapters correspondingly begin with "The Storm in the West", and continue with "The Policy of Reversal", "The Irish Revolution", "Egypt", "The Soudan", "Lord Spencer's Task", "The Franchise", and "The Fall." Here is a series of strong and stirring events. The Near Eastern question, the Russo-Turkish war, the Berlin Conference, the annexation of the Transvaal, and the Zulu war, Lord Lytton's Indian administration, and the tragic episodes of the Afghan imbroglio—these alone would give sufficient life and color to any book. Yet beside the events of the next five years even these lose something of their interest. The Irish question with its Nationalists and Land Leaguers, its evictions and boycotts, its dynamiters and its Phoenix Park murders, coercion and obstruction, forms a vivid political romance in itself. And when to this we add Egypt and the Soudan, with Arabi and the Mahdi and the crowning tragedy of Gordon, the South African question with Majuba Hill and its extraordinary consequences, and conclude with that



decisive step toward democracy, the Franchise Bill of 1884-1885, we have political material which for interest and importance is hard to match in any similar period since the time of Pitt. It is a situation peculiarly suited to Mr. Paul's gifts, and as told by him in the vivid and picturesque style of which he has before given evidence the volume becomes not merely interesting, it is almost exciting. Great characters and events of high dramatic quality crowd its pages, and the author has not allowed their definiteness and individuality to be blurred by a mass of confusing detail. They stand for the most part clear-cut and distinct with a certain tragic simplicity. By judicious omission and emphasis, the author's strong grasp of the subject as a whole, and his sense of dramatic unity he has produced a sort of journalistic prose epic of the British Empire, centring about the two protagonists Beaconsfield and Gladstone. The latter is, of course, the hero, but the stage is crowded with a throng of minor figures from Parnell to the Mahdi, from Mr. Bradlaugh to Abdurrahman Khan. Despite the amount and complexity of the material it has not overpowered the author's ability to draw from it a clear and direct narrative. And the effect is, at least, not lessened by the fact that so many of the questions here presented are still unsettled, and so many of the characters are still active.

Whether it is due to the nature of the period, or its greater congeniality to Mr. Paul's taste and ability, or whether his touch grows firmer with the progress of his work, this volume seems in many ways the best of the four which have thus far appeared. In most forms of historical writing the journalistic style may be out of place. But in such a work as this, dealing with vast and complex issues, not yet wholly understood nor fully evolved, whose secret springs are yet in many cases hidden from us, matters still too near to us to fall in proper perspective, still too vital to our own affairs to be judged abstractly, this gift of rapid if superficial review, clear-cut, vivid, and decisive, seems the ideal medium. In such a field one may well, like a second Festus, admit that Mr. Paul almost persuades us to become a journalist.

If one thing is clearly shown beyond all others, in such books as are at present appearing on modern England, it is that Englishmen are taking great thought over just such issues as are here presented. Behind the question of protection or free trade, behind the dozen other issues which express or befog present political opinion, stands one greater than them all, of which they are but the partial expression. It is what shall be the real basis upon which the future of England is to rest? Public opinion seems to have swung pendulum-like from extreme to extreme for many years, seeking more or less blindly the better part. The fate which overtook the Beaconsfield ministry in 1880 is held up in these pages (p. 137) as the "emphatic condemnation of Imperialism as understood by Lord Beaconsfield, and a judgment for the sober, righteous politics which are neither more nor less than morality enlarged". Against that species of Imperialism the present volume takes decided stand. Yet Mr. Paul is not therefore of necessity to be reckoned a

Little Englander. He adds the stigma of futility to the other criticisms of Lord Beaconsfield's conduct at Berlin in 1878, but his gravest charge against that statesman is that he did not at that time secure Egypt for England, as, according to Mr. Paul, he might have done without expense or opposition. In the curious chain of circumstance which finally led England into Egypt standing in a "false position", "with full authority, ample power, and no legal right" (p. 256), he enforces again an old dictum that "It is not enough in politics to do the right things. They must be done at the right time and in the right ways." For, though the catastrophe of the Mahdi was at hand, English occupation did not at first lead "to any consequences of a serious and practical kind" (p. 256), and, conceivably, the Gordon incident might well have been avoided. From complicity in that he is inclined, following Mr. Morley closely, to free Mr. Gladstone, but reserves his final verdict on the whole matter. With respect to India and Afghanistan under Lord Lytton's administration he is not so reticent. For that Viceroy he devises fine phrases of polite irony, diversified with such expressions as "the credulity which so often balances scepticism in minds like his" (p. 90), while he correspondingly exalts the school of Lord Lawrence. In regard to the South African question he shows more tolerance, and his judgments of the men on whom lay the burden of Cape affairs from 1878 to 1882 is nowhere extreme.

With respect to that matter which fills the most space in any history of these days, the Irish question, there is no opportunity here to enter into an exhaustive discussion. Its chief significance for our present purpose is that in Mr. Paul's hands it is treated in a spirit which reveals the changing attitude of the English mind toward the problem. It finds here, as elsewhere to-day, a certain sanity and sympathy of treatment to which it has, until recently, been a stranger. Mr. Parnell receives a serious hearing; the Land League and the policy of obstruction, even the more dangerous situation which called for stringent repression, are here accredited, as they should have been then, not to the innate and ineradicable depravity of a lawless and bloodthirsty populace, but to natural exasperation arising from an impossible economic system aggravated rather than soothed by a well-meant and wholly wrong series of legislative acts. Mr. Parnell, never an approachable man, even with his own followers, receives his due at Mr. Paul's hands. With respect to some others, the author's favorable opinion could hardly be surpassed even by Mr. McCarthy himself.

In this connection one question irresistibly presents itself here as in Mr. Morley's biography of Gladstone. During the greater part of the latter's administration, especially after 1880, the Irish question was the nearest and in many ways the greatest with which he had to do. It was the most difficult, the most intricate, the most perplexing of all problems before his government. It was the one on which his party under his leadership was, for a time, completely wrecked. His biographer tells us of the weeks and months he spent in his study at Ha-

warden poring over blue-books and infinite masses of reports. Yet though he lived close to Liverpool, a few hours from Dublin; and though he travelled widely in France and Germany, in Spain and Italy, even to Greece, he was in Ireland but three weeks in his life and then visited not Ireland proper but a very distinctively English pale. There are many strange things about the relation of the English and especially of Mr. Gladstone to Ireland, but surely this is the strangest. The way above all ways to inform himself on this most vital question, the most obvious, the easiest, was precisely the one he never adopted. Nothing better expresses the earlier English attitude toward the sister island. Nothing better evidences the change in spirit, even since Mr. Gladstone's day, than the tone of such books as this. Ireland seems no longer so much a boggy of blue-books, a seething and chaotic mass of Fenians, boycotters, Invincibles, and dynamiters, somewhat more distant than India, somewhat less known than the Soudan. With the new conception of Irishmen as men not absolutely unlike themselves, of Ireland as a land and a people not wholly beyond the operation of economic laws, and amenable to rational treatment of a situation different from that in England, such as we find in these pages, we may yet come to a real solution of the Irish question. One may only hope that Mr. Paul's jeremiad (p. 235), "in Ireland everything always comes too late", may not prevent that consummation.

For the rest one may regret that amid such simple and forceful English appear unusual words like "perstringed" (p. 330) and "dyslogism", and note in almost perfect proof-reading an apparent error of "disbelieve" for "disbelief" (p. 86). It is not to be expected that such a work as this should be crowded with foot-notes and the machinery of scholarship. But inasmuch as the convenience of the reader has been so obviously consulted by preparing an excellent index to each volume, it might not be out of place to suggest that some general bibliography could be appended to the last volume, which, by referring to books on special fields, would be of great value to those desiring to pursue a given subject further. This is the more necessary in that it is not always easy for the ordinary reader to find such a bibliography in a subject where the works appearing almost from month to month are so numerous and in many cases so important.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

*The Life of Froude.* By HERBERT PAUL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. ix, 454.)

THE *Life of Froude* by Mr. Herbert Paul is the first attempt at a biography of the historian whose work has probably been the subject of more active controversy than that of any other Englishman of his craft. Mr. Paul was not, so he informs us, personally acquainted with Froude, having met him, apparently, but once and then quite casually. His work lacks therefore all that peculiar quality that comes from intimate knowl-

edge of the subject of biography. He approaches Mr. Froude as a public man, writer, thinker, and historian, removed from himself by a generation in time and seen by him already in historical perspective.

The book follows the life of Froude chronologically, giving first a brief sketch of his family and the peculiar circumstances of his early youth, his education at school and college, and the remarkable young men with whom he was thrown into intimate association. It goes on then to an account of his life-work, the *History of England*, and makes this the thread on which to hang a chapter on Froude and Freeman. We are then led to follow Froude in his journeys to Ireland, to America, to Australia, and to South Africa, which furnish the text for comments on his views as to English empire. The last chapters deal with his relations to Carlyle and with the Oxford professorship.

Mr. Paul, who has had experience as a biographer of Mr. Gladstone and Matthew Arnold, writes throughout as an apologist. He has a personality to explain as well as a man's work to describe. He seems to feel almost with personal pain the criticism so freely bestowed on Mr. Froude, and is impelled continually to account for this in ways creditable to the victim. Froude's early years are represented as passed under a cloud of religious oppression, with the natural result of driving him in upon himself and turning him against the very influences that were meant to shape him. School was worse than useless, and college, except for the society of men like Newman, Arnold, and Clough, not much better. He drifted into the church, but found himself out of place there and left it, and with it gave up his fellowship and the esteem of those who had so far been his most important guides. Deserted by his family, he was forced to earn his living, tried private tutoring, married a wife with money, and devoted himself henceforth to those historical studies in which he found his best satisfaction. But again his work set him at odds with his world. Criticism, partly violent, but also partly sad, assailed him. He had strong views about Ireland, and when he was invited to lecture in America, he gave expression to these views in such ways that his trip ended prematurely in failure. He was sent as a government agent to South Africa and there succeeded only in setting by the ears the parties he had come to reconcile. He was the intimate and trusted friend of Carlyle, but when he published the papers intrusted to him by his friend, he did it in such fashion as to call down upon himself the bitterest criticism from many sides. Finally, his appointment as Regius Professor of History at Oxford at the age of seventy-four was widely declared to be a shameful illustration of the policy of filling university chairs by political favor.

Obviously, if there was a something irritating and intractable in a man who thus persistently defied all agencies that might have made life easy for him, there was also something of power, and it has been Mr. Paul's task to discover and to emphasize this. To his mind Mr. Froude was actuated throughout by the impulses of a proud, independent nature.

incapable of meanness or duplicity himself and equally incapable of understanding meanness in others. He appears in these pages as absolutely devoted to the cause of historical truth—a partizan indeed, since with him to see a thing as right was to proclaim it as the only right, unsparing in denunciation of what he felt ought to be denounced and eloquent in praise of what he approved. Mr. Paul is quite aware of Froude's defects in what he continually describes as minor details, but he makes a vigorous plea for that view of historical writing which would overlook an apparent indifference to detail in the far greater importance of the general impression to be produced.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Negro and the Nation: a History of American Slavery and Emfranchisement.* By GEORGE S. MERRIAM. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. iv, 436.)

THIS is not a history, but a chronological survey of the literature of the slavery and negro problems. It has no foot-notes, no bibliography, and it bristles with personal judgments. The material used in its preparation is that which has some claim to be called literature in the narrower sense; it does not include the *Congressional Globe*, the works of minor men, nor historical monographs. The author, whose personality blazes from every page, is evidently a Puritan gentleman of the best modern type. In his journey through his country's history he has met and entered into sympathy with every reputable type of Northern opinion; he has met, listened to, and in many cases agreed with the best types of Southern opinion, but has never entered into sympathy with them.

The author's general knowledge of ordinary historical facts seems, on the whole, adequate, but some mistakes have crept in. The "tariff of abominations" was not in force in 1832 (p. 32); Calhoun was not Secretary of War in 1844 (p. 75); the whole discussion of the annexation of Texas is inaccurate (pp. 75-76). For the period after 1850 mistakes are very rare. In his discussion of the early tariff the author is apparently unconscious of the existence of the West. He nowhere brings out the internal economic forces which compelled slavery to spread westward or die; consequently he misses the whole force of the territorial controversy, the conflict between the westward-pushing streams of free and slave labor. He represents the struggle as a strife between a static South and a static North, each receiving occasional accessions of strength as new states were created. Consequently he fails to note the significance of the question of expansion in 1861 and to define the exact point upon which Lincoln elected to fight rather than to compromise. The constitutional questions involved are rather vaguely handled, a modern characteristic. To complete the category of detraction, one closes the book with a feeling akin to that one might expect after a performance of Shakespeare's most famous play in the manner so often suggested to our imagination. The negro is present only as a lay-figure.

As the economic elements in the struggle are so largely overlooked, and the Constitution, the motif of so many histories, is only casually treated, emphasis is naturally thrown on the conflict of opinion. It is in the discussion of this phase that the value of the book lies. Viewed from this aspect, it divides into two sections, one before and one after 1861, when the Civil War broke out and when the author entered college. Before that date the history of opinion is well-rounded, and, at points, original and interesting; particularly good are the discussions of the beginning of the agitation in North and South (pp. 35-45), the review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (pp. 97-111), and the chapter on Kansas (pp. 112-121). After 1861 the author presents almost solely the Liberal Republican view, but presents it with an intimacy of feeling and knowledge that makes it of value as a source. Instead of character-studies, we have summaries of the opinions, and estimates of the importance and worth, of the principal figures involved. To say that they seem sound is but to infer that they are, to a degree, those held by the reviewer. It is refreshing to see the prominence assigned to William Ellery Channing, Governor Andrew, and Samuel Chapman Armstrong. The author is optimistic as to the future. He believes that the negro has made considerable progress industrially and in domestic morality; he reprobates the recent suffrage laws of the South, but does not favor the enforcement of the penalties of the Fourteenth Amendment, for fear of intensifying race antagonism; he advocates national aid for Southern education; and he dreams of social equality. The style is terse and interesting, and the book has a good index.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Old France in the New World: Quebec in the Seventeenth Century.*

By JAMES DOUGLAS, LL.D. (Cleveland and London: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1905. Pp. 597.)

QUEBEC in the seventeenth century is indeed the springtime of our history. It marks an age of enterprise and experiment, when Old-World customs and institutions were transplanted to the New World. To trace the progress of the century, to record its trials and its triumphs, to bring out in relief the characters and passions which it developed, and to control the opposing elements through which it struggled require not only a deep knowledge of Quebec and of its literature, but also a touch of the genius of a Parkman. Dr. Douglas has not the skill of a Parkman, neither has he striven to introduce anything new into his work, having been content to derive his facts and his inspiration from sources already in print. But he has this great advantage over many writers. He has passed many of the best years of his life in Quebec, and he who loves Quebec and leaves her remembers her long and well. Although one may regret that the author has not taken advantage of the opportunities open to him for research, the book as it stands is well worthy of careful consideration. It is not a hostilely written work, but the out-

come of years of study of a subject with which the writer is thoroughly in sympathy.

In the three chapters leading up to the foundation of Quebec in 1608, an imperfect sketch is given of the conditions in Europe and of the voyages of discovery. But in dealing with Quebec after 1608 the author has made good use of the material at his command; and from Champlain, onward, who is presented to us as "a brave, single-hearted sailor and explorer, who had a clear conception of duty and followed his convictions without swerving or wavering" (p. 243), we obtain fine portraits of those heroic men whose labors built up our western civilization. Of later explorers Dr. Douglas says (pp. 386-387): "With the able rulers sent out when France assumed the reins of government, there arrived in Quebec many a notable character whose name still clings to the soil of what is now for Frenchmen a foreign land, though few of those who tread that soil ever identify the scenes around them with the heroes by whom the primeval wilderness was first penetrated and made known. La Salle, with its zinc furnaces; Joliet, with its glowing steel works; De Pere, in Wisconsin; Duluth, all alive with its railroads, docks and huge lake steamers and their consorts; Marquette, now better known as a shipping port for Michigan iron than as the name of one of the most saintly of the saints; all these places immortalize in their names the deeds of men who made these closing years of the seventeenth century memorable in the history of the New World."

Some of the chapters are dull and overburdened with detail; but these are relieved by excellent touches, especially concerning the ecclesiastical organization. The author shows clearly the difference between the French colonial system and the English, and points out how France gave the church almost co-ordinate powers with the state—a system which the French accepted without a murmur, although it would have been resisted by the English colonists. In the story of Quebec there is one figure which overshadows all others—François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency—and it is fitting that the author's narrative should be at its best in those portions devoted to this striking personality. "A noble of France, he stripped himself of all he possessed . . . and to the day of his death lived an austere but human life. . . . While disputing every inch of ground in the interest of his prerogatives, the Bishop [Laval] was founding and organizing a seminary for the education of the priesthood, establishing country parishes and placing in them men of the same simple-hearted, earnest type as those who to-day make the Roman Catholic Church in Canada the brightest example to the world of what the system in its purity can produce" (pp. 481, 418).

For him who has known and loved Quebec there is no farewell. New France is still New France, and the words which the author quotes (p. 514) we can well believe he has made his own: "Her heart, nevertheless, remains in the keeping of her first love. . . . She would not, it is true, exchange her present comfortable estate for those joyous days of youth-

ful madness, still she sighs when she thinks of them, and even takes pleasure in bemoaning her past sufferings."

This work may be read with profit by those who desire to become intimately acquainted with the brave men whose names stand out boldly in the history of the Western World. The volume is well printed, and since all the pages passed through the hands of Mr. W. D. Le Sueur and Mr. George Iles, the reader need not expect to find any grave errors.

A. G. DOUGHTY.

*The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692: a History of the First Printing Press established in English America, together with a Bibliographical List of the Issues of the Press.* By ROBERT F. RODEN. [Famous Presses.] (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1905. Pp. 193.)

THIS volume is the second in a series on "Famous Presses." The author assures us that he has "endeavored in this work to deal historically and bibliographically with the history of the first printing press established in English North America." It is but fair to say that his endeavor has met with practical success. While the substance of the volume is dependent upon the work of others to whom from time to time reference is made, the method of presentation dispenses with footnotes. The general reader, if any such can be found for a work which appeals only to a limited circle of bibliophiles, might therefore attribute to the author more credit than he actually deserves, a conclusion which would have been avoided had his pages been fortified with references. This is, however, of little consequence, since the subject appeals only to readers who will fully appreciate this. It by no means detracts from the value of the book that the field has been thoroughly worked by others of whose labor the author has wisely taken advantage. Following the footsteps of Isaiah Thomas and Samuel Foster Haven, the writer who dedicates his work to that astute bibliographer Wilberforce Eames and acknowledges his indebtedness to monographs of that patient worker and acknowledged authority Dr. Samuel A. Green is not likely to go far astray.

The treatment of the subject comprehends a list of the publications of the Cambridge Press; sketches of the several printers whose names are connected with its history; and matters of interest connected with the rare volumes published at this early date, the history being given in many instances of their transmission from purchaser to purchaser, and of the constant appreciation of the market value of these much-sought-after treasures. This method of treatment brings the reader in contact with many collectors of Americana during the last century whose names are as familiar as household words to librarians and students. Here we meet George Brinley, James Hammond Trumbull, John Carter Brown, James Lenox, and the bustling, eager, enthusiastic Henry Stevens, the mention of whose name ever brings before us his many peculiarities and



the wonderful instinct which led him to secure for American collectors so many of the rare specimens of early American publications.

The reader will enjoy the appreciative way in which these gentlemen and many others with kindred tastes are mentioned, but he will not fail to notice the offensive tone (pp. 27-28) in which judgment is pronounced against three Boston gentlemen who secured by exchange many years ago three of the five "Bay Psalm Books" then on the shelves of the Prince Library. Those who sympathize with the views of the author may perhaps justify him in thus pillorying these names for all time, but there are many persons who prefer to accept contemporary statements that the entire transaction was reasonable and proper. The same readiness to adopt a conclusion is found in the announcement that the name of the original owner of the press was "Joseph" Glover. Students have been much perplexed, heretofore, to determine whether Josse, the name by which he was generally described, was baptismal or a nickname, and if the latter, which of the several names it might represent was the baptismal name of Glover. If he has any new evidence, he does not say so.

The reference to the books of the Cambridge Press as "American incunabula", "incunabula of the Anglo-American Press", "New England incunabula", or even as "native incunabula" might be defended, but those who sympathize with the lexicographers in their efforts to put a time limit on the word incunabula when applied to books will question whether the Bay Psalm Book can be "regarded as one of the most valuable examples of the world's incunabula" (p. 15).

The act "Ffor the prventinge of Irregularities and abuse to the Authoritie of the Country by the printinge presse" as quoted by the author (p. 110) differs from the text of the same act in the *Massachusetts Bay Records*, IV., part II., p. 141. The source of authority is not indicated.

The book has a meagre index, but on the whole is a satisfactory piece of work, the only serious blemish being the unnecessary attack on the Boston collectors which has already been referred to.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

*The American Nation: a History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 8. *Preliminaries of the Revolution, 1763-1775.* By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Professor of Institutional History in the University of Nebraska. Volume 9. *The American Revolution, 1776-1783.* By CLAUDE HALSTEAD VAN TYNE, Assistant Professor of American History, University of Michigan. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xviii, 359; xix, 369.)

THESE volumes cover the two decades between the peace of Paris of 1763 and the treaty of 1783. That upon the *Preliminaries of the Revolution* is an essential introduction to the following volume, and their

relation indicates again the expertness with which the general series has been planned and the interdependence of its items. The first chapter of the *American Revolution* is a careful and exact summary of the developments and conditions which made possible the conflict, and which are elaborated by Professor Howard, particularly in his chapters on the mercantile colonial system, the religious situation in the colonies, and the political conditions at the close of the French War. His volume naturally treats of the Navigation Acts, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Acts and the controversial results of each, and covers the period of the committees of correspondence, the coercive acts of 1774, the opening of the Continental Congress, and "The Appeal to Arms". "The Case of the Loyalists" is also discussed. The volume by Professor Van Tyne contains seven chapters devoted especially to military history, three chiefly to foreign relations, three to internal relations and politics, and, among the remaining four, one to "The New West." The essential material embraced in the field covered by Professor Van Tyne is possibly more extensive than that in the field covered by Professor Howard, and yet the volume presents a concise, accurate, and readable statement of all the important matters relevant to the subjects discussed. In both volumes there is apparent a careful apportioning of space and a successful adjustment of the relative values of materials. There is in each, also, a lucidity of statement that makes the volumes useful to one not familiar with the technique of the subject, and there is also, at times, a suggestiveness in the form of statement or in the conclusions that makes the volumes important from the point of view of the teacher.

It may be doubted whether either volume adds much to the thoroughly exploited facts in its respective field. Thus, the chapter in the *American Revolution* on state sovereignty, while entertaining and bearing evidences of thoroughness, adds very little to the subject. On the contrary, some portions such as the chapter on "Framing New State Governments" are, to a considerable degree, newly stated, although the material at hand seems not to have been fully used. It may be assumed, however, that these volumes are not intended solely, or even primarily, for the student, and should not be judged from any such point of view, but rather as volumes designed to afford to the studious reader a general and accurate survey of the subjects considered. That service these volumes render in an excellent manner, and allowance must be made for the limitations that necessarily are put upon an author by the requirements of such a purpose. The foot-notes indicate the sources and make possible for the reader some familiarity with the original literature of the subject. If one might with hesitation criticize a small feature, but one which seems characteristic, the realization that the *Preliminaries* is mostly a restatement becomes oppressive when one notes that in a few more than three hundred pages the author uses more than nine hundred sets of quotation-marks! Both volumes employ the ocular method of demonstrating conditions, and to good purpose, as by the four charts in the earlier volume, showing the method of appointment of members of

the Old Congresses; and, in the later volume, the charted maps showing the accessions to the idea of independence and the character of anti-loyalist legislation.

There is apparent the purpose to keep steadily in view the problems of general national development, and to discuss the various detailed events only as they may affect or explain that development. This object is more readily attained in Professor Howard's volume, and leaves upon the reader the distinct impression that the narrative is simply that of a logical sequence of related events rather than a review of happenings whose relation is merely chronological. There is also noticeable the subjection of isolated events and facts, and insistence upon the importance of tendencies and influences of which the solitary events are only indications or illustrations. With so much detail, this end is not easily attained; but it is secured even in the first chapter of the *Preliminaries*, and persistence in this policy of handling the mass of material makes of the volume a success. Of the reviews of various phases of colonial development which constitute much of this work, none is clearer or more serviceable than that on the problem of an American episcopate and the effect and meaning of the agitation. Of a different type is the chapter on the "Institutional Beginnings of the West", which explains in concise form the various efforts at trans-Allegheny development and their relation to the national growth. The net result of the volume as historical literature is aptly stated by the editor of the series himself, when he says (p. xv) that the author's "investigations bring him to about the same point as those of earlier writers—viz., that war was inevitable because of long antecedent causes tending to independence, and was precipitated by the failure of the home government to understand either the situation or the American people; but that it was not a result of direct and conscious oppression." Such being the case, the general character of the work, as indicated, the particular scope of the volume, and the skill of the author are in large measure all that differentiate it from the existing material upon the subject.

The volume by Professor Van Tyne is similar to the preceding volume in many of its features, although he introduces, possibly, more original opinions. Thus, there is some divergence from what many now consider the orthodox view with respect to the character of the new national government, the author, very naturally and not altogether improperly, reflecting the prevailing views of the times of which he writes. In so far as those views are allowed to shape his own opinion, he will naturally become subject to the criticism of the later writers who have interpreted the meaning of the Revolution in the light of political philosophy and of later developments. The introductory chapter of this volume, describing briefly the conditions prevailing immediately prior to the Revolution and indicating the general currents of influence which were then effective, is an excellent example of terse, exact, and philosophical description. It is to be regretted that the necessity of dealing at some length with the details of military history has prevented a sim-

ilar treatment by this author of the institutional developments of the decade. As already indicated, the volume covers not simply the military history and the incidental relations to foreign powers, but also the first steps in the formation of new state governments. Upon this topic the material is presented in more readily available and in more logical form than elsewhere. The author recognizes the political importance of the state organizations of the time, and this may in some measure explain his views upon the character of the national government. There is also a suggestive chapter upon the relations between the Whigs and Tories, and a sketch also of "The New West" which supplements the similar chapter in the preceding volume.

Without attempting, as indeed would be out of place, a minute criticism of details upon which the judgment of the author has doubtless been controlled by the exigencies of the series, it may simply be remarked that the two volumes illustrate a high standard of "serial" historical work, bringing as they do to the reader who may be only partially familiar with the groundwork an intelligible and attractive statement of important phases in national development, and giving also to the student of the period an instructive and refreshing review of materials, most of which, to be sure, are commonplace. Each of the volumes is supplemented, as usual, with a critical estimate of the literature of its subject.

H. A. C.

*The Writings of Samuel Adams.* Collected and edited by HARRY ALONZO CUSHING. Volume II., 1770-1773. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. x, 454.)

THIS volume of the writings of the "great incendiary" covers a period of deep interest and importance, during which he was in a large degree responsible for keeping alive the flame of discontent. His persistent and untiring attention to the grievances of the hour, and the aid received from the tactless obduracy of Hutchinson seem to the reader to have been the chiefest cause for the continuance of ill-feeling. As to this, however, it is difficult to speak with assurance, for it is hard to say what were the discontents of the common people and of the artisans and watermen of Boston with whom Adams had so much influence. Beginning just before the massacre, the volume ends with the prolonged discussion over the power of Parliament between Hutchinson and the Representatives, a discussion in which Hutchinson's arguments were so strong and ill-timed that they were successful in practically committing the American party to the denial of all power in Parliament. Much of the space is taken up with a consideration of the massacre and the evidence of the soldiers' guilt. Here we find not only a revelation of Adams's bitter hostility to the soldiery and to Hutchinson, but interesting evidence of the dangerous irritation caused by the presence of the troops. Many of the letters and public papers deal also with the right

of the governor under instruction to call the General Court in session at Cambridge, an act which, producing no good for the British cause, gave ample opportunity for denouncing a violation of the charter and for insisting on the limits of the prerogative. Naturally much is also said of the governor's receiving his salary from England; and the keenness with which the logical consequences of this practice are pointed out discloses the power that Adams had in handling a popular question, when with all the appearance of practicality he held continually before the eyes of the people principles of liberty and theories of sound government. The shrewdest of practical politicians, he juggled adroitly with principles and ideals; therein lay the strength of the Revolutionary movement. It must be said that a perusal of these letters impresses one anew with the man's ability and strengthens one's admiration for his ingenuity; but they awaken no chord of sympathy for the man himself. Sympathy is aroused for misguided Hutchinson, a man of dignity and rectitude of purpose, who must have been peculiarly destitute of those qualities, unadmirable though some of them may be, which were giving Adams success and bringing on the Revolution. The qualities in Adams which Hutchinson thought demagogic he himself woefully lacked.

With a few exceptions the letters are of consuming interest; the unities are well observed—one place, a limited time, one body of actors, and one great central question. In fact if we omit the letters about the troops and the massacre, which are in parts wearisome, the rest of the volume deals with one side of the duel between Adams and Hutchinson, between the arch democrat and the reserved man "born and educated among us", who had nothing but contempt for the excesses of the mob at a Boston town-meeting—the duel between the man who stood for liberty and who, without profound book-learning or much outlook on the world, yet saw face to face the fundamental principles of American political life, and on the other hand the man of affairs, the historian, the able administrator, who indeed saw more clearly than the men of England but was out of sympathy with the dominating impulses of his native country.

That Adams had made up his mind in favor of independence and was all through these years pressing on toward that goal nowhere appears in these volumes. Naturally he would not declare such a hope in broad daylight, nor perhaps even in the twilight of the newspaper controversy in which he is continually appearing as "A Chatterer" or "Vindex" or "Candidus"; but if he had this notion anywhere near so firmly rooted in his mind as we have been told, would not sly hints have been thrown out to Arthur Lee or to some other of his congenial correspondents? We find bitterness enough and much plain-speaking in these letters but no hints at the necessity of independence. He appears first to have given something like open utterance to this desire in 1773.

There is no space here to point out the development of Adams's argument and the shifting of his methods to suit the occasion. The difficulty of tracing their development is much increased by the doubt

of the authorship of some of the papers. Did he, for example, write the striking letter to Shelburne (I. 152-162) and other letters of the notable series of 1768, or were they, as John Adams asserted, in considerable measure written by Otis (*The Works of John Adams*, ed. C. F. Adams, 1850-1856, X. 367)? It is a striking fact that some of the most noteworthy arguments appear through these years only in papers prepared by committees on which Otis served. There is, therefore, at least some internal evidence that Otis prepared the papers and gave them, as he is reported to have said, to Sam Adams, "to *quieu whew* them". And there can be no doubt that the Clerk of the House, with the pen of a ready writer, which was always prepared to "*quieu whew*" whatever maintained the rights of the colonists, was not allowed to frame without guidance the papers that are here given as his handiwork. I do not mean by this to criticize the appearance of the papers in this volume, but only to point out that Adams's own intellectual course cannot with unwavering assurance be followed in detail through these papers. Toward the end of the volume are given the replies of the House to the governor on the question of Parliamentary power, the papers above referred to in which Hutchinson in full legal panoply goes forth to meet that champion of popular rights as if he expected to face only a shepherd youth with a sling and pebbles from the brook. The replies were probably written with the pen of Sam Adams; but how much of the real argument he furnished it is hard to say. In some measure they owed their force to the learning of John Adams, from whom of course came the use of the famous *Calvin* case which he uses so forcibly in his own argument. We may well expect to see in the next volume Sam Adams standing on what, according to Hutchinson, he called "better ground"—better than mere historical statement and technical reasoning—on the ground that "all men have a *natural* right to change a bad constitution."

In one respect this volume is superior to the first. It indicates with care the reason for attributing newspaper letters and other papers to Adams. Little more if anything can be demanded. The notes are numerous and helpful. Possibly it might be well to give in foot-notes occasional excerpts from Hutchinson's letters or from the writings in the press to which Adams replied with a caustic bitterness that makes one wonder whether Hutchinson were not right in saying that to Adams's characteristic signature of "*Vindex*" ought to be added "*Malignus and Invidus*", to make his names a little more significant. And yet probably the editor, who has unquestionably shown skill in the preparation of this volume, has been checked by limits of space and other restrictions.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

*The Declaration of Independence: its History.* By JOHN H. HAZELTON. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 629.)

THIS elaborate and sumptuously printed monograph is a unique and valuable contribution to the rapidly growing literature of the American Revolution. It deals with the rise and growth of a *conscious* sentiment favoring independence. No attempt is made to trace the evolution of unconscious nationality; of the forces which during the colonial era, and particularly since the French War, were gradually molding the colonists into one social body, an American people, which sooner or later must demand a larger and freer life. For the two years and a half ending with the signing of the Declaration of Independence this work is at once a many-sided source-book and a sustained critical history; but in the main the documents themselves are permitted to tell the tale.

The bibliographical apparatus is very elaborate, and it will be of use to students of other aspects of the Revolutionary struggle. The notes to the text and the appendix alone fill 240 pages in small type. The sources cited are rich and varied, comprising the letters, diaries, and memoirs of prominent men and women, the proceedings of local and provincial bodies, as well as the debates and papers of the Continental Congress. The author has spared no pains to consult the original manuscripts, often found in the possession of private persons. Each important incident in the progress of the drama is illumined by copious extracts from the sayings of the actors and the witnesses. To some extent the relative value of the leading sources is suggested incidentally in the discussion; but it would have been decidedly helpful had the author provided a critical essay on his authorities. For instance, sharper attention ought to be called to the untrustworthiness of John Adams's later recollections; while Wirt's assertions regarding Patrick Henry should never be taken too seriously.

The text (292 pages) is divided into thirteen chapters. Of these, the first three, dealing respectively with the sentiment of independence, in and out of Congress, in 1774, 1775, and 1776, bring the narrative down to the seventh of June in the last-named year. The fourth chapter discusses the "Initial Steps", from the resolution offered by Richard Henry Lee on June 7, 1776, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States", to the appointment of the committee to prepare the Declaration on the eleventh of the same month. Action on Lee's resolution had been postponed to July 1, in order, as Gerry wrote James Warren, "to give the Assemblies of the Middle Colonies an opportunity to take off their restrictions and let their Delegates unite in the measure". (p. 123). The documentary discussion of the events of this interval in the fifth chapter is enlightening. In the next chapter is given a careful account of the "Drafting [of] the Declaration." Chapters follow on "The Last Days", during which the Declaration was completed and adopted, the situation in "New York and

Pennsylvania", "The Signing", "The Effect of the Declaration and what was thought of it", "The Fireworks of 1776", "The First Anniversary in Philadelphia", and "The Declaration on Parchment, since 1776." No attempt to give a detailed analysis can here be made. A great mass of materials has been critically examined; the text is enriched by many documents reproduced in facsimile; and there is an appendix (pp. 295-359) comprising, besides other illustrations, a parallel reprint of seven different drafts of the Declaration.

Mr. Hazelton has performed creditably a hard task, for which all students of the period will be grateful.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

*Life and Letters of Samuel Holden Parsons, Major General in the Continental Army and Chief Judge of the Northwestern Territory, 1737-1789.* By CHARLES S. HALL. (Binghamton, N. Y.: Otsenigo Publishing Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 601.)

THE subject of this biography played a not inconspicuous part in American history. He was a member of the Connecticut General Assembly for twelve years, 1762-1774, a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary army, and from October, 1780, a major-general, a director of the Ohio Company, and a judge of the Northwest Territory. Senator Hoar described him as a "soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the Northern War" (p. 587). This declaration that he was the first to suggest a Congress of the colonies, a declaration repeated in this volume, is based on the fact that in March, 1773, he wrote to Samuel Adams proposing "to revive an institution which had formerly a very salutary effect—I mean *an annual meeting of commissioners from the colonies to consult on their general welfare*" (p. 21). This certainly was an early proposal and may have been the first, but a declaration of its undoubted priority one might well hesitate to make. In the noted debate with Hutchinson in January of this year, the Massachusetts House, presumably under the influence of Adams, said that to draw a "line of distinction between the supreme authority of Parliament, and the total independence of the colonies . . . would be an arduous undertaking, and of very great importance to all the other colonies; and therefore, could we conceive of such a line, we should be unwilling to propose it, without their consent in Congress" (*Writings of Samuel Adams*, II. 425). Any one familiar with the ways of the far-seeing Adams would be willing to conjecture that he had already in mind the meeting of delegates from all the colonies.

Parsons had important duties in the North during the Revolution. In connection with his work significant suspicions have arisen. On the publication of the secret journal<sup>1</sup> of Sir Henry Clinton, evidence ap-

<sup>1</sup> *Magazine of American History*, X., XI., XII., October, 1883, to August, 1884, in eleven monthly instalments.



peared that a man by the name of William Heron, a Connecticut man, was in the employ of Clinton and in consultation with Parsons, or was pretending to be, seeking to bring about Parsons's adherence to the British cause. There is even some evidence that Parsons went further than merely to listen to the proposals. On the basis of these disclosures, charges of treason have been made against him. Winsor for example says: "It is only within a few years . . . that it has been known that Gen. S. H. Parsons, of Connecticut, was at this time acting as a spy for the British general" (*Narrative and Critical History*, VI. 460, note 5; but cf. *ibid.*, VII. 189, note). The author of the volume before us naturally addresses himself to the question of Parsons's loyalty. The nature of the proof cannot be discussed within the limits of this review. Despite the warmth with which Parsons's cause is championed, it can hardly be said that the defense is unsound. Certainly the amount of evidence against the respondent would not justify conviction. Possibly we may still have some lingering suspicion that Parsons went further than uprightness and good judgment allowed, but we are not entitled to more than the vaguest surmise, for the weight of evidence and argument seems to be strongly in favor of Parsons. We have no assurance that Heron himself was not deceiving Clinton, and in fact it seems likely either that, while pretending to be a British spy, he was really devoted to the American cause or was simply trying to get money from the British general.

The author makes no reference to the fact that while Parsons was judge of the Northwest Territory, a correspondent of Lord Dorchester's, who seems to have been an emissary to the western settlements, wrote that he had received "advances" from Parsons (Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 100). Winsor thinks that this is an indication of that "spirit which the secret service books of Sir Henry Clinton have fastened, justly or unjustly, upon a soldier of the Revolution" (*The Westward Movement*, 367). These advances appear on their face to have been concerning commercial relations between the New West and Canada, and one must confess that it was under cover of commercial transactions that compromising intrigues were likely to be conducted. Wilkinson was engaged in very murky "commercial" relations with Spain about the same time, and it is interesting to note that Wilkinson wrote Miró that "The two federal judges and the officials to the northwest of the Ohio, who are in charge of the settlements along the rivers Muskingum and Miami, are suitable persons for the object first named, but as each of these gets a salary of a thousand dollars a year, I should judge two thousand dollars necessary in order to alienate them from the United States" (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX. 766). It is not impossible that we must include Parsons in the list of Western intriguers, whose minds were preyed upon by hopes of Western independence, or visions of commercial profit, or gleams of Spanish gold, or suggestions of British gratitude.

But in fact the evidence so far brought to light is not enough to

blacken the memory of any man. Wilkinson's cynical suggestion, which was quite worthy of him, is not much weaker as evidence of Parsons's approachable venality than the statement of the British correspondent above referred to. "There is a General Parsons concerned in the same enterprise", wrote this agent from Detroit, "from whom I have received advances, that I imagine may prove favourable towards a harmonious understanding in point of Commercial interest between Great Britain and these rising settlements. In fact the joint advantage of all parties who mean to be resident upon the Ohio, and to enhance the value of their landed property must induce them to insist upon a free entrance into the Bay of Mexico, and to solicit our trade." This is all that has so far been printed, so far as I know. Must such evidences be taken seriously as an indication of dishonor?

The author has apparently given much labor to the preparation of this volume. But why he could not have taken the trouble to supply it with the necessary accompaniments of a really valuable work is hard to understand. Had it been written for the general reader or so that any one would be tempted to read it, then there would have been some excuse for the method or absence of it. No one, however, that is not seeking thirstily for dry literature is likely to read the book, and it must therefore be judged as intended for reference and the use of scholars. If so, why are all the paraphernalia that the scholar demands left out of the book? Is it not trying to see so much labor expended in the production of a book without foot-notes, without proper indication of the whereabouts of the originals of the letters, with some letters printed in full and others only in part, in a bewildering sort of a way? It would not have required much trouble to make the book in these respects right. When will the industrious learn the elements of the gentle art of book-making? And yet the author's conscientious efforts have brought together a good deal of valuable material for which we must be thankful, and the book is likely to be of use.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

*The American Nation: a History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 10. *The Confederation and the Constitution.* By ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, A.M., Director of the Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xix, 348.)

THE opinion that the Federal Constitution was wrung from a reluctant people by grinding necessity—a view approved, for example, by Von Holst, and seeking popular sanction in Fiske's *Critical Period*, must finally yield to a truer interpretation of the events through which the forces which formed the "more perfect union" were mobilized. Professor McLaughlin has made a distinct contribution to this ampler and truer knowledge of the real nature and scope of the necessity which urged the American people "deliberately and peaceably, without fraud

or surprise" (p. 315) to face the task of solving "The Problem of Imperial Organization" and to accomplish it.

An analysis of this problem, which is considered a part of the great question confronting the English statesmen in 1765 and which occupied the attention of a generation, the author designates as the "centre" of his treatment of the course of events in the seven years from 1781 to 1788. With this portion of the volume, the third chapter, he ranks in importance the eleventh and fifteenth chapters, entitled respectively "Proposals to Alter the Articles of Confederation" and "The Law of the Land." Of his 300 pages he devotes eighteen to the discussion of the problem which met the people at the close of the War for Independence.

National readjustment was, from the first, hindered by four things: the demoralizing experiences of a war at once civil and revolutionary; the exile, forced and voluntary, of thousands of excellent citizens; false notions of the relations of freedom and government; the fact, lastly, that the war had been waged to support local governments against a general government. To these obstacles the author might well have added a fifth, the natural reaction, namely— a phenomenon not unknown to-day— which in an individual and in a people follows long-continued, albeit successful effort to attain a high purpose and which, relaxing vigilance and supreme endeavor, permits temporary control to baser forces.

The first form of imperial organization, completed in 1781, was dissimilar to the state constitutions and lacked the essentials of real government, and though the Articles of Confederation tempt one now to smile at their inadequacy to meet the social, political, and industrial needs of the time, "they were in many respects models of what articles of confederation ought to be". The author wisely emphasizes their profound significance in one important particular: with remarkable care they separated the local powers from those of a general character. In reciting the various Articles McLaughlin passes all too lightly over the fourth, which provided interstate citizenship. If, as Bacon asserts, no allied states granting interstate citizenship were in all history ever known to fall apart, the value to the people of the United States of this fourth Article should never be underestimated. The Confederation provided no executive department, but constitutional organs were gradually growing. Administrative failures and experiments were showing the way to a more effective and satisfactory system. With this wise and perfectly true conclusion the opening words of the eleventh chapter offer a sharp contrast: "The year 1786 was . . . one of discouragement. . . . Everywhere there was great cause for despondency: disorder within the states, plots and threatenings on the border, loud laments over commercial distress and heavy taxes, and, worst of all, a reckless disregard of political obligations" (p. 168). Evils there were, many and dire, in what the author calls "this dreary year of 1786" (p. 179), but they were distributed, they wrought within the states, the force of their

impact on the life of the people as a whole was broken. The following words published in some of the newspapers in the fall of 1786 were not devoid of truth: "The United States are traveling peacefully into order and good government. They know no strife but what arises from collision of opinions and in three years they have advanced further in the road to stability and happiness than most of the nations in Europe have done in many centuries."

The reflective purpose of the people was, despite the evils, forming for definite expression. The author skilfully sketches the many "Proposals to Alter the Articles of Confederation" which emanated from individuals in private letters, in the public prints, and in essays, from Congress, and from various states, and their actual or virtual rejection. McLaughlin in common with most historians of this period does not wholly escape the temptation to share the impatience so evident in the expressions of the wise and earnest statesmen of that day. The proposals for reform were for the most part excellent; in part too they recognized the proper spheres of nationalism and localism. But let us suppose that all these reforms, or the worthiest of them, had been at once accepted—the power to tax, to regulate commerce, to compel state obedience, to institute a judiciary, and the rest—would the resultant government have been real and enduring? To say nothing of the lack of proper division into the three departments, independent and co-ordinate and universally accepted as essential, the people were not ready to commit real power to a legislature of one house. This they felt instinctively. This was enough to give pause until the master-builders of the Union should recognize, not merely that certain powers should be granted, but that the proper constitution of the depository should also be provided. The author of the newspaper address quoted above says: "The single legislature of Congress will become more dangerous from an increase of power than ever. To remedy this, let the supreme federal power be divided like most of the legislatures of our States into two distinct, independent branches."

A notable recognition of the deep and strong and tranquil current of the life of the American people which was flowing through and alongside of turbulent eddies and slack water is given in 1787 by Otto in a letter to Montmorin:

The reflections which I have just had the honor of submitting to you scarcely conform to the vague and exaggerated reports with which almost all the European and American publications are flooded in regard to the situation of the United States. They confound the uncertainty of a people which has not yet chosen its form of stable and permanent government with disorder and internal anarchy; but this uncertainty is only felt abroad or in their political discussions without affecting in any way the tranquillity and industry of the citizens. If one studies ever so little the general prosperity, individual comfort, the well-nigh inconceivable growth of all parts of the republic, one is tempted to believe that of all the countries of the world, this one has taken the longest strides toward opulence and formidable power.

This view, the contemporary judgment of a foreigner, which in this case should be essentially that of posterity, does not receive the treatment it deserves at McLaughlin's hand. He does however do full justice to the difficulty of finding a method for making certain the power of the central authority to perform the duties bestowed upon it: "Could this be done without destroying the states as political entities or reducing them to mere districts? That was a question that might well have confused the clearest brain of the time; no more delicate and intricate problem in practical politics and statecraft ever confronted a thinking people" (p. 176). And yet when the author comes to treat of "The Great Compromise" in the Federal Convention, he fails to feel the full force of the truth expressed somewhere by Ranke to the effect that "all progress comes through conflict". Nationalism in our continental, "imperial" organization to be enduring must rest on distributive power. An exhaustive exposition of the arguments on both sides in a face-to-face debate was necessary. He misapprehends the real attitude of the authors and defenders of the New Jersey plan. The majority of them were not reactionaries but were nationalists at heart. Their arguments were federalist in the extreme, but they were advocates whose defense of one essential point forced them to overstatement and to an ultimatum. One of the Pinckneys saw this when he said in the debate: "The whole comes to this. . . . Give New Jersey an equal vote, and she will dismiss her scruples, and concur in the National system" (p. 217). This concurrence readily followed when the indestructibility of the states was secured through the equal representation in the Senate. The part taken by the supporters of the New Jersey plan was essential to the solution of the problem. McLaughlin is far from recognizing this when he says that they now "ceased to interfere with the work of the convention" (p. 240). The author's estimate of Paterson, which would make him narrow-minded and ignorant of the condition of the country, fails in appreciation of the man whom in 1784 the states of Massachusetts and New York chose as one of the judges in their dispute over territory, who in 1789 shared next to Ellsworth in the honor of perfecting the act organizing the Federal judiciary, and whom Washington in 1793 appointed a justice of the Supreme Court.

On the other hand, it is a joy to read McLaughlin's fifteenth chapter. Here at last is full recognition by competent authority of the value of the second clause of the sixth article of the Constitution which henceforth was to be the supreme law—"the central clause of the Constitution, because without it the whole system would be unwieldy, if not impracticable. Draw out this particular bolt, and the machinery falls to pieces" (p. 247). Possibly, as McLaughlin points out, the framers did not consciously intend to incorporate into the Constitution the full potentiality embodied in this clause, but they meant the Constitution to be the law of the land. So much at least the authors of the New Jersey plan must have intended when they offered this clause in substance to the

Convention. Rejected at first by the builders, it became by unanimous acceptance the head of the corner.

The preliminary chapters—"The End of the Revolution" and "The Treaty of Paris"—are the work of the truth-loving and truth-finding historian. Especially commendable is the judgment on Jay's part in the negotiations and on the position of France. The treatment of the subjects of the "Finances", "Commerce", "Diplomacy", "Paper Money", and "Shays's Rebellion" is succinct, clear, and nowhere else in the same space better done; so too, for the most part, the reorganization of the West, though in the evolution of the Northwestern ordinances, as it seems to us, greater credit should be given to Jefferson for his share in the work. Through him came the excellent system of meridian surveys; and too, while his effort to exclude slavery from all the West failed for the time, it should be remembered that he devised the form of words which now form a part of the law of the land in its Thirteenth Amendment.

In narrating the work of the Federal Convention the story is somewhat marred by the spirit of over-anxiety and zeal on behalf of those who would make population the sole basis of an effective, national, representative government. On the side of the large-state men, he says (p. 211), "was strength of argument and national patriotism; on the other, persistence, local pride, and the threat to break up the convention". He virtually denies the existence of some motives which certainly inspired the majority of the delegates from the small states. Again, on the next page, he says: "the small-state party, whose eagerness and obstinacy 'began now', as Madison tells us, 'to produce serious anxiety for the result of the Convention'." The sentence is misleading; the reader would suppose that Madison had imputed *obstinacy* to his opponents. The treatment of the topics "The Constitution before the People" and the adoption "For Better or for Worse" is adequate. His "Critical Essay on Authorities" is ample, just, and discriminating.

The author's references are, so far as compared by the present writer, accurate. More exact dates would be in some of the chapters desirable; for example, the reader would infer that King's antislavery motion was made in 1784. It was offered to Congress in 1785. The excellent style and diction of the author suffer from few lapses, "making sure the observation of the Articles of Union" (p. 176) being one of the six or seven noted. The proof-reading has been of the best. Altogether, save in the points noted above, the volume is quite worthy of recognition as a model history of the time which must ever claim a foremost interest from the lover of our country and from the student of its annals.

AUSTIN SCOTT.

*Immigration and its Effects upon the United States.* By PRESCOTT F. HALL, A.B., LL.B. [American Public Problems.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. xiii, 393.)

THE author of this book is the founder and for the last ten years has been the secretary of the Immigration Restriction League. The objects of this league, as stated in its constitution, are "to advocate and work for the further judicious restriction or stricter regulation of immigration . . . and to arouse public opinion to the necessity of a further exclusion of elements undesirable for citizenship or injurious to our national character." Its efforts have been directed largely, if not mainly, to advocating the illiteracy test and excluding would-be immigrants over sixteen years of age who cannot read and write some language.

These facts, which do not appear prominently in the work, indicate the writer's point of view and also the strength and weakness of his product. The book was prepared in consequence of a suggestion from the late Professor Mayo-Smith, and on account of its origin and character it invites comparison with his *Emigration and Immigration*, published sixteen years earlier and still the standard American treatise. It seems to have been designed to supplement rather than to supersede the earlier work. Such a design would explain, not merely the small amount of matter in the historical survey of immigration, but also the comparative neglect of some large topics in which Professor Mayo-Smith was at his best, like the political effects of immigration, the economic gain by immigration, and the question of principle involved. It might explain also the writer's little use of all except American authorities. The work is a temperate and in the main an accurate discussion of an important political and social problem, but has little direct significance to the student of American history.

The author makes a number of statements without adequate indication of his authority or without adequate evidence. The following are examples: "It is estimated that there are approximately 19,000,000 Jews in the world" (p. 49). No reference is given. What is, I believe, the best estimate, that of M. Fournier de Flaix in the fourth volume of the *Bulletin* of the International Statistical Institute, shows 7,056,000 Jews in the world (p. 146), and I have never met any estimate so large as this. Perhaps the figures are a misprint. "Various British authorities have asserted that the amount sent to Ireland from this country each year exceeded the total cost of poor relief in Ireland" (p. 73). How could any British authority have better basis for such a statement than a guess? "Dr. True, of the Department of Agriculture, states that about 2,000,000 men, or 6,000,000 persons in all, gave up farming and went to join the toilers in our cities between 1870 and 1890" (p. 129). We are not told where the statement was made or by what evidence it was supported. "The population of New England was produced out of an immigration of about 20,000 persons who arrived before 1640" (p. 4). What is the evidence that immigration to the New England

colonies ceased in 1640? "Records of immigration begin with the year 1820" (*ibid.*). A few lines below appears the number from Great Britain in 1815. The discrepancy is due to the fact that British records of emigration to the United States began several years before American federal records of immigration, which commenced in 1820. "Machinery has chiefly diminished the need for skilled labor" (p. 34). "The Jews we have received hitherto have been . . . liable to disease, especially tuberculosis, in the crowded life of our city slums" (p. 51). "Russian and German Jews, who are most prone to become victims of tuberculosis within a short time after landing" (p. 259). "The movement toward the cities, in which the young men played the leading part, leaving the girls at home upon the farms, and diminishing their opportunity for marriage" (p. 111). This is curiously contrary to the facts. The young women have played the leading part in this movement, leaving the men at home upon the farms, and in consequence the opportunity for young women to marry is greater and their marriage rate higher in the country than in the city. "The children of foreign-born are, after a time, reckoned as natives in the censuses" (p. 119). In fact children born in this country of foreign-born parents are always treated by the census as native.

Notwithstanding blemishes of which the foregoing are examples, the book seems to me a valuable summary of the recent history and the present aspects of a great national problem: and with the exception of Mayo-Smith's book the best general discussion of immigration into the United States.

W. F. WILLCOX.

*History of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States of America.* By JAMES HANNAY, D.C.L. (Toronto: Morang and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 372.)

THIS volume, purporting to be a history of the War of 1812, ought to be entitled a history of the warfare along the Canadian frontier during 1812-1814, so far does it fall short of being a well-ordered and comprehensive account of the military and naval events of those years. Its proportions are distinctly unsatisfactory. The campaigns about New Orleans and Mobile are dismissed with a single page, since they had "no connection with the defence of Canada" (p. 358). Russian mediation, peace negotiations, and the treaty of peace receive altogether less than two pages. On the other hand, nearly ten per cent. of the space is given up to imaginary sketches of scenes and typical soldiers, portraits of properly forgotten American and British worthies, and reproductions of old prints. The maps and plans, which number seventeen, taken as a whole are among the satisfactory features of the work and furnish acceptable elucidations of the text.

In the matter of purpose, method, and style the volume has little to commend it to the general reader, and nothing at all to cause the serious,



judicially-minded student to spend any time upon it. It is strikingly like certain histories of the United States which appeared about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the chief aim was to awaken patriotic emotions and pride, without much regard for historical accuracy or for careful and discriminating distinctions such as mark the later accounts of the period of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Here again the purpose is to stimulate Canadian pride by the recital of the part played by Canadians in the War of 1812; the same old swagger, uncritical denunciation, and exaggerated praise appear once more, making it difficult in this day of thorough scholarship on both sides of the St. Lawrence to deal soberly and courteously with the author and his work.

The accounts of battles and skirmishes, especially when Canadians were participants, are burdened with tedious and pedantic details of troops engaged and losses sustained. In the case of naval battles, armament, and crews, the figures and diagrams are taken almost bodily from the *Naval War of 1812* by Theodore Roosevelt, "the president of the United States, who has written a tolerably honest account of the naval operations of the war" (p. 108). Positive errors and carelessness of statement are not infrequent; reiteration of intemperate criticism is common; cheap facetiousness and crude sarcasm abound. A few illustrations, which might easily be multiplied, will suffice: the people of the United States had an "insane hatred of England" (p. 9); the "impression of British seamen found on board of American vessels" was a cause of friction (p. 9); General Hull was a "ruthless relic of the Revolution" (p. 63); Lossing "had acquired an audacity in falsification not easy to parallel" (p. 159); Sir George Prevost was a veritable black beast for Canada, a caithiff to whose "malign influence" (p. 84), "weakness, or incompetency" "nearly every disaster which the British suffered during the war is to be attributed" (p. 24); he was "an imbecile commander-in-chief" (p. 132), so "incompetent or traitorous" (p. 314) that the author lets slip no opportunity to indulge his detestation of him. The retreats of the Americans were usually disgraceful and cowardly, a thousand put to flight by ten, while by the British now and then "it was deemed prudent to retreat" (p. 172) in the face of greatly superior forces. Captain Warrington of the *Peacock* "satisfied his thirst for murder by the slaying of seven men" (p. 340) of the British cruiser *Nautilus*. For all lack of restraint the author absolves himself from sin, because he sees "no reason why any American of the present day should feel offended at reflections on the actions of men who lived ninety years ago" (p. vii).

The book is devoid of foot-notes and bibliography "because the official sources of our knowledge of the war are so few in number as to render such references unnecessary" (p. vii). Almost the only approach to the use of source-material, aside from numerous anonymous quotations, is in the reprint in full of the important proclamations of General Hull and General Brock, and the Address of the House of As-

sembly of Upper Canada to the inhabitants of that province. If any three chapters rise above the rest in merit, they are those on "Surrender of Hull's Army", "Operations on the Detroit Frontier", and "Plattsburg". Three others, if a phrase of Dr. Hannay may be borrowed, "can well be left to the reader's contempt" (p. 110): "Causes which led to the War", "War declared by President Madison", and "The Capture of Washington".

KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK.

*Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812.* By Captain A. T. MAHAN, D.C.L., LL.D., United States Navy. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company: 1905. Two vols., pp. xxii, 423; xix, 456.)

THESE volumes, which conclude Captain Mahan's series of works on "The Influence of Sea Power upon History", are intended for the general reader, as well as the specialist, being written in a popular style with the use of no technical nautical terms which are not explained. The author stands in a class by himself, having created his own model. A skilled historical investigator and a skilled seaman, he has brought the two qualifications together with remarkable results; nor can it be properly said that he has exaggerated the influence of sea power upon history, although he has given it such surprising predominance. Certainly he has not exaggerated it in its relations to the War of 1812, for that war was caused by regulations affecting the navigation of the sea and there the principal fighting occurred.

The work opens with an account of the remote causes of the war, dating from a hundred years before the Revolution, and of the immediate causes, which were two: the impressment of American seamen and the restriction of the carrying-trade. All other grievances were subordinate to these and could have been adjusted; but these were fundamental. The British position was defensible only on the ground of necessity brought about by the struggle with France. The American position, on the other hand, was correct, Jefferson and Madison having put the case on sound principles. The country was, unfortunately, divided, and a strong faction deprecated resistance to Great Britain. Captain Mahan quotes Gouverneur Morris (I. 71) as saying in 1794 that the United States ought to have at least twelve ships of the line, and thinks if even this moderate navy had been in existence there might have been no war; but Jefferson's policy of neglect of the navy made his attitude on paper toward Great Britain ludicrous in her eyes. Captain Mahan does justice to Madison's great ability, but insists that he was a "deskman" (p. 106) who seemed never to understand that deeds must lie back of words. He quotes (*ibid.*) a remark of Pompey: "Will you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords?" Great Britain came to believe that the United States would argue and threaten but never fight. She fought too late and was unprepared.

As the reviewer thinks, Captain Mahan underestimates the difficulties confronting the administration. It was blameworthy for not having brought the country into a better state of preparedness for the war; but to fight the war efficiently it must have had a united country back of it, and that it did not have. Not only, as Captain Mahan truly says, was the country deficient in national spirit; but he might have added that many of the Federalists were mere colonial Englishmen, who were determined not to fight the mother-country, who obstructed every move the administration made, and who openly exulted in American disasters during the war. To weld the country into a homogeneous people efficiently supporting their government was a task beyond the power of man. Nor is Captain Mahan without injustice in his treatment of the controversy which terminated in the dismissal of Jackson, the British minister. No minister had ever gone so far in insolence, and no self-respecting government could have done other than dismiss him.

Coming to the war itself, Captain Mahan declares that the plan of invading Canada was correct. He defines the true purposes of war very happily (p. 294): "An attachment is issued, so to say, or an injunction laid, according to circumstances; as men in law do to enforce payment of a debt, or abatement of an injury. If, in the attempt to do this, the other nation resists, as it probably will, then fighting ensues; but that fighting is only an incident of war." That Canada did not fall into American hands early in the war was due to the inefficient condition of the American army. Its record was an almost unbroken record of shame, redeemed by the Niagara campaign of 1814 alone, and culminating in the everlasting disgrace of the rout at Bladensburg, which was the natural result of Jefferson's policy of reliance upon citizen soldiery.

From the start the successes of the war were with the navy, and the *Constitution's* victory over the *Guerrière* roused pride in the navy for the first time. Yet all the naval victories showed the inestimable value of preparedness. The *Constitution* was a stronger ship than the *Guerrière* and had a better battery than the *Java* which she beat afterward. The *Hornet* under Lawrence had two-thirds more battery power than the *Peacock* which she destroyed, and Perry won the battle of Lake Erie with a fleet generally superior to the enemy's. Perry's tactics were those which Captain Mahan urges: "L'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!" (pp. 65-66). He contrasts the brilliant results of Perry's audacity with the negative results of Chauncey's caution. Nevertheless, Lawrence should not, he thinks, have taken the *Chesapeake* into the action with the *Shannon* which terminated so disastrously to the American ship, because she was clearly overmatched. The naval victories on Lake Champlain and the military victories at New Orleans are treated as events irrelevant to the objects and outcome of the war.

Captain Mahan's treatment of the war is at once impartial and instructive, and it teaches a lesson which the country ought never to forget. The volumes close with the best account of the negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Ghent which has thus far been published.

Besides the ordinary and accessible printed sources of material Captain Mahan has used in the preparation of his book the Navy Department manuscripts, the Canadian archives, British Record Office manuscripts and Admiralty Letters, and the Castlereagh manuscripts, the last-named being especially rich in diplomatic history of the last stages of the war. The volumes are well printed, with few errors, and are illustrated with maps for the student to use and with pictures of officers, ships, and battles for ornamentation. The index is carefully made.

GAILLARD HUNT.

*Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba, 1850 and 1851.* By ANDERSON C. QUISENBERRY. [Filson Club Publications, Number 21.] (Louisville, Kentucky: John P. Morton and Company. 1906. Pp. 172.)

THIS interesting and vivid narrative was originally prepared as the basis of a historical novel, and it would be manifestly unfair to judge it as a piece of critical historical writing, which it does not pretend to be. The most critical comparison and sifting of the sources (widely scattered in pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, and official reports in two languages) are necessary before anything approaching an accurate and impartial history of the events can be written. Vidal Morales, in his excellent work, *Iniciadores y Primeros Martires de la Revolución Cubana* (Havana, 1901), gave the fullest and most accurate account of Lopez's ventures, but he wrote almost entirely from the sources in the Spanish language and from a sympathetic Cuban viewpoint. Some important original documents have since appeared in the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, Havana, and there are in the same depository several still unpublished.

Lopez occupies really a secondary place in Mr. Quisenberry's narrative. His heroes are Crittenden, O'Hara, and the other Americans, generally, but the Kentuckians in particular. The real character and aims of the expeditions are either assumed or not discussed. The evidence seems conclusive against the view that Lopez aimed to bring about the annexation of the island. On the other hand, this purpose must be distinctly attributed to all the Americans who either sympathized, aided, or followed the expeditions. Mr. Quisenberry takes the usual view that the natives were as a whole friendly to the Spanish government or too weak and long-suffering to raise the standard of rebellion. But the captain-general's despatches and a good deal of other evidence tend to establish the opposite view regarding the temper of the Cubans. The failure of the expeditions to obtain the co-operation of the native population must be set down rather to their annexationist design, to their large foreign composition, to the fact that they were conducted by an ex-officer of the Spanish army who had never won the confidence of the Cubans, and, not least, to the rash and impracticable manner in which the expeditions were conducted. To say (p. 57) that "there

appears to be little or no doubt that if circumstances had been such as to admit of his [Lopez's] proceeding according to his original plan, the Cardenas Expedition might have succeeded in establishing the free republic of Cuba" is to assume a good deal. It is difficult to see how the results could have been other than they proved.

There is no evidence whatever to support the statement of outrageous and brutal scenes at the execution of Crittenden and his men (pp. 93-95), which were the gross fabrications of certain newspapers. See, for example, a despatch of the captain-general, Concha, to the minister of state, August 31, 1851, published in the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, September-October, 1905, p. 87, where these reports are contemptuously referred to, and the statement made that the execution was conducted with perfect order. The narrative abounds in indiscriminate statements, as, for instance, that "the only constitution it [Cuba] possessed for more than half a century was the Royal Order of May 28, 1825" (p. 26). The full-page likenesses are excellent, but it is to be regretted that Mr. Quisenberry gives no data regarding the authenticity of the Lopez portrait.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

*The Brothers' War*. By JOHN C. REED. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 456.)

THIS book deals with the causes of the Civil War, and not, as might be supposed, with the war itself. It is written by a Georgian who was a lawyer twenty-five years old when the war began, and who took a soldier's part throughout. He is thus by training and experience excellently fitted to deal with the subject; and, in the reviewer's opinion, he has dealt with it in a very admirable and useful way.

The first six chapters are devoted to the main causes of the strife, and one each to Calhoun, Webster, Toombs, and Davis, the foremost figures, in the author's opinion, in this stage of the struggle. There is an excellent analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a chapter on "The Curse and Blessing of Slavery", an illuminating discussion of the negro question, and a chapter to show that both sides were patriotically and morally right—a paradox very near the truth.

The author rightly assigns as the true cause of the war the nationalization of the North and of the South on the divergent lines laid out by two entirely different social organizations, the one demanding that its free labor system should not be hampered by slavery extension, the other that its system of slave labor should have what it regarded as adequate protection. This was the gist of the whole difficulty. He regards nationalization as having begun before there was any union of the colonies; and he considers that after the union was effected under the Constitution the national idea grew much faster in the North than in the South, and that in the latter it was in the direction, not of a nationalization of the Union, but of the slaveholding states. In this

Southern movement Calhoun was the great and dominating spirit whom all followed. He was, in the author's view, the foremost economist, constitutionalist, seer, and statesman of the day. In the great debate on the Force Bill in 1833 he gives Calhoun the palm over Webster, though he sets small store by a victory which could have no weight comparable with that of the unconscious nationalistic movements which were the decisive elements. While, however, placing Calhoun as a debater and Toombs as a lawyer before Webster, he has for Webster extreme admiration as an orator and as a national power; regarding as perhaps his greatest accomplishment the outcome of his stand taken, in opposition to Wirt's advice, in the *Gibbons v. Ogden* case of 1824, involving the question of exclusive navigation in the waters of a state—a stand which brought from the Supreme Court an opinion regarding the regulation of commerce by Congress which more than any other thing has helped to unify the country.

The author thinks that Toombs has not had his due, a judgment in which most will agree who have studied Toombs's speeches. For Davis he has admiration as an orator and statesman, but none for his military ability. All military students must agree with this latter judgment. He regards slavery as having been to the South a curse "of magnitude and weight incredible" (p. 342); a particular curse to the white, but in a way a blessing to the negro race in offering it opportunities for improvement such as it never had in Africa. Mr. Reed's analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, while doing full justice to its power and influence, wholly denies its accuracy. As for the negro himself, that problem which the war did not solve, he is not hopeful, though he speaks in no unkindly spirit. He estimates that five per cent. of the colored people are rising, "most of whom are largely white" (p. 407). He recognizes "a world-wide difference" (p. 409) between this small upper class and the numerous lower class of negroes. "Listless, lethargic, careless, without initiative, without opportunity and coercion to make use of it, these multitudes of inveterate have-nothings are in a bottomless gulf of want, immorality, crime, and disease" (p. 411). This is a picture by one who speaks with no bitterness, but far otherwise, of the war and its results; for he is now an enthusiastic unionist and has accepted without reserve the result of the struggle. His book is evidently an earnest endeavor to present the truth; it is a valuable contribution to its subject, in both philosophy and fact, and it deserves a wide circulation.

F. E. CHADWICK.

*William T. Sherman.* By EDWARD ROBINS. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1905. Pp. 352.)

THIS volume belongs to a series of biographies having for their subjects men famous in the period of our Civil War. It is designed for popular reading, a somewhat slight work but at the same time unpreten-

tious. While by no means a scientific military biography, it yet gives the main facts in the life of Sherman correctly, and in as much detail as the ordinary reader requires. While writing from knowledge obtained from a variety of sources, Mr. Robins makes his principal authority the *Memoirs* of General Sherman himself. This is as it should be. Among the soldier-records from the Civil War time, not one is more interesting or important than the *Memoirs* of Sherman. They are written with extraordinary frankness and candor. While Sherman often has harsh things to say of associates and opponents, he not seldom lets them speak in their own behalf, or admits what may tend to justify them. While resorting sometimes to methods of warfare of questionable propriety, he does not veil his conduct: describing what he did, he is outspoken and manly in his defense.

This quality in Sherman's book is reflected in that of Mr. Robins. He gives us no indiscriminate eulogy of his hero, while illustrating copiously his ability and substantial worth. Mr. John C. Ropes, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1891, at the time of Sherman's death, took him severely to task for the barbarities of his march through Georgia and the Carolinas; and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in his pamphlet of 1905, "Some Phases of the Civil War" (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, XIX. 315-356), criticizes severely the historian J. F. Rhodes for passing over too lightly the "vandalism" (p. 27) of that famous expedition. Mr. Robins, too, gives the facts and is not reticent in his disapproval.

For our part we hold no brief for Sherman. Some of his letters and speeches in 1864-1865 are not pleasant reading, and some of his acts were harsh. The world has judged the "bummer" quite too good-naturedly: so far from being a ludicrous figure, the view too generally accepted, he was a marauding ruffian of an aggravated type; and it is not creditable to his superiors that so little was done to suppress him. But this may be said: the war for the Union became toward the end terribly close and desperate, and it was inevitable that the campaigns should become marked by great excesses. If the South was to be beaten down, severities were necessary; and the measures of Sherman, because they were cruel, were very effective. His famous aphorism, "War is Hell", is entirely true; and it will always happen, so long as the nations submit their quarrels to the arbitrament of the sword, if the fight becomes close and desperate, as was our case, that things will be done to make the blood curdle. It is part of the dreadful business.

Sherman was by no means a solitary instance. Sheridan devastated the Shenandoah Valley so that "a crow flying over it would have to carry his rations", and Grant has been accused of prolonging and aggravating the misery at Andersonville by refusing an exchange of prisoners, his reason being that it would bring at once upon Sherman a great new army in good health and strength after their Northern confinement. The South did no better; the operations of the Confederate cruisers

were against unarmed and peaceful ships. Morgan's raid in Ohio and Early's march into Pennsylvania were marked by robbery and conflagration. If less stands to the account of the South than to that of the North, it is because the South lacked opportunity and not good-will. Stonewall Jackson favored showing no quarter, as the quick and merciful way. Plenty of soldiers in our time advocate enormities on the plea that the sharp method is 'the short, humane method; thus warfare will end speedily and with a smaller aggregate of suffering. That Sherman was of this opinion the biography of Mr. Robins makes plain, the fact appearing still more plainly in Sherman's own book.

J. K. HOSMER.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*The Story of Art throughout the Ages: an Illustrated Record.* By S. Reinach, member of the Institute of France. From the French by Florence Simmonds. With nearly six hundred illustrations. (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xi, 316.) This remarkable little book is an English translation of M. Reinach's *Apollo* (Paris, Hachette, 1904, pp. xi, 336), and consists of twenty-five lectures delivered in the winter of 1902-1903 at the École du Louvre, upon the historic schools of art. The author is one of the most distinguished scholars of Europe, who possesses apparently inexhaustible knowledge, sound judgment, and discriminating taste. He has here given to the world a brief general history of architecture, sculpture, and painting which so far outstrips its predecessors that it will wait long for a rival. The history of art has here become the fascinating "Story", which, while it lacks nothing of scientific accuracy, is set forth in a full and fitting vocabulary, and is at the same time rich in terse and poignant characterization.

One of the most interesting things to note in a work by such a scholar is the proportion of space given to each school. Here, for instance, one chapter embraces all Greek art before Phidias, whereas another treats only of Phidias and the Parthenon. In the limits of one lecture the author discusses the sculpture as well as the painting of both Siena and Florence, but devotes another exclusively to Michelangelo and Correggio. It is also interesting to note in the lecture on "The Renaissance in France and in Flanders" that the author thinks it worth while to mention the little-known Gerard (Geertgen) of Haarlem, and Jacques Daret, a pupil of Van der Weyden; "known until quite lately as the Master of Mérode, or of Flémalle" (p. 196). In view of the doubts cast upon the value of modern art criticism it is encouraging to find such an authority saying, "The truth about the formation of Raphael's genius [by Timoteo Viti] was discovered by Morelli about 1880; it is the more necessary to insist upon it, because it has not yet become an accepted fact in the teaching of art history." As M. Reinach is familiar with the latest researches of historians, archeologists, and art critics, one finds here up-to-date information on a great variety



of subjects given in brief compass. Yet the author is not afraid to differ from other scholars, as when he dates the Venus of Milo three centuries earlier than do the majority of archeologists, pronounces the statue "a masterpiece of the school of Phidias", and "not Venus, but the goddess of the sea, Amphitrite, holding a trident in her extended left arm" (p. 48).

The six hundred half-tone reproductions of works of art, small as they are, are still of so excellent a quality that they greatly reinforce the text; but the page, split into double columns, is less restful to the eye than the undivided page of the French original. As a reference book the value of this little volume is enhanced by the very full bibliographies. Taken as a whole, the work is a masterpiece of taste, of judgment, and of condensation, and should be in the library not only of every lover of art, but of every cultivated person; for, as M. Reinach says in closing (p. 297), "This study is one that no civilised man, whatever his profession, should ignore in these days."

GEORGE B. ZUG.

*Studies in Roman History.* By E. G. Hardy, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1906, pp. x, 349.) The first ten chapters of the sixteen which make up this book are a reprint of the author's earlier work, *Christianity and the Roman Government*; the other chapters, essays on more or less special subjects in Roman history, were first published as articles in different reviews. It is very much to be regretted that the author saw fit to republish his study on *Christianity and the Roman Government* without revision. When it first appeared it was a painstaking presentation of the results then arrived at regarding the relations between the Christian church and the Roman state in the first two centuries of our era along the lines laid down by Mommsen in 1890 in his article "Der Religionsfrevel nach römischen Recht" (*Historische Zeitschrift*, LXIV. 389-429). The special value of Mommsen's contribution was that it stimulated interest in the subject and brought about the publication of a large number of monographs and special studies on obscure or disputed points which make it possible now to form a fairly accurate idea of the position of the early Christians under the Roman laws.

At its first appearance Hardy's work was not marked by much originality, and hence it is questionable whether any justification can be found for a second edition in which no account has been taken of recent developments. Thus the chapter on "Christianity in Rome under Nero" seems the work of the veriest tyro when read in the light of the minute discussions in France and Italy during the last ten years; while that on "Christianity in its Relation to 'Collegia'" might better have been omitted entirely. The elaborate arguments in support of De Rossi's theory that the Christians escaped persecution at the hands of the Roman authorities by forming "burial-clubs" have no longer any weight, as the theory itself has vanished from the calculations of historians under

the pointed criticisms of Duchesne. Positive inaccuracies such as the following can scarcely be tolerated even in unrevised editions: "The martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna is proved by the exhaustive arguments of M. Waddington to have belonged to this reign [of Antoninus Pius]" (p. 111). Those elaborate and exhaustive arguments of M. Waddington so skilfully summarized by Lightfoot have been shown by Schmid (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1893, N. F., Band 48, pp. 53-83) to rest on an entirely false basis and to have no historical value, and as such are rejected by all recent authorities on the life of Polycarp (Harnack, Bardenhewer, etc.). Some of the special studies, especially those on the "Movements of the Legions" and on "The Provincial 'Concilia'", which form the concluding portion of the book are decided contributions to the literature of Roman administration.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Dahn's monumental work *Die Könige der Germanen* has been continued with the second *Abteilung* of the ninth volume (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1905, pp. xlvii, 639), which deals with the Bavarians. The volume follows exactly Dahn's now familiar plan. A bibliography of thirty-one pages is prefixed, and the text opens with a brief sketch of the political history and continues with full discussions in minute subdivisions of all sides of the constitutional and legal history of state and church. Of special interest in this state is the absorption of a rather well-developed monarchical power into the Frankish empire, together with the late introduction of the feudal system in an advanced stage of its development, so that the vassal relationship and the benefice were almost of necessity united (p. 146), and the use of these institutions by the early Carolingians to undermine the position of the duke (p. 390).

The first half of the second volume of Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1906, pp. viii, 253) has recently been published. It contains the vocabulary, which has been constructed not merely to give the meanings of the words with illustrative references, but to provide thorough philological discussions, and a complete index to the laws. In a single alphabet are included the Anglo-Saxon, French, and Medieval Latin words of the laws, proper names of persons and places, many separate philological articles like *Accusativ*, *Comparativ*, *Gleitlaut*, *Modernisirung*, and numerous cross-references. The book is an almost ideally perfect tool for the study of the laws, rendering any passage instantly accessible, and giving a complete list of the places where any given term may be found. Institutional discussions, which are so characteristic a feature of the vocabulary in Schmid's *Gesetze*, are not found here. The second part of the volume is to be a legal glossary.

We may be grateful for the publication of Bishop Stubbs's *Lectures on Early English History*, edited by Arthur Hassall (London and New

York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1906, pp. viii, 391), for biographical reasons, if for no other, for the light which they throw on the author's methods of work. For those who can separate what is obsolete from what is still of value, they are worth much more than this. The lectures contain much that Bishop Stubbs would not have consented to print in 1906, much that will be misleading to those who have not at hand the results of the later investigations, but they contain also many of the suggestive comments which characterize all his work. Proper editing was needed in this case even more than in the *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series* published in 1902, but is entirely lacking, for the bibliographical references of the most general sort inserted at the end of the lectures do not deserve the name. If the date of the delivery of the lectures could have been ascertained and given, as was done in the series of lectures which Bishop Stubbs himself published in 1886, it would have been of much value. The book is divided into twenty-one numbered parts, some, like number III., on "The Laws and Legislation of the Norman Kings", containing a series of lectures. The first eight of these parts, a little more than half the volume, relate to the institutional history of England, discussing in detail many documents—charters, the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, the *Leges Henrici*, the Domesday Survey, and others, and furnishing, as Mr. Hassall says in his prefatory note, a commentary on some of the most difficult portions of the *Select Charters*. The other numbers deal largely in comparative institutional history—"Systems of Landholding in Mediæval Europe", "The Early European Constitutions", "The Kings and their Councils in England, France, and Spain", "Early Judicial Systems", etc.

*Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts.* Auf Veranlassung Seiner Durchlaucht des Fürsten Franz von und zu Liechtenstein dargestellt von Hans Uebersberger. Erster Band, 1488–1605. (Vienna and Leipzig, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1906, pp. xvi, 584.) This volume, dealing with the relations between Austria and Russia in the sixteenth century, comes as the first instalment of a work which promises to be monumental. If the succeeding numbers maintain the standard of the one at hand, the author will unquestionably have exclusive possession of this particular field, for his use of material is sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy any within whose province the subject might be included. In treating the question of Austro-Russian relations as a special theme, the author, of course, goes over ground which has already been covered by a series of standard monographs and secondary histories. One has only to recall the works of Schiemann, Pierling, Smirnov, Soloviev, and others to know that the field is not new. But the richness of the sources—Russian, Polish, Austrian, and Venetian—renders quite profitable the task of amplifying the results of previous writers; and this, by a faithful gleaning of the archives, the author has been able to do. In such a compilation the proportion between primary and secondary material necessarily varies in different places.

Chapter I, for example, is based almost entirely on secondary works; in other chapters the ratio is reversed. The present volume exhausts the period between 1488 and 1605. It brings together a mass of information on the diplomatic negotiations between Austria and Russia over the constantly shifting questions of Poland and the Baltic Provinces.

The limits of a short review make a detailed criticism impossible. But it may not be out of place to make one or two suggestions. The volume, first of all, seems to start too abruptly. Chapter I plunges into all the intricacies of a diplomatic mission without attempting to explain sufficiently the preliminary situation. A short historical introduction would here be a help. In the next place, the bulk of the work is taken up with accounts of diplomatic missions between Moscow and Vienna: there were some forty in all, and they grow confusing. A table at the end, giving for each mission the date, the names of the agents, and the principal subject of negotiation, would be a useful guide in what is at best a very complicated narrative. Frequently, as for instance in a description of Russia after the death of Ivan IV., the author leaves his special field and wanders discursively into general history. It would have been just as well to take such superfluous information for granted. Again, the absence of a bibliography at the end is a distinct lack. And, in connection with the subject of bibliography, it is surprising that, with the exception of Pierling, no reference has been made to any French works, nor to the standard history of Herrmann and Strahl. The use of *Zoe* and *Sophie* as interchangeable names for the consort of Ivan III. would seem to be an error, and the indiscriminate use of *Palaeolog* and *Palaeologus* might have been avoided by choosing either the one form or the other; but, in general, despite the variety of the sources, the terminology of proper names has been kept quite uniform.

C. E. FRYER.

*Michel de L'Hospital and His Policy.* By A. E. Shaw, M.A. (London, Henry Frowde, 1905, pp. 154.) It is not yet a half-dozen years since another young Englishman, Mr. C. T. Atkinson, published as the Lothian Prize Essay for 1899 a booklet of almost precisely this bulk on precisely this subject. Was the present essay (which nowhere mentions the other, and which says of itself only that it was "originally written as an academical exercise") perhaps an unsuccessful competitor for the same prize? If so, one can but commend the wisdom of the judges. Mr. Shaw writes, indeed, somewhat sparkingly, in that epigrammatic, allusive style just now so much in vogue among the younger historical writers of England; but his brilliance is often at the cost of clearness and sometimes at that of accuracy. His foot-notes, which show considerable acquaintance with the sources, abound in petty carelessnesses and are now and then unintelligible. In distribution of space his book differs from Mr. Atkinson's mainly in the larger attention given to the early career of his hero. For the life of L'Hospital prior to his chancellorship both books alike rest heavily on the researches of Dupré-Lasale;

but Mr. Shaw's, which is dedicated to that scholar, has had the advantage of being able to use his second volume (1555-1560), which appeared in 1899, and thanks him besides for "kindly personal encouragement". So eulogistic is Mr. Shaw's temper that he can tolerate no censure of the great chancellor, however qualified; and the abuse of Michelet with which his book closes is all but peevish.

G. L. B.

With the appearance of the sixteenth volume, Mrs. Paget Toynbee's elaborate edition of the *Letters of Horace Walpole* is finished (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1903-1905). The editor's indefatigable industry appears to have continued unabated to the end, though she laments her inability to prepare the indexes with her own hand. These indexes, occupying nearly the whole of the last volume, are as minute and full as one can demand. Of the last instalment (volumes XIII.-XVI.) the first three cover the years 1783-1797. Walpole seems to have found himself old before he had reached three score and ten, and though he lived to be four score, it was to endure labor and sorrow and to suffer not infrequently the exquisite torture of gout. "However, Madam," he wrote in 1784, "I have one great blessing, there is drowsiness in all the square hollows of the red-hot bars of the gridiron on which I lie" (XIII. 232-233). He continued his correspondence to the end, and these later volumes, though not so full of interest as the earlier ones, have many entertaining and brilliant passages. He did not lose his faculty for sharp and epigrammatic sayings. Madame de Genlis, commenting on the Oxford plan of education, remarked "sensibly" that it was probably "adapted to our constitution". "I could have told her", wrote Walpole, "that it is directly repugnant to our constitution, and that nothing is taught there but drunkenness and prerogative, or, in their language, Church and King" (XIII. 297-298). A very few of the letters are here printed for the first time, but, as in the preceding volumes, they do little save attest the diligence of the editor. We have in these sixteen volumes letters written by a litterateur, critic, and man of the world during sixty-five years. There is surprisingly little change in tone, temper, sentiment, or outlook upon the world between the early years of George II. and the last decade of the century. For two generations, despite the gout, time ambled withal.

A. C. McL.

*Mémoires du Comte Valentin Esterhazy.* Avec une Introduction et des Notes, par Ernest Daudet. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1905, pp. lii, 360.) As writer for a dozen journals, as author of a dozen novels, and as pamphleteer on a dozen issues that have stirred France during the last five decades, one might think M. Ernest Daudet had done his share of tasks, but he is rounding out his career with the production of a series of volumes dealing with the period of the Revolution, especially in its royalist episodes and phases. It was while working on his earlier

volumes on the history of the emigration that he obtained access to the unpublished memoirs of Comte Valentin Esterhazy, which were used forty years ago by Feuillet de Conches in his *Louis XVI., Marie-Antoinette et Madame Élisabeth*. M. Daudet has now published these memoirs as a whole, with a valuable introduction and some notes. The best things in the text have already been made known in the works of Feuillet de Conches and of Daudet himself. The real contribution made by M. Daudet is in his introduction, which summarizes the known facts concerning the life of the author of the memoirs, and contains a few letters selected from the manuscript correspondence of the Count. The editor announces that this correspondence is voluminous, consisting chiefly of letters of the Count to his wife, which are full of gossip and fact for the important score of years from 1784 to 1804. Judging from the thirty pages of extracts from this correspondence, the reader wonders why M. Daudet chose to reproduce the *Mémoires* in extenso instead of giving a larger selection from the correspondence, which he himself confesses is the more valuable.

Comte Valentin Esterhazy de Galantha et de Frakno was born October 22, 1740, of a branch of the family which had left Hungary because of its connection with the Rákóczy insurrections, and had entered the French military service. Naturally destined for the army, he began his active service in 1757, as captain in the Régiment de Bercheny, and saw service throughout the Seven Years' War, winning his commission as colonel. In 1764 he became the proprietor of a regiment of his own name, which he retained until the outbreak of the Revolution. He became *maréchal de camp* in 1781, and was stationed at Valenciennes during the opening months of the Revolution. Sent to Vienna in connection with the marriage negotiations of Louis and Marie Antoinette, he from that time forth commanded their favor and confidence to a high degree. He emigrated to England in September, 1790, but was summoned to Coblenz in the following June by the Comte d'Artois, who sent him to St. Petersburg in September, 1791, as the royalist representative. He enjoyed marked favor under Catherine, and later under the Tsar Paul, although the latter declined to recognize him as the Bourbon ambassador. He died on July 23, 1805, at the Chateau of Grodek in Volhynia, which had been bestowed upon him by the Russian government. On March 23, 1784, he married the only daughter of the Comte d'Hallweil—the "chère Fanny" to whom he wrote almost daily during the frequent periods of their separation.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

*L'Expansion des Boers au XIXe Siècle.* Par Henri Dehérain. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1905, pp. 433.) The expansion of the Boers, as covered by M. Dehérain, begins with the first conquest of Cape Colony by the English in 1795, and ends with the establishment of the Orange Free State, on the English evacuation of that province in February, 1854. With the later history of the Boer republics M. Dehérain is not here con-

cerned, but it is easy to see that his story has been written with the recent war continually in mind; and while he has kept strictly to the task he set himself of writing a history, and "rien de plus", his endeavor has been to write a history which shall make comprehensible the final struggle between Boers and Britons, by bringing out the features in Boer character and in the environment of the South African farmers which brought them into antagonism with the British colonists and the imperial government. It is an advantage to have a history of the Boers from the pen of a Frenchman. M. Dehérain holds the balance even between the progressive Anglo-Saxon with his unstable Colonial Office behind him, and the retrograde Boer with his persistent and obstinate love of liberty and his determination to be untrammelled in his dealings with the colored races. The picture M. Dehérain paints of the Boers of the first half of the last century is not attractive. Descended from Dutchmen, often of good family and liberal education, they had relapsed almost into barbarism; and one of the difficulties M. Dehérain encountered in the writing of his history was the absence of all records written by Boers, in the form of either government archives, correspondence, or memoirs. In fact, in the twenties and thirties writing had become almost a lost art. Reading was taught in the Boer families by wandering tutors from Europe who spent a few weeks in the farmers' families—long enough that some of the younger members of the family at least might learn to read the one book of the nation, the Bible; but when agreements between English and Boers were drawn up in documentary form, the Boers frequently signed with a mark. While hampered by this lack of internal documents, M. Dehérain has made an exhaustive use of the records of early travellers, hunters, missionaries, and explorers; of English state papers and Parliamentary debates; of reports of commissioners and of correspondence of the local authorities with the Colonial Office. While he has made a careful study of maps and charts, and has illustrated his work with eight maps, a better knowledge of the topography of South Africa would have enabled him to avoid several errors. False Bay and Table Bay can scarcely be accounted first-class harbors, and Natal has only in very limited areas the well-wooded appearance with which he credits the country. M. Dehérain gives an excellent critical bibliography of the literature concerning South Africa. For fairness of presentation, conciseness of form, and completeness within the limits of his period, there is at present no history of the Boers that can rank with this new work; and it is to be hoped that an English translation of the *Expansion des Boers* will soon find a publisher.

A. G. PORRITT.

*Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* por Bernal Díaz del Castillo, según el código autógrafo. La publica Genaro García. (Mexico, Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1904, two vols., pp. xcvi, 506; 560.) Señor Lic. Genaro García, who set the his-

torical students of Mexico by the ears five years ago when he published his *Carácter de la Conquista Española*, which was a sort of history of the conquest of Mexico as told by the conquistadors, has now had the good fortune to become the editor of the first edition of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia Verdadera* which presents, in a form available for general use, the text of that work as the author wrote it. It has long been known that the original manuscript of this work had survived to our day, but until the government of Guatemala distributed a limited number of copies of a photographic facsimile of the manuscript, no one had apparently guessed that the text which was first published in 1632 by Father Alonso Remón of the Order of Mercy, and repeatedly reprinted, misinterpreted most of the author's statements of fact and opinion.

In preparing for publication his text of the *Historia Verdadera*, which is printed from the facsimile of the author's manuscript, Señor García was obliged, by the magnitude of the task, to forego the plan of recording each instance where emendations and permutations were introduced by Father Remón. The passages cited are quite sufficient, however, to discredit absolutely every statement in the earlier printed text which speaks well for the editor's religious brethren or which suggests a glossing of evil deeds by the Europeans. Bernal Díaz, writing in his old age, knew well that what Cortés and his fellow-conquistadors accomplished was a great work, thoroughly executed. He knew also that in the execution many things happened that were rough and brutal and often unnecessary. He told the story as he had lived it, asking no favors and seeking no enemies. It was, even in the amended and extenuated text of Father Remón, one of the great documents in the annals of human achievement. As its author wrote it, the *Historia Verdadera* is almost unmatched as a story of war and conquest and colonization, told frankly and easily by a man from the ranks.

There is little about the execution of this new edition which calls for comment. There are many signs of careful attention to copying and proof-reading, chiefly the surprisingly small number of letters or words which suggest a desire to compare them with the original manuscript. Señor García, despite the fact that he seems to be unaware that the form of abbreviation fairly accurately represented in type by "Jesu xpto" is perhaps the most usual method of writing the name of Christ in ordinary manuscripts of the renaissance times, has done his work competently as well as conscientiously. His edition, which is issued with the assistance of the Mexican government, may fairly expect to remain for a long time the standard text of Bernal Díaz's narrative.

G. P. W.

*Sailors. Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524-1624.* With notes by George Parker Winship of the John Carter Brown Library. (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1905, pp. 292.) In preparing this painstaking reprint of narratives Mr. Winship has



done a much-needed service for which as the librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, which is exceedingly rich in original copies of these narratives, he possessed exceptional facilities. The reprints in the volume are as follows: Giovanni da Verrazano, 1524; David Ingram, 1568; Bartholomew Gosnold, 1602; Martin Pring, 1603; Samuel de Champlain, 1605; George Waymouth, 1605; George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, 1607; Henry Hudson, 1609; Samuel Argall, 1610; John Smith, 1614; Thomas Dermer, 1619; and Christopher Levett, 1624. The term "sailor" is applicable to only a part of the narratives. Neither John Brereton, who wrote the account of Gosnold's voyage, nor James Rosier, who wrote the narrative of Waymouth's voyage, was in any sense of the word a sailor.

The reason for including David Ingram's "Relacon" is not clear. Ingram with two companions made his way from Mexico up the Mississippi valley to the "mayne Sea uppon the northe syde of Ameryca", which Mr. Winship doubtless correctly identifies with one of the "Great Lakes" (p. 30). Proceeding eastward, they "came to the head of a Ryvar called Gugida which is 60 leagues weste from Cape Britton", which Mr. Winship identifies with the St. John. While there Ingram heard of the arrival of a French trader on the coast, made his way thither, and was taken to France. Mr. Winship believes that this French vessel was found "somewhere on the eastern Maine coast", and thus makes a place for Ingram's "Relacon" in his collection. But there is no evidence that this vessel was on the Maine coast; and if there were, the narrative could in no way be regarded as of sufficient importance to be included in a volume entitled *Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast*. It gives no account of any such voyage.

All the other narratives, however, are relations of voyages to or along the New England coast, and afford interesting and valuable information concerning the country, its products, and inhabitants. We miss the narrative of the voyage of the Mayflower as found in the ninth and tenth chapters of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*. This was a voyage of far more importance than that of the Popham colony which is included.

Mr. Winship's brief introductions to the narratives give the reader the more important facts concerning the writers and the texts. The marginal notes are not numerous, but they indicate with sufficient clearness the points of contact with the coast and furnish abundant evidence of a careful study of the literature pertaining to these narratives. The publishers have given to the volume a most attractive dress. The edition is limited to four hundred and forty numbered copies.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

*History of the Maumee River Basin from the Earliest Account to its Organization into Counties.* By Charles Elihu Slocum. (Indianapolis and Toledo, Bowen and Slocum, 1905, pp. viii, 638, xx.) The region

around Detroit, to the south and west, was so long the centre of interest in Western history that this subject has a strong attractiveness. It is unfortunate that the author, who has given it years of painstaking research and study, has interpreted his title so broadly. Matters of geology, topography, biology, ethnology, local history, and digressions on general American history not essential to the narrative, together with topics of merely local and purely personal and passing interest, find too large a place in an otherwise creditable undertaking. The book touches few controverted questions in history, and is free from the more egregious errors. The author still clings to the very doubtful view that La Salle passed up the Maumee to a discovery of the Ohio and Mississippi in the fall of 1669. Granting that the expedition may have taken place, the date is almost certainly a year too early. Errors are noted in several instances: "the War of the Spanish Succession" is a slip for the War of the Austrian Succession (p. 90); "the war of the British succession" for the Seven Years' War (p. 107, note 1). The unwarranted statement is made that Massachusetts did not include Detroit and vicinity in the cession of 1785 (p. 153). Minor errors in dates of canal construction occur (pp. 602, 610). The most valuable portions of the book are the accounts of the Indian wars and the military campaigns of Generals Wayne and Harrison, but here the amount of positive contribution to our knowledge is small. Some very interesting notes on the efforts of the legislature of Michigan Territory to secure the ultimate ownership of the railroads constructed within its borders are included (pp. 619-620). The book will be of undoubted interest to the general reader, but the student will regret the frequent disregard for due proportion in the treatment of subjects, and at times the partizan, uncritical narrative, unnecessarily retarded by lengthy quotations in the body of the text from the sources, diaries, military reports, and Indian treaties, all of which are valuable, but are readily accessible in every moderate college library.

ELBERT J. BENTON.

*The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* By Barnett A. Elzas, M.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1905, pp. 352.) This book contains a detailed and painstaking study of the history of the Jews in the colony and state of South Carolina, and a great deal of patient research through scores of volumes of newspapers and directories and manuscript records alone made its publication possible. As late as 1826, South Carolina probably contained a larger Jewish population than any other in the Union, and in no other state, relatively, have Jews been so active in public life during many decades as in South Carolina. The story begins with a specific welcome to Jews and other dissenters, in John Locke's famous "Constitution" (1669); and Dr. Elzas rightly emphasizes the fact that South Carolina was unique among the British colonies in never at any time imposing any civil or religious disability upon the Jew. Dr. Elzas

descants upon the achievements of the Jewish pioneer settler, who is traced back to 1695; presents an interesting sketch of Francis Salvador (here following Mr. Hühner's interesting investigation), as also of Moses Lindo; and does full justice to the Jews who fought for their country during the struggle for liberty and in later wars. With the assistance of congregational records, newspapers, and directories, he has constructed very valuable "directories" of Jewish residents in 1800-1824, and 1824-1860, with numerous citations and references concerning those deserving more than mere enumeration. A sympathetic and valuable account of "The Reformed Society of Israelites", launched about 1824 under Isaac Harby's lead, and the earliest authenticated "reform movement" among the Jews in America, is furnished, as well as congregational histories, orthodox and heterodox, of later days.

Dr. Elzas has sought to avoid all dangers of distortion of facts by confining his attention to contemporary public "records", eschewing "traditions" and comments, with the result that his chapters are frequently not over-readable. It requires no argument, however, to show that this is not a sufficiently comprehensive method of treating social history. Traditions must be sifted and corrected, but should not be merely thrust aside and ignored. Even Dr. Elzas's diligence cannot reproduce from the records a complete contemporary history of Jewish activities in South Carolina. Moreover, there is reason to believe that he did not secure access to various valuable collections of old-time family records and papers.

Dr. Elzas has departed from his principle of avoiding comments in two classes of cases: whenever there was any opportunity to try to "explode a tradition", and whenever there was any occasion to refer to the writings of any other student who has preceded him in the fields of American Jewish history. He has materially added to our knowledge of South Carolina Jewish history, and he might safely have permitted historical students to discover this fact for themselves, without attempting to emphasize it by belittling all his predecessors. The book is attractively printed and bound; and it is to be hoped that the fourteen years of wide-ranged, painstaking historical investigations by members of the American Jewish Historical Society will, before long, lead to the publication of similar studies for the other sections of the country.

MAX J. KOHLER.

*Phases of Royal Government in New York, 1691-1719.* By Charles Worthen Spencer, Professor of History, Colgate University. (Columbus, Ohio, Fred J. Heer, 1905, pp. 156.) This is a Columbia doctor's dissertation dealing with some phases of the constitutional history of New York from the close of the Leislerian revolution to the end of Governor Hunter's administration. The main theme is the conflict between the prerogative element in the provincial constitution, represented by the governor and council, and the popular element, represented by the Assembly. In this constitutional discussion financial issues

are rightly given the central place; for in them "the province groped to political self-consciousness and to an activity in which the issues were of a higher order than those of factional hatred or personal intrigue" (p. 97). The prerogative party stood for the theory that public money should be raised by the Assembly, but "expended under the direction of the governor and council" (*ibid.*). The "country party", on the other hand, at first distracted by the violent factional contests which arose from the Leislerian revolution, gradually settled down to the policy of controlling expenditure in detail and placing the public funds in the charge of an elective provincial treasurer. In the closing chapter, which deals with Hunter's administration, the writer points out how the governor, weakened in prestige by the maladministration of the Cornbury régime, entered upon a long controversy with the Assembly, which ended in a formal "compromise". In fact, however, the substantial advantage of this settlement remained with the Assembly, notwithstanding Governor Hunter's diplomacy and his personal popularity. An interesting feature of this contest was Governor Hunter's suggestion that the true solution of the financial problem might be the raising of a colonial revenue by act of Parliament.

This monograph impresses one as painstaking and accurate; and it contains some fresh and interesting matter, as, for instance, in the discussion of the colonial speakership and of legislative procedure. It has, however, the usual faults of the academic dissertation. Minor matters are treated with unnecessary diffuseness, much of the material is ill-digested, and in general the writer needs to cultivate greater simplicity and directness of style. Manuscript material has been drawn upon to some extent, but the main outlines of the story are probably familiar to previous students of the printed sources. The table of contents is very short and there is no index.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Dr. Ernst Moll, in the fifth volume of "Zürcher Beiträge zur Rechtswissenschaft", has presented a study of the nature of the federal state in America, as the subject was viewed by American statesmen before 1850—*Der Bundesstaatsbegriff in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von ihrer Unabhängigkeit bis zum Kompromiss von 1850* (Zürich, Schulthess, 1905, pp. 209). There are opportunities for differences of opinion concerning the interpretation of the words and sentiments discussed. The fundamental propositions, for example, of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions are not understood, for it cannot truthfully be said that "Nur im Ziel unterscheidet sich die Nullifikations- und Sezessionstheorie Jefferson's von der Nullifikations- und Sezessionstheorie Calhoun's. Ihre Grundlage und ihre Substanz ist die gleiche" (p. 127). A study of the constitutional theory of the Revolution would have relieved the writer from such a fundamental error. But there is much good work in the book, and it is certainly curious that one of the very first scientific efforts to trace the history of the federal idea

should have come from Europe. This monograph is unencumbered by visible prejudice or extraneous political impediments. It is a clean study of theory and as such is of real value. It is noteworthy that the first chapter is "Das Verhältniss zwischen England und den amerikanischen Kolonien"; but this phase of the federal problem is scantily treated and without appreciation of its significance. That it should be treated at all in this connection, however, marks intelligent thinking.

A. C. McL.

*Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.* By Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., Professor of History in West Virginia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, Agents, 1905, pp. xxiii, 815.) Professor Fleming's book may be regarded as one of the tangible results of the increasing interest in history in the South and Southwest, which has become so noticeable within the last decade and which has manifested itself in Alabama and Mississippi by the formation of state departments of archives and history. Believing that a knowledge of the civilization that was swept away by the war is essential to a clear understanding of the events of the Reconstruction period, the author gives a full account of ante-bellum society and institutions. Much attention is also paid to economic, social, and religious conditions during the struggle and in the decade following. Numerous maps illustrate the distribution of population, the political complexion of various sections of the state at different periods, the routes of the invading armies, and the industrial development during the war. Especially interesting is the account of the growth of manufacturing in the state from 1861 to 1865, a natural result of the cutting off of former sources of supply by the blockading fleet and the Union armies. This industrial activity of the South during the war is just beginning to receive the attention it deserves.

Throughout the volume one notes the strong contrast between the Black Belt and the hill counties, the homes respectively of the large planter and the non-slaveholder. These two sections differed in 1861 as to the expediency of immediate secession, and during the war the hill districts did not support the Confederate cause as loyally as did the rest of the state. After the conflict these sections were politically opposed until the Reconstruction policy of Congress drove them to unite against negro domination.

One can find nothing in the work to justify the claim, sometimes put forward by apologists for Reconstruction, that its evils were largely due to the sulkiness of the Southern whites, who would take no part in public affairs and thus allowed the state governments to fall entirely into the hands of aliens and negroes. Numerous instances are given, showing that any attempt of the ex-Confederate to take a hand in affairs was regarded as an effort to "undo Reconstruction".

The work gives evidence of careful and painstaking research through an enormous mass of materials. The voluminous testimony taken before

Congressional committees has been carefully digested and summarized in a few pages, and the author has taken the pains to look up the history of each of the witnesses summoned before the subcommittee for Alabama, discovering that only four of these were citizens of the state. Professor Fleming has not approached his task with a merely local or antiquarian point of view, but aims to give each local event its true setting in the history of the whole period. Reconstruction is treated as something more than a political manœuvre, as a process affecting churches, schools, trades, and professions as well as politics and civil administration. The author's sympathies are decidedly with the South, but the work is free from bitterness or prejudice, and is on the whole as impartial an account as one can expect from any writer on this subject.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS.

*The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina.* By John Porter Hollis, Ph.D., Acting Professor of History and Economics in Southwestern University, Texas. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 129.) The introductory chapter analyzes with some detail the situation in the state in the spring of 1865. The people of South Carolina, having resisted desperately to the last extremity, having seen their property destroyed by a vindictive enemy, having disdained to ask for peace, subdued but unconquered, submitted to the inevitable. After Governor Magrath was arrested forthwith "resolutions were adopted at various public meetings in the State, to the effect that it was the duty of all citizens to refrain from every act of hostility and to promote the return of friendly feeling toward the United States"; and President Johnson was memorialized "to appoint at once a representative citizen [to be] provisional governor" (p. 29). There should be other chapters like this. The next three chapters touch only the high places down to July, 1868, when the state was restored to full federal relations with a voting population of 133,000, sixty-three per cent. colored. Against this the Democrats remonstrated, saying: "We do not mean to threaten resistance by arms, but the white people of our State will never quietly submit to negro rule. By every peaceful means left us, we will keep up this contest until we have regained the heritage of political control handed down to us by an honored ancestry" (p. 105).

Most historians now make a virtue of showing that the Reconstruction policy of the Republicans was conceived in radicalism and born in vindictiveness. Some see clearly that it would have required great confidence in the people of the South and remarkable patience to have turned over to them the rehabilitation of their state governments before the "results of the war" had been permanently secured. But there is still another point of view from which it is the function of Garner and Fleming and Hollis and others to help us see the situation. While "'Tis true 'tis pity; pity 'tis 'tis true", that such human nature as most people are born with could not help doing just about what the Southern

people did do to adjust themselves to the conditions produced by the war and Reconstruction.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

### TEXT-BOOKS

*A Text-Book in the History of Education.* By PAUL MONROE, Ph.D., Professor in the History of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xxiii, 772.)

THE most helpful, most interesting, and withal most suggestive division of the study of education for him who proposes to be a teacher is the history of the evolution of educational ideals and practices. It is a perspective, not a mere atmosphere, that the teacher needs, and this he never will get by mere experience (which teaches few persons anything), or by mere psychology, or indeed by any mere methodology that narrows his vision and tends to make him dependent, local, and provincial. One reason that the history of education has not been more popular as a subject for study is that too many who are going into the work of teaching want something which they can immediately apply or something which is difficult to understand. That which they can immediately apply is "methods"; that which is difficult to understand but which impresses them as necessary is psychology, or rather, the language of psychology. Another reason is the meagre provision of suitable text-books on the subject. The quality is by no means equal to the number.

When Professor Laurie's *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education* appeared, it was hailed with delight, and rightly. Mr. Monroe did us great service when he prepared his *Source Book* (1901), covering the same period as Laurie, and now in this book he has put us still more in his debt, because this is really his *opus majus*, of which his other books published or to be published are illustrations and explanations.

In the scope of the work it is worthy of remark that there is no mention of the Hebrews or the Egyptians. The Chinese certainly furnish an excellent opportunity to point a moral, but to give this nation a whole chapter and to ignore entirely the consideration of a nation that has influenced our lives as much as has the Hebrew nation deserves explanation. The general method of presentation seems to be to find out first upon what philosophic basis the system of education was formed and then to discuss the particular men and their contributions to social, political, and educational progress. This is a reaction against the extreme biographical style of some of the earlier books on this subject, but in many instances I think the author presupposes too much knowledge on the part of his readers, who may have to re-read the first portion of a chapter in the light of the second. In other words, the reader is told what general conclusions the author has arrived at, and reads the rest of the chapter to verify these from evidence submitted. The historical is too often sacrificed to the philosophical.

The treatment of Greek education is on the whole satisfactory, but as in most histories the real significance of Spartan education in its relation to the life of the people, its magnificent opportunities, and its equally magnificent failure might have been made more telling. Müller's *Dorians* ought to find a place on the reference list, and certainly the absence of Jowett's *Plato* and Newman's *Aristotle* is very conspicuous. In his treatment of rhetorical schools at Rome Mr. Monroe merely hints at what is really a very interesting and important fact that has a special lesson for us, namely, that while the education of these schools under the Republic was a definitely practical one, it had only a disciplinary value under the Empire; for social life and political opportunity had entirely changed, but the curriculum had remained fixed. The rise and influence of universities is traced in a very interesting manner, but one looks in vain for any account of Oxford and Cambridge. Similarly it seems that Roger Bacon might deserve more than mere mention. Among selected references for the chapter on the Reformation Arthur F. Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation, 1546-1548* (Westminster, 1896), should have a place, as clearly many of the facts in the chapter are taken from it and it is referred to in "Topics for Further Investigation" (p. 441). This is an exceptionally good book and ought to be in the library of every department of education.

The treatment of modern education is well done, although one misses certain phases of the movement that no doubt the author would have treated had space allowed. A book to have definite value must be after all a revelation of one's attitude, and one's friends in literature and history must be chosen just as in one's daily life. Mr. Monroe can certainly justify his selections and, take it all in all, has given us a book that is the most useful text-book on the subject that has yet appeared.

It is to be hoped that when the book goes into a second edition there will be some corrections made, for the work gives evidence of hurried preparation (in certain infelicities of style) and of lack of careful proof-reading; for instance, the sentence (p. 194) "Suetonius mentions Crates of Mallos, a Greek ambassador to Rome, who met with an accident through falling into an open sewer and was thus detained at Rome (157 B. C.) as the first Greek teacher there." "Erigena" (p. 278) is usually known as Erigena, and he was invited by Charles the Bald, not the Bold. Mahaffy's book is *The Greek World under Roman Sway*—not "Survey" (p. 218). The reference on page 503 to Munroe's *The Educational School* is probably meant for James Phinney Munroe's *The Educational Ideal*. Owen's *Skeptics of the French Renaissance* appears twice on page 502 in the list of references on Montaigne. The first Humanist school-master appears as "Vittorino" on page 376 and "Vitterino" on pages 398 and 399 and in the index. As in many another case, the majority is not right. The school over which Mulcaster presided is known as Merchant Taylor's rather than as "the Merchant Tailors' School".



These, with some lapses in the index, are some of the mere surface defects which mar but which are as easy of correction as of discernment.

GEORGE H. LOCKE.

*Political History of Europe from 1815 to 1848.* Based on Continental authorities. By B. H. CARROLL, Jr., Ph.D. (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press. [1906.] Pp. 221.)

THIS volume "is intended to give American Students an accurate if somewhat succinct account of the course of Post-Napoleonic European Political History", and "does not pretend to be more than a compilation from the best and most accessible and usually untranslated continental authorities". The views expressed, however, it is declared, "sometimes differ so materially" from those of the authorities consulted "that the author begs leave . . . to assume responsibility for them". No further indication is given in the narrative proper of these portentous differences, but probably the "authorities" would regard this introductory chapter as sufficiently representative of them. Our author goes on to remark (p. 13) that "The period from the Fall of Napoleon I. to the Fall of Napoleon III. is an era almost unknown to American students", though "it is an era vastly important, for modern history; that is to say political history, in the true sense of the term, begins after the fall of that genius of war and politics". Having thus airily dismissed the preceding ages, Mr. Carroll suddenly but perhaps logically branches off "to note some things that History is not". History is declared not to be sociology and not to be political economy (for "Whatever they may do in the future, Labor and Capital, Progress and Poverty, Dives and Lazarus have not yet made History"); "It is not the mere record of wars and battles", but "Concretely History is the record of the struggle of the great powers of the world against other", and "Internally the history is the record of the attempt to lay hand on the wires of diplomacy and the hilt of the sword" (pp. 14-15). The development of states is mathematically presented as a simple equation of contest (thus "France against England equals the rise of the United States", p. 17); somewhat unexpectedly, however, this lucid statement ends with the tame conclusion (p. 18) that "Our task is none other than to show how the countries of the Continent provided themselves with constitutions."

The Baylor University Press has treated Mr. Carroll's book villainously, and some parts are almost unintelligible. The author was apparently in too great haste to attend much to the medium of his thoughts. Present and past tenses and conditions are mixed up indiscriminately, and extraordinary language is indulged in.

It is difficult to deal with entire fairness with a book of this character, and the reviewer confesses that he approached the narrative with some preconceptions. As a matter of fact, most of it is fairly good, and the characterizations of public men are at times excellent (the sketch of Metternich is stated (p. 42) to be based largely on Lord's

*Beacon Lights of History*). But the arrangement is poor and detail is usually put in where it is uncalled for; the disjointed sections give little impression of continuity and do not make clear the general development; nothing stands out in bold relief. The volume was issued for the use of the students of Baylor University, and it may be useful there; the author was, however, ill-advised in bringing it in its present form before the general public.

VICTOR COFFIN.

*The Industrial History of the United States for High Schools and Colleges.* By KATHARINE COMAN, Ph.B., Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 343, xxiv.)

THERE are many features of this book, judged as a text-book, which are excellent. The distribution of space is good, about the same number of pages being devoted to the colonial period, the period of the Revolution and national beginnings, the period from the War of 1812 to the Civil War, and the period of the Civil War and subsequent years. There is a good working bibliography, marginal references to which are made in connection with every paragraph. There are many useful maps and diagrams and an abundance of well-selected illustrations.

If, notwithstanding these good points, the book cannot be said to be a wholly satisfactory text-book, the explanation is doubtless to be found, in part at least, in the fact that the writer of a text-book of the economic history of the United States labors under the difficulty of the lack, not only of any comprehensive treatment of the subject, but also of any satisfactory treatment of more than a very few of its most important aspects. In view of the scattered and partial character of the material available, it is not perhaps surprising that Miss Coman's book gives the impression of a collection of facts having to do with the economic history of the United States, rather than of a clear presentation of the main features of that history and the influences by which they have been determined.

It must be said, moreover, that even in her statements of facts the author has not exercised as much care as might fairly be expected. Some of the inaccuracies, such as placing the founding of Georgia in 1753 (p. 15), and naming the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth parallels as the limits of the grant to the London Company (p. 24), are evidently due to oversight in proof-reading, but all cannot be explained in this way. Glacial drift does not constitute an element of the soil of the Piedmont plateau from Maine to Georgia (p. 16). In describing the Navigation Act of 1660 (p. 79), no mention is made of the provision most important from the colonial standpoint, namely, that no goods could be imported into or exported from the colonies except in English ships. New Hampshire and Rhode Island first resorted to paper money in 1709 and 1710, respectively, not, as implied by the statement on p. 84, in 1733. The permission to export rice direct to countries south

of Cape Finisterre was granted in 1730, not during the years 1765-1767 (p. 92). Naval stores were not the only commodities which American ships could transport to England under the trade regulations adopted by the English government after the Revolution (p. 112). The settlement on the Tennessee, shown in the map on p. 125, was, in fact, on the Cumberland. Benton was in favor of restoring the circulation of gold, not of the silver dollar, as stated on p. 198. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal did not reach Cumberland nor did the national road reach St. Louis in 1830, as shown on the map on p. 206. Michigan, not the United States, built the locks at Sault Ste. Marie in 1855, although the United States made a land grant for the purpose (p. 234). Early railroad charters were in many cases liberal but they did not fix maximum freight rates of "five, three, and two dollars per ton mile" (p. 240). \$270,000,000 is certainly an excessive estimate for the sum expended on canals up to 1837 (p. 242). The Wilson Act, as passed, did not impose a duty on wool, as is distinctly implied on p. 303. The Act of 1878 required the coinage of 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 dollars' worth of silver, not from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 dollars, each month (p. 314). The purchase of silver under the Sherman Act ceased in November, 1893, not December, 1894 (p. 317). Some of these inaccuracies are of minor importance, but the list might be considerably extended did time and space permit.

While the bibliography is useful, many of the references which we might expect to find, even in a brief bibliography, and which would be most helpful to the student, have not been included. It also is not free from inaccuracies. E. Benjamin Andrews appears as Benjamin J. Andrews (p. xi), and Bishop's *History of American Manufactures* is referred to (p. xii) as published in two instead of three volumes.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

*A History of the Pacific Northwest.* By JOSEPH SCHAFER, M.L., Head of the Department of History, University of Oregon. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xvi, 321.)

PROFESSOR SCHAFER'S *History of the Pacific Northwest* is a school text-book. This is apparent from its format and from the statement in the preface that it is "primarily intended" to "promote a more intelligent interest in northwestern history among the youth of this region". Some if not all of the states carved out of "old Oregon" require the study of local history in the schools, and this book is presumably intended to meet the demand for a text incident to this requirement. The book is well written, and its statements are remarkably accurate.

Professor Schafer's original contribution to Oregon history consists of a collection of extracts from early Western newspapers, relating to the emigrations of 1843, 1844, and 1845, which he has partly printed in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* and upon which he has largely drawn in the present work. The only criticism that the

book suggests is that it presents the history of the Oregon question so largely from the local point of view that it scarcely gives an adequate impression of the immense amount of time devoted by the government to its discussion and rather exaggerates the influence of events in Oregon upon government action. Professor Schafer thinks (p. 213) that there is "no doubt" but that the change in the situation in Oregon affected the negotiation between the British and American governments, but there is no evidence that it did. The diplomatic correspondence continued to thresh over the old straw. Moreover the only portion of the territory really in controversy was that north of the Columbia River, and with respect to that part the American immigration had not yet materially changed the situation. Professor Schafer further thinks (p. 218) that the Whitman massacre "forced" the organization of Oregon upon Congress. It is true that the report of the massacre caused Congress to take up the bill for organization, but it is more likely that it was the nomination of Van Buren by the Free-soil party, upon a platform demanding "established institutions for our brethren in Oregon", which secured its passage in the Senate.

Except for this neglect of the national point of view, Professor Schafer's book could scarcely be improved. It is particularly to be commended for its frank recognition of the services rendered by the Hudson's Bay Company to the early American settlers and for its acceptance of the Oregon treaty as a fair settlement of the questions in controversy. It is almost superfluous to add that Dr. Whitman resumes in these pages his proper place in the history of the Oregon missions and no longer masquerades as the "savior" of the country.

The substance of this volume, written somewhat larger but upon the same lines, forms the greater part of Professor Schafer's history of *The Pacific Slope and Alaska*, which is the tenth volume in the co-operative *History of North America*, of which Dr. Guy Carleton Lee was formerly editor.

F. H. HODDER.

## COMMUNICATION

### *President Johnson's First Annual Message*

PROFESSOR DUNNING'S admirable article on the authorship of President Johnson's messages leaves one point undetermined: he shows conclusively that Johnson did not write the message of December 4, 1865, but he does not investigate the sources of the ideas therein contained. The quest is indeed of minor importance, because it is made plain that Bancroft was chosen to draft it precisely because his views largely coincided with those of the President. While, however, of little significance, it is not without interest.

The message falls into two parts. (The edition by Richardson was used.) Paragraphs twenty-three to thirty-seven inclusive summarize the work of the departments and were doubtless contributed by the heads of the respective departments. The remaining paragraphs were written by Bancroft and form the important part of the message. The first is conventionally introductory and is not at all in the Johnsonian vein. The next, a full page, is a discussion of the constitutionality of secession, following exactly, in sequence of argument, a much longer discussion in Johnson's most famous speech, that of December 18 and 19, 1860 (*Speeches of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States*, edited by Frank Moore, Boston, 1865, pp. 112-120). Some of the illustrations are taken, however, from other places; the quotation from Jefferson was perhaps suggested by a later portion of the same speech (*ibid.*, 163), while the reference to Jefferson as an asserter of the integrity of the Union was constantly in Johnson's mouth during the war (*e. g.*, *ibid.*, 294). The third does not seem to be based on any particular passage, though it is thoroughly Johnsonian. The fourth is roughly paralleled in the speech already referred to (*ibid.*, 106), which also contains the quotation from Jackson's Nullification Proclamation, summarized by the fifth paragraph (*ibid.*, 111). The sixth and the first part of the seventh are purely conventional; the last two-thirds of the seventh was evidently modelled on an address of the President to an Indiana delegation in April, 1865 (*ibid.*, 481-484). Paragraphs eight to eleven inclusive summarize the presidential plan of reconstruction, as it was known and discussed in every paper in the country. Paragraph twelve follows closely a passage in the previously cited speech of 1860 (*ibid.*, 100). Paragraph thirteen is strongly reminiscent of an interview with George L. Stearns, whose account, dated October 3, 1865, was signed and approved by the President (John Savage, *The Life and Public Services of Andrew Johnson*, New York, 1866, appendix, p. 102). Para-

graphs fourteen to sixteen are largely explanatory of the most recent actions of the administration, and therefore one would not expect to find for them a literary source. Still the sixteenth resembles an address to a delegation of Loyal Southerners in April, 1865 (Moore, *Speeches*, 480).

The burden of the message up to this point is constitutional. Paragraph seventeen takes up the negro problem. The last part of this and the next paragraph are based on the interview with Mr. Stearns (Savage, *Life of Johnson*, app., 102). Paragraph nineteen is based on the President's admirable, though far from cordial speech of October 10, 1865, to the soldiers of the First Regiment of Colored Volunteers from the District of Columbia (*ibid.*, app., 90-95). Paragraph twenty follows first the same speech; the middle section seems to be from the President's reply to a delegation from Pennsylvania on April 27, 1865 (*Life, Speeches and Services of Andrew Johnson*, Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1865, pp. 160-161); for the last part I find no parallel. Paragraphs twenty-one and twenty-two discuss monopolies. The twenty-first paragraph is a section of the address last mentioned; for twenty-two I find no parallel, though it is peculiarly Johnsonian.

Paragraphs thirty-eight to forty-two are of the nature of a conclusion. Of these, the last part of forty recalls an address of Johnson while Vice-president, at Washington, April 3, 1865 (Moore, *Speeches*, xlv); forty-two reminds one of the concluding portion of his interview with the South Carolina Delegation, October 13, 1865 (Savage, *Life*, app., 100).

Johnson was not without pride in his speeches; he constantly referred those who wished to know what his policy would be to his record. Doubtless he gave Bancroft the same general direction, and the latter went to work with his trained historical skill to extract the grain from the chaff. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the historian had directly before him the more recent speeches of the President, though they were all, in some form or other, in print. It is equally possible that the President discussed these matters with him independently, and possibly others for which no direct parallel has been found. It is, at any rate, evident that the attempt was made to have the message voice Johnson's ideas. One cannot, however, read the parallel passages without realizing that the impression created by the message was due to the marshalling of these ideas by Bancroft and the general spirit of moderation which he was able to infuse in the whole.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### GENERAL

Mr. Woodbury Lowery, the author of *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States*, died in Sicily on April 11 at the age of fifty-three. Until 1897 he practised patent law, publishing several law-books. The later years of his life were devoted to historical research in the archives and libraries of Mexico, Seville, London, and Rome. The first volume of his work entitled *The Spanish Settlements* was published in 1901, and the second, embracing the history of Florida from 1562 to 1574, in 1905. He had made notes for several more volumes. It is understood that he has provided for the continuance of the work, and that he has given his collection of maps and historical notes to the Library of Congress. His death means a distinct loss to historical scholarship, for his work combined in a rare degree accuracy of statement with charm of literary style.

Señor Carlos Calvo, the Argentine publicist and historian and one of the greatest authorities on international law, died in May at the age of eighty-two. He had represented his country at many European capitals, and at the time of his death was its representative at Paris. His best-known works are his *Derecho Internacional Teórico y Práctico de Europa y América* and his *Recueil Complet des Traités, Conventions, etc., de tous les États de l'Amérique Latine depuis l'Année 1493 jusqu'à Nos Jours* (1862-1869).

Dr. Wilhelm von Heyd, director of the royal library in Stuttgart, died in February at the age of eighty-two. He is most widely known as the author of the *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1879, 2 vols.), which was published in augmented form in a French edition in 1885-1886. Among his other writings are *Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Handels* (1890); and *Bibliographie der württembergischen Geschichte*, 2 vols. (1895-1896).

Dr. A. H. J. Greenidge, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and author of several valuable works on Roman and Greek history, died on March 11 at the age of forty. In 1904 appeared the first volume of what promised to be his most important work: *A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate*.

Brother Marcellino da Civezza, the author of several historical works chiefly relating to the sources of Franciscan history, died in April at an advanced age. In collaboration with T. Domenichelli he published *La Leggenda di San Francesco scritta de Tre Suoi Compagni (Legenda Trium Sociorum) pubblicata per la Prima Volta nella Vera sua Integrità*

(1899). The first edition of his three-volume work on *Il Romano Pontificato nella Storia d'Italia* was published in 1886-1888 (Firenze, Ricci). His most extensive work was the *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, vols. I.-XI.; published in Rome, later in Florence, 1857-1895. Brother Marcellino da Civezza was a member of the Commissione Cardinalizia per gli Studi Storici in Rome.

Mr. Richard E. Helbig, in charge of the German-American Collection in the New York Public Library, is endeavoring to collect everything written by or about Carl Schurz.

A Leopold von Ranke Verein has been organized for the purpose of establishing a Ranke Museum in the house in Wiehe where he was born. Dr. Boetticher is chairman of the committee of arrangements.

Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin has resigned the professorship of American History at the University of Michigan, and is to be head of the Department of History at the University of Chicago. Assistant Professor C. H. Van Tyne succeeds Professor McLaughlin, and Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Colorado, has accepted the position of Assistant Professor of American History at Ann Arbor.

Dr. W. L. Westermann of the University of Missouri has been called to the University of Minnesota as Assistant Professor of History. He will make ancient history his special field.

Professor John Spencer Bassett of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., has accepted an appointment to a professorship of history in Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

The fourth International Congress of Historical Sciences, which was to have met next autumn, has been postponed till the summer of 1908, when it will convene in Berlin. The committee of arrangements consists of Dr. R. Koser, director-in-chief of the Prussian archives, and Professor Eduard Meyer and Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, both of Berlin. The sections of legal and economic history will be organized by Professors Otto Gierke and Schmoller respectively.

More extended notice will be given in a later number to *Lo Científico en la Historia*, by Julián Ribera (Madrid, P. Apalategui, 1906).

Father Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican Library, will bring out within a few months a bibliography of publications of documents from the Vatican archives, extending to the end of 1900. A second part, extending through 1905, will soon follow. Quinquennial supplements are intended.

A. Capelli's *Cronologia e Calendario Perpetuo* (Milan, U. Hoepli, pp. xxxiii, 413) is a very useful book of reference published in the series of Manuali Hoepli. This handbook contains the chronological series of Roman consuls; parallel chronological tables of the Christian era to 2000 A. D., the Byzantine, and Spanish eras; Easter tables; ancient Roman calendar; perpetual Julian and Gregorian calendar; glossary of the principal feast-days; list of saints; the hegira; eras of the French Republic;



chronological tables of the principal European sovereigns, under geographical alphabetical arrangement, etc.

Mr. Murray has issued a new edition of Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law*, with introduction and notes by Sir Frederick Pollock. For the convenience of those who possess earlier editions, Sir Frederick Pollock's notes and introduction are also published separately with an index to both editions.

In his work on *Les Sanctions de l'Arbitrage International* (Paris, Pedone, pp. 432) M. Jacques Dumas reviews the history of the sanctions—material, civil, penal, and political—as applied from the time of the Amphictyonic Council to the present day.

Houghton, Mifflin, and Company propose to publish in the autumn *Harvard Economic Studies*, which will be under the general editorial supervision of Professor T. N. Carver. One of the early volumes will be Dr. W. H. Price's "The English Patents of Monopoly".

A collection of the chief sources relating to the fundamental institutions of the canon law has been compiled by Professor A. Galante in a volume entitled *Fontes Juris Canonici Selecti* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1906, pp. xvi, 677), which will be of much interest to historians as well as to jurists. Nearly half of the book is included in the first two sections, which treat of the *ecclesia antiquissima* and the *potestas ecclesiastica et imperium civile*. The remaining sections deal with ordination, the hierarchy of order and of jurisdiction, the pope, cardinals, curia, papal legates, metropolitans, bishops, chapters, vicars, parish priests, orders, and congregations.

M. Charles Diehl has published a volume entitled *Figures Byzantines* (Paris, Armand Colin, pp. 344) the contents of which are as follows: La Vie d'une Impératrice à Byzance; Athénais, Théodora, Irène; Les Romanesques Aventures de Basile le Macédonien; Les Quatre Mariages de l'Empereur Léon le Sage; Théophano; Zoé la Porphyrogénète; Une Famille de Bourgeoisie à Byzance; Anne Dalassène.

*The German Universities and University Study* is the title of a work by Professor F. Paulsen of Berlin, translated by Professors F. Thilly and W. W. Elwang and published by Scribners (pp. 451). The author traces the historical development of the German universities from the Middle Ages down to the present time, and discusses the present organization and functions of the German university.

Professor H. E. Egerton, whose appointment to the Beit Professorship at Oxford was noted in the last number of the REVIEW, chose for the subject of his inaugural lecture the *Claims of the Study of Colonial History upon the Attention of the University of Oxford* (Frowde). He pointed out that colonial history is concerned mainly with constitutional and economic questions, and that it should be taught and learned in a way that will cultivate the historical imagination and make intelligible the different points of view of diverse peoples.

*Die territoriale Entwicklung der europäischen Kolonien* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xi, 344) is the title of a recent publication by Professor A. Supan, editor of Petermann's *Mitteilungen*. A colonial historical atlas is included.

Messrs. Longmans announce the publication of a work entitled *International Documents: a Collection of Conventions and other International Acts of a Law-Making Kind*, edited by Mr. E. A. Whittuck, Governor of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Mr. Murray announces for forthcoming publication a work entitled *Local and Central Government: a Comparative Study of England, France, Prussia, and the United States*, by Mr. Percy Ashley of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

We have received *Notes on the History and Political Institutions of the Old World* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. ix, 719) by Dr. Edward Preissig, author of *Short Outline of the History of Austria-Hungary*.

The first volume of O. Nachod's *Geschichte von Japon* (Gotha, Perthes, 1906, pp. xxx, 426) has been published in Professor Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*.

Paul Lacombe has contributed to the *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine* a volume entitled *La Psychologie des Individus et des Sociétés chez Taine, Historien des Littératures* (Paris, Alcan).

*A Bibliography of Text-Books and Works of Reference in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern, English and American History*, edited by Professor Norman Maclaren Trenholme, has been published by the Department of History of the University of Missouri (Columbia, 1905, pp. 27). The list was prepared particularly for use in the approved high-schools of Missouri.

Documentary publications: A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanæ*. IV. *Codices bibliothecæ nationalis dictæ a Victorio Emmanuele II.* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. I.); A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanæ*. IV. *Codices bibliothecæ Alexandrinæ* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. II.); A. Pereire, *Des Premiers Rapports entre Saint-Simon et Auguste Comte, d'après des Documents Originaux, 1816-1819* (Revue Historique, May-June).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Jansen, *Die Geschichtsauffassung im Wandel der Zeit; ein Vortrag* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); A.-D. Xénopol, *La Notion de "Valeur" en Histoire*, concl. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); H. Berr, *Les Progrès de la Sociologie Religieuse* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); S. Ehses, *Nochmals Paolo Sarpi als Geschichtsquelle* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); A. Aulard, *Taine Historien de la Révolution Française*:

*Avant le Livre des Origines; L'Ancien Régime* (La Révolution Française, March, April); Goldwin Smith, *Froude* (Atlantic Monthly, May); F. von Ranke, *Vierzig ungedruckte Briefe Leopold von Ranke's* (Deutsche Revue, March); E. Levasseur, *Boutmy et l'École* (Annales des Sciences Politiques, March); G. Monod, *La Chaire d'Histoire au Collège de France* (Revue Historique, March-April); G. Lanson, *Questions Universitaires: Les Répétiteurs* (Revue Bleue, February 24, March 31).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

A *History of Ancient Civilization*, the first volume of *The History of Civilization* by M. Charles Seignobos of the University of Paris, has been translated by A. H. Wilde and recently published by Scribners. The volume begins with prehistoric times and comes down to the third century of our era.

The *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, Dieterich), having concluded the first lustrum of its existence and having deservedly attained a secure position, has adopted the name of *Klio*, while retaining as a subtitle its former name, which did not clearly indicate its periodical character. Recent *Beilieferungen* to the journal are *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter Demosthenes* (pp. vii, 94), by J. Sundwall; *Der römische Gutsbetrieb als wirtschaftlicher Organismus nach den Werken des Cato, Varro und Columella* (pp. viii, 100), by H. Gummerus; and *Die Legionen der Prov. Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (pp. x, 96), by B. Filow.

Professor Hugo Winckler, editor of the laws of Hammurabi, has compiled an *Auszug aus der vorderasiatischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, pp. 86) which states succinctly the most important facts in the political and cultural history of the countries of Western Asia to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, 539 B. C.

Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie's new book, *Researches in Sinai*, recently published by Mr. Murray, contains the first detailed account of the Egyptian remains in Sinai, and discussions of discoveries relating to the Semitic ritual, the route of the exodus, the numbers of the Israelites to the period of the monarchy, etc. It contains 186 illustrations and four maps.

*The Religion of Numa, and other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome*, by Professor Jesse B. Carter (London and New York, Macmillan, 1906, pp. viii, 189), has appeared recently.

Professor J. P. Mahaffy's volume entitled *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1906, pp. 482) is intended to replace his *Greek World under Roman Sway*, now out of print, "in a maturer and better form, and with much new material superadded".

The third volume of Professor E. Speck's *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leipzig, Brandstetter, 1906, pp. 1154) deals with the Romans

from 265 B. C. to 476 A. D. The second volume of this important work was published in 1901.

A French translation of G. Salvioni's work has appeared under the title *Le Capitalisme dans le Monde Antique: Études sur l'Histoire de l'Économie Romaine*, translated by A. Bonnet (Paris, Giard et Brière).

*The Roman Forum: its History and its Monuments* is the title of a work by Professor Christian Huelsen recently translated from the second German edition by J. B. Carter and published by G. E. Stechert.

In *Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien; drei quellenkritisch-kriegsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1905, pp. x, 310), by Konrad Lehmann, the author makes an exhaustive analysis of the question of the routes of the Punic generals, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, and of the strategic motives by which they and their enemies were influenced.

G. Boissier's *Tacitus and other Roman Studies* has been translated by W. G. Hutchinson and published by Constable (pp. 288).

Since the publication in 1899 of G. Negri's *Nerone e il Cristianesimo*, a lively discussion has raged over the authorship of the burning of Rome in the year 64, and over the interpretation of the famous passage of Tacitus, *Annals*, XV. 44. An attempt finally to settle these problems has been made by Signor Attilio Profumo in his exhaustive critical study *Le Fonti ed i Tempi dello Incendio Neroniano*, which has been published in a sumptuous volume by Forzani (Rome, 1905, pp. 748).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Boissonnade, *M. Guiraud et l'Histoire Économique de l'Antiquité* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, February); Jules Baillet, *Les Noms de l'Esclave en Égyptien* (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, XXVIII, 1-2).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Several studies by Jean Guiraud, published together under the title *Questions d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, Lecoffre, 1906, pp. 304), treat of the repression of heresy in the Middle Ages; Albigensian ethics; the "consolamentum" or Cathartist initiation; the question whether St. Dominic copied St. Francis; Jean-Baptiste de Rossi (1822-1894); the coming of St. Peter to Rome; Roman relics in the ninth century; and the spirit of the Catholic liturgy.

Cardinal Rampolla, the late pope's secretary of state, has included in his comprehensive work entitled *Santa Melania e i Suoi Tempi* detailed studies of Roman life in the fifth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Goyau, *Une Patricienne Chrétienne au Cinquième Siècle: Mélanie la Jeune* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May); P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales*. II. *Date de l'Œuvre d'Isidore* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

# MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have arranged to begin the publication of the *Cambridge Medieval History* soon after the completion of the *Cambridge Modern History*, with which it will be generally uniform. The work, which will be in eight volumes, has been planned by Professor J. B. Bury and will be edited by Professor H. M. Gwatkin, Miss Mary Bateson, and Dr. G. T. Lapsley.

A *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebietes bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* has been published by A. Schaubé through Oldenbourg, Munich.

M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville's book on the *Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology* (pp. 256) has recently been translated from the French with additional notes by R. I. Best and published by Simpkin.

Students of medieval culture will find a rich store of monumental source-material in the great work of Professor J. Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Brunswick, Vieweg, pp. xxxiv, 853; xvi, 1006). The first volume contains a systematic explanation, with over 2,300 illustrations, of objects dating from the fourth to the eleventh century, discovered in Hungary and preserved in various European museums. The second volume, no less richly illustrated, is devoted to a detailed description of the finds, and the third volume is an atlas containing 539 tables of illustrations.

The first volume of a history of the Sixth Century A. D. entitled: *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, by W. G. Holmes, has been published by Messrs. Bell (1905, pp. 378).

The house of Desclée, Rome, has published under the title *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula, additis opusculis Liturgicis, auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano* a new critical edition of one of the principal Franciscan sources, edited by the Capuchin scholar E. Alençon (pp. lxxxvii, 482).

The latest volume in the *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* is the *Annales de Flodoard* (Paris, Picard, pp. lxviii, 307) edited by M. P. Lauer. Scholars will be grateful for a new edition of this invaluable work, which, covering the years from 919 to 966, is one of the most important sources for the history of the period, especially for the history of northern France. The last critical edition was published by Pertz in 1839, and was based upon only four of the seven manuscripts used by the present editor. The introduction contains an account of the life and writings of Flodoard, of the editions and manuscripts of the *Annals*, and an argument which appears to prove that the Greek letters at the end of each of the paragraphs devoted to a year represent the date according to the Byzantine era. Appendixes contain two brief texts found on manuscripts of the *Annals*—an obit of Charles the Bald and *Visiones Flothildis*—and extracts

from various works, included in this volume in order to facilitate the study of their relation to the *Annals*.

A third edition of Gaston Paris's *Littérature Française au Moyen-Age, XIe-XIVe Siècle* has been published by M. P. Meyer and M. Bédier through Hachette (pp. xvii, 344). The corrections and additions are taken from annotations made by Gaston Paris upon a copy of the second edition. The bibliography, which was compiled in 1889, has been thoroughly revised.

Professor J. Loserth has recently published through the house of R. Oldenbourg, Munich, a *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters, 1197-1492*, which forms the second of the series of handbooks of medieval and modern history edited by G. v. Below and F. Meinecke.

Two recent contributions to the military history of the Middle Ages are R. Czeppan's *Die Schlacht bei Crécy, 1346*, and F. Mohr's *Die Schlacht bei Rosebeke, 1382*. Both are doctoral dissertations published by Nauck, Berlin.

Professor E. Daenell, whose book on the *Geschichte der deutschen Hanse in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* was published in 1897, has continued that work in two important volumes on *Die Blütezeit der deutschen Hanse: Hansische Geschichte von der 2. Hälfte des XIV. bis zum letzten Viertel des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Reimer, pp. xvii, 474; xv, 561).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Poncelet, *Le Testament de Saint Willibrord* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. II.); J. B. Hablitzel, *Hrabanus Maurus und Claudius von Turin* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); L. Levillain, *Jugement d'un Pape Jean en Faveur de Corbie* [c. 1000?] (Le Moyen Age, January-February); P. Alphanéry, *De quelques Faits de Prophétisme dans des Sectes Latines Antérieures au Joachimisme* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, LII. 2); K. Baas, *Zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Heilkunst im Bodenseegebiet* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 2); K. Hampe, *Die Wundmale des hl. Franz von Assisi* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 3); A. Fierens, *La Question Franciscaine: Les Écrits des Zélateurs de la Règle aux premiers Temps de l'Histoire Franciscaine d'après les Récentes Controverses* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); J. Finot, *La Paix d'Arras (1414-1415)*, concl. [Pièces justificatives, pp. 187-218] (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, April); P. Richard, *Origines des Nonciatures Permanentes: La Représentation Pontificale au XVe Siècle (1450-1513)*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April).

#### MODERN HISTORY

Professor Williston Walker has written a life of *John Calvin* for the series of *Heroes of the Reformation* published by Putnam.

The third volume of *Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652-1654*, the preparation of which was begun by Dr. S. R.

Gardiner, has been completed by Mr. C. T. Atkinson, and printed for the Navy Records Society as the thirtieth volume of their publications.

The house of H. Welter has published the thirty-seventh volume of Mansi's *Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum*, edited by J. B. Martin and R. P. L. Petit, and covering the years 1720-1735. This volume is at the same time issued as volume one of a new series of about ten volumes intended to cover the period from 1720 onward, and entitled *Collectio Conciliorum Recentiorum Ecclesiae Universae*.

M. J. E. Driault, author of *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon*, has recently published in the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine* a volume entitled *Napoléon en Italie, 1800-1812* (Paris, Alcan).

*Ma Vie Militaire, 1800-1810* (Hachette, 1906, pp. xxiii, 332), by J. Chevillet, a trumpeter in the eighth regiment of *chasseurs à cheval*, is published from the original manuscript by M. Georges Chevillet, the author's grandson, with a preface by M. Henry Houssaye of the French Academy.

*La Rome de Napoléon* (Paris, Plon, 1906, pp. 697), by M. L. Madelin, is an important study of the French domination of Rome from 1809 to 1814, based upon documents in public and private archives.

*The Duke of Argyll, 1823-1900* (London, Murray), is the title of a forthcoming work comprising his autobiography down to 1857, and his life from that date onward, based on his correspondence and diaries, edited by the Dowager Duchess of Argyll. The Duke's active participation in politics began in 1847.

Le Vicomte de Gontaut-Biron, French ambassador to Berlin after the conclusion of peace, has given an account of his mission in his volume entitled *Mon Ambassade en Allemagne, 1872-1873* (Paris, Plon).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. E. N. Simms, *Some Historians and the Reformation* (Twentieth Century Quarterly, April); J. Trésal, *Les Responsabilités de la France dans le Schisme Anglican* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); R. Ancel, *La Secrétairerie Pontificale sous Paul IV.* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); G. Edmundson, *Early Relations of the Manoas with the Dutch, 1606-1732* (English Historical Review, April); Juan Pérez de Guzmán, *Las Ultimas Negociaciones de Matrimonios Regios entre Inglaterra y España, en 1623* (La España Moderna, April, May); C. B. Favre, *La Diplomatie de Leibniz*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, April); G. Bonet-Maury, *Deux Ambassades Françaises au Maroc sous Louis XIV., 1691-1693* (Revue Bleue, April 28); L. Cahen, *L'Idée de Lutte de Classes au XVIIIe Siècle* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); F. Mensel, *Zur Histoire de mon Temps Friedrichs des Grossen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 3); F. C. Wittichen, *Die Politik des Grafen Hertzberg 1785-1790* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, April); *La Roma di Napoleone* (La Civiltà Cattolica, April 7); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Das Gefecht bei Limale 18. Juni 1815* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII.

1); *Lettres Inédites du Comte Charles de Montalembert au Baron Anckarsvård, 1829-1857* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XX. 1).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Dr. F. Haverfield of Christ Church, Oxford, Fellow of the British Academy, has published through Mr. Henry Frowde a work entitled *The Romanisation of Roman Britain*, which is based on archeological data.

An investigation into the financial system of the Anglo-Norman feudal state has been made by Professor Patow in his monograph entitled *Compotus Vicecomitis* (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 62).

Professor Tout of the University of Manchester and Miss Hilda Johnstone, fellow of the same university, have edited for the Camden series of the Royal Historical Society a volume entitled *State Trials of the Reign of Edward the First, 1289-1293* (London, 1906). The book is based upon two unpublished plea rolls "containing the official proceedings of the trials of the judges and other royal officers, before a special Commission appointed by Edward I. in 1289", and includes select cases, analyses of the rolls, and a curious satire narrating the events of the year 1289 in scriptural phraseology. In the introduction Miss Johnstone analyzes the accusations and concludes that "a very real oppression had lain upon the country during the King's absence."

The Oxford University Press announces as in preparation a work by Professor C. W. Oman on *The Great Rebellion of 1381*.

Professor Walter Raleigh's *The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century*, first printed as an introduction to Messrs. MacLehose's edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, April, 1905, has been revised and reissued separately (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1906, pp. 205).

We note the publication of *The Great Lord Burghley, (William Cecil): a Study in Elizabethan Statecraft* (London, Nash, pp. xv, 511) by Martin Hume.

The Johns Hopkins Press announces a second series of reprints of economic tracts under the editorial direction of Professor J. H. Hollander. The series consists of: *A Discourse of Trade*, by Nicholas Baron (1690); *Several Assertions Proved*, by John Asgill (1696); *Discourses upon Trade*, by Dudley North (1691); *England's Interest Considered*, by Samuel Fortrey (1663). The first and second of these are now ready. Each tract will contain an introductory note and text annotations by the editor.

*Fontenoy, and Great Britain's Share in the War of the Austrian Succession*, is the title of a work by F. H. Skrine recently published by Messrs. Blackwood.

The first volume of Mr. J. B. Atlay's work on *The Victorian Chancellors* (Little, Brown, and Company) includes lives of Lyndhurst,



Brougham, Cottenham, and Truro. The two volumes will be a virtual continuation of Lord Campbell's *Lives*.

Recent volumes in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* relate to Lancashire (vol. I.), Worcester (vol. II.), and Northamptonshire (genealogical volumes).

Dr. M. J. Bonn has embodied the results of his long and critical researches in two volumes entitled *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1906, pp. viii, 397; 320). The work, which is based partly on documents in the Dublin Record Office, begins with the colonization by the Anglo-Normans and comes down to the present time.

A selection of official documents dealing with the history of *Old Fort William in Bengal* (London, Murray) has been edited for the Indian Records Series by Dr. C. R. Wilson, late in charge of the records of the government of India.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Henry III., 1232-1247; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, vol. IX., Edward III., 1349-1354; *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N. S., 1600-1601; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1694-1695.

Other documentary publications: F. J. C. and D. M. Hearnshaw, *Southampton Court Leet Records*, 1578-1602 [Southampton Record Society] (Southampton, Gilbert, pp. 165-372).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Spotswood Green, *The Wrecks of the Spanish Armada on the Coast of Ireland* (The Geographical Journal, May); J. M. Anderson, *James I. of Scotland and the University of St. Andrews* (Scottish Historical Review, April); C. H. Firth, *Ballads on the Bishops' Wars, 1638-1640* (Scottish Historical Review, April); D. K. Broster, *A French Traveller in Charles II.'s England* (Cornhill Magazine, May); W. C. Abbott, *The Long Parliament of Charles II.*, II. (English Historical Review, April); H. Bingham, *The Early Organisation in London of the Scots Darien Company* (Scottish Historical Review, April); F. Treffry, *St. Patrick* (The Westminster Review, May).

#### FRANCE

M. Alfred Franklin's *Dictionnaire Historique des Arts, Métiers et Professions exercés dans Paris depuis le Treizième Siècle* forms a large octavo volume of 1,000 pages, published by H. Welter, Paris.

A bibliography of Agrippa d'Aubigné with five unedited letters of Prosper Mérimée, printed in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (May-June, 1905), has been issued in separate form (Paris, Agence Gén. de la Société, pp. 40).

We should have noted earlier the important article entitled "Les Archives Pontificales et l'Histoire Moderne de la France", by M. G. Bourgin, in the *Bibliographie Moderne* for September-October, 1905.

The first two volumes of the collection of documents relative to the economic life of the French Revolution published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction are C. Bloch's *Département du Loiret: Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Orléans pour les États Généraux de 1789*, I. (Orléans, Imp. Orléannaise, 1906, pp. 800), and S. Charléty's *Département du Rhône: Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux* (pp. 722). Both books are sold by E. Leroux, Paris.

Father P. Bliard has written from unedited documents a very detailed account of *Le Conventionnel Prieur de la Marne en Mission dans l'Ouest, 1793-1794* (Paris, Emile-Paul, 1906, pp. viii, 450). Prieur is described in his *milieu* as a representative figure of his period.

A *Bibliografia Ragionata per servire alla Storia di Napoleone II.* (Roma, Bocca, 1905) has been compiled by Alberto Lumbroso, director of the *Revue Napoléonienne*. It supplements the first part of this author's work on *Napoleone II.*, published in 1902.

M. A. Lebey has undertaken to write a very detailed and abundantly documented work on *Les Trois Coups d'État de Louis Napoléon Bonaparte* (Paris, Perrin, 1906). The first of his three volumes (pp. iv, 520) has been published and treats of the unsuccessful attempts at Strasbourg and Boulogne.

A scholarly study of the efforts made by the state and other agencies to ameliorate the economic condition of the working classes has been made by G. Weill in his *Histoire du Mouvement Social en France, 1852-1902* (Paris, Alcan, 1905, pp. 494).

M. A. Debidour, whose *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France, 1789-1870*, was crowned by the Institute, has continued the work in two volumes on *L'Église Catholique et l'État en France sous la Troisième République, 1870-1906* (Paris, Alcan). The first volume, which has already appeared, comes down to 1889.

Documentary publications: Paul-Louis Courier, *L'Armée Française en Calabre et le Combat de Santa-Eufemia, 1806, Pages Inédites*, avec commentaires de M. Robert Gaschet (*Revue Bleue*, March 17); *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin, pendant son Ministère*, IX. (Août, 1658-Mars, 1661, publiées par G. d'Avenel (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1906, pp. 1008); *Des Circonstances Actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution et des Principes qui doivent fonder la République en France*: Ouvrage inédit de la Baronne de Staël publié pour la première fois avec une introduction et des notes par John Viénot (Paris, Fischbacher, 1906, pp. 352).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Davillé, *Le "Pagus Scarponensis"*, concl. (*Annales de l'Est et du Nord*, April); E. Dedé, *Les Pensions Ecclésiastiques sous l'Ancien Régime et jusqu'au Concordat* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); Ch. V. Langlois, *Les Martyrs de 1321* (*Revue Bleue*, May 26); L. Febvre, *La France à la Veille de la*

*Réforme*, d'après M. P. Imbart de la Tour (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); L. Batiffol, *Les Finances de la Reine Marie de Médicis* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May); F. C. Roux, *La Politique Française en Égypte à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, May-June); C. Perroud, *Histoire d'un Professeur pendant la Révolution* (La Révolution Française, April); E. Welvert, *Tallien* (Revue Bleue, February 24, March 3); C. Kuhlmann, *The Relation of the Jacobins to the Army, the National Guards, and Lafayette* (University Studies, published by the University of Nebraska, April); H. Poulet, *Le Sans-culotte Philip, Président de la Société Populaire de Nancy (1793-1794)*, I. (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, April); *La Société Populaire de Vouneuil-sur-Vienne: Registre de ses Délibérations [1794-1795]* (La Révolution Française, March); J. E. Driault, *Murat à Naples avant la Trahison: La Mission Durant en 1811* (Revue Bleue, April 14, 21); E. Forgues, *Le Dossier Secret de Fouché* (Revue Historique, March-April); E. Welvert, *Un Soldat d'Autrefois; Bugeaud en 1815* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); J. Tchernoff, *La Politique de Napoléon III. au Début de son Règne* (La Révolution Française, February).

## ITALY AND SPAIN

*Italienische Bibliographie, 1904-1905*, by Karl Schellhass, has been separately printed from the *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, herausgegeben vom Koenigl. Preussischen Historischen Institut in Rom*, Bd. VIII. (Roma, tip. Unione Cooperative Editrice, 1905, pp. 99).

The *Rivista de Aragon* has been superseded by a new quarterly, *Cultura Española* (Madrid, P. Apalategui), the first number of which appeared in February. The new title indicates the change in the character of the journal, which is now devoted to national rather than to provincial interests in the fields of history, literature, art, and philosophy. The autonomous section devoted to history (pp. 64) is directed by R. Altamira and E. Ibarra y Rodriguez, and will contain body articles, documents, reviews, and notes.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Carcopino, *La Sicile Agricole au Dernier Siècle de la République Romaine* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV. 1); R. Poupardin, *Études sur l'Histoire des Principautés Lombardes de l'Italie Méridionale et de leurs Rapports avec l'Empire Franc*, I. *Les Sources* (Le Moyen Age, January-February); E. Rodocanachi, *Les Esclaves en Italie du XIIIe au XVIe Siècle* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); E. Ibarra y Rodriguez, *Los Solariegos en León y Castilla* (Cultura Española, February); R. D. Shaw, *The Fall of the Visigothic Power in Spain* (English Historical Review, April).

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A co-operative work entitled *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft zur Einführung in das Studium der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, Teubner) will be published in two large volumes under the editorship of Professor A. Meister. The first volume, part of which has already appeared, contains chapters on historical method, Latin paleography and diplomatic chronology, sphragistics and heraldry, the sources of the historical geography of Germany and neighboring countries, and the historiography and sources of German history. The second volume will treat of the economic, constitutional, legal, and ecclesiastical history of Germany. Among the contributors are Professors H. Oncken of Giessen, Sieveking of Marburg, Kötzschke of Leipzig, and the editor.

"Die Mission der Deutschen als Wandervolk in der Weltgeschichte", a lecture delivered before the German-American Historical Society of Illinois, by Professor Hermann Oncken of the University of Giessen, is printed in the society's quarterly, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, for April.

Scribners have published the first volume of *The History of the Reformation*, by Dr. T. M. Lindsay, the Principal of the United Free Church College of Glasgow. This volume treats of the Reformation in Germany from its beginning to the religious peace of Augsburg, and aims at describing "this great religious movement and its social environment".

Kegan Paul has recently published volumes nine and ten of Mr. A. M. Christie's translation of the German edition of J. Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*. The period covered embraces the politico-religious revolution from the proclamation of the Formula of Concord in 1580 up to 1608, and the period leading up to the Thirty Years' War.

In his work on *La Fondation de l'Empire Allemand, 1852-1871* (Paris, Colin, 1906, pp. viii, 528), M. E. Denis, professor of contemporary history in the University of Paris, has endeavored to present a picture of the life of Germany from 1852 to 1871, reproducing the variety and complexity of the phenomena whose ensemble constitutes national existence, and thus indicating the conditions that determined the formation of Germanic unity.

The house of Alcan, Paris, has recently published the second volume of Paul Matter's *Bismarck et Son Temps*, entitled *L'Action, 1862-1870*. The third volume, *Le Triomphe et le Declin, 1870-1896*, is announced for the close of 1906.

The second volume of Professor M. Wehrmann's *Geschichte von Pommern*, covering the period from 1523 to the present time, has been added to the series of Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes).

Dr. Hans Barth has compiled a *Repertorium* (Basel, A. Geering, pp. vii, 359) of the articles and contributions relating to the history of Switzerland, contained in periodicals and collections of the years 1891-1900. This serves as a continuation of Brandstetter's *Repertorium* (Basel, A. Geering), which covered the period 1812-1890.

The house of B. G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, is publishing a German translation of a *Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes* written from the sources, by Professor Michael Hruszewsky of Lemberg. The first volume, which has already appeared, treats of the earliest history of the land and of the people, before and during the Slavic settlement; and of the beginnings of the kingdom of Kieff.

Documentary publications: F. Lau, *Urkundenbuch der Reichsstadt Frankfurt*, ed. J. F. Boehmer, II., 1314-1340 (Frankfurt am Main, Baer, 1905, pp. 643); *Regesten aus in- u. ausländ. Archiven mit Ausnahme des Archives der Stadt Wien*, V., No. 4732-6274. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (Vienna, Konegen, 1906, pp. vii, 469); J. Loserth, *Akten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich unter Ferdinand II.*, Tl. I. *Die Zeiten der Regentschaft und die Auflösung des protestantischen Schul- und Kirchenministeriums in Innerösterreich, 1590-1600*. [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abtlg. II., *Diplomataria et Acta*, Bd. 58.] (Historical Commission of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, Vienna, A. Hölder, 1906, pp. cii, 821); L. Bosshart v. Winterthur, *Chronik 1185-1532*, edited by K. Hauser, *Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Basel, Geering, 1906, pp. xxviii, 403).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Caro, *Zur Urbarforschung* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, April); W. Wittich, *Altfreiheit und Dienstbarkeit des Uradels in Niedersachsen* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV. 1); S. Herzberg-Fränkell, *Rudolf von Habsburg* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 3); B. Kuske, *Der Kölner Fischhandel vom 14.-17. Jahrhundert* (Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XXIV. 3); A. Hofmeister, *Rostocker Studentenleben vom 15. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, III. (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 2).

#### NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, AND NORTHERN EUROPE

The third volume of Professor Paul Fredericq's *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicae* (Ghent, J. Vuylsteke, 1906) is devoted to completing the first and second volumes with 146 additional documents, dating from 1236 to 1513, and drawn from the archives of the Netherlands, Paris, and the Vatican, as well as from printed sources. The book contains a full index to the three volumes and a chronological list of all the documents contained in them.

Professor G. des Marez has expanded the opening chapter of his valuable book on *L'Organisation du Travail à Bruxelles au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*

into an article entitled "Les Lutttes Sociales à Bruxelles au Moyen Age", reprinted from the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* of January-February (Liège, La Meuse, 1906, pp. 41). The article lacks references to the sources.

Six of the leading historians of Norway are to co-operate in writing an illustrated history of that country from the earliest times to 1905. The first volume, by Professor Alexander Bugge, will appear early in 1907. The last volume will be by Professor Ernst Sars.

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

But little need be said in this issue respecting the activities of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. Dr. Jameson returns to America during the first week in July after a three months' tour in the interests of the Department, in Europe and England. Miss Davenport is in London carrying to a conclusion the Department's investigations in the British Archives, the results of which are to be published in the winter. Mr. Leland returned to Washington in May from a six weeks' trip in the Southern states, in the course of which he visited the principal historical societies and depositories of public records, and examined the more important collections of historical manuscripts. A. C. McLaughlin's *Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State, 1789-1840*, has been reprinted in a second edition, unchanged, and Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States*, which has been announced as out of print for some time, is again on sale. A revised and considerably enlarged edition of the *Guide* will be published late in the summer or early in the fall. One of the most valuable features of the new edition will be an exhaustive report by Mr. J. H. Russell on the Diplomatic, Consular, and Miscellaneous Archives of the Department of State.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists, to be held this year from September 10 to 15 at Quebec, will be under the patronage of the Governor-General of Canada. Dr. Robert Bell, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, is president of the Committee of Organization, and Dr. N. E. Dionne and Mr. Alphonse Gagnon are respectively general secretary and treasurer. The work will relate to the following subjects: A. The native races of America, their origin, history, etc.; B. Indigenous monuments and archeology of America; C. The history of the discovery and European occupancy of the New World.

A new catalogue, which relates to the history of America, has been put at the disposition of the public in the Salle de travail des imprimés, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The first volume relates to American antiquities and to early explorations, Canada, and the general religious

and constitutional history of the United States; the second to the administrative and diplomatic history of the United States and to the history of the states and territories. The third volume, which is not yet completed, will relate to United States local history and to Latin America. The catalogue has been prepared by the Librarian, George A. Barringer.

Dr. Gräbner, who is in charge of the department of genealogy of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, is desirous of having as full a representation as possible of American genealogical publications. He would like to receive review copies of all such publications in order that they may receive adequate attention in the *Jahresberichte*. Where this is impracticable, he is desirous that publishers' or authors' circulars and announcements should be sent to him. His address is Schützenstrasse 50, Konitz, West Prussia.

The extensive collection of Schoolcraft Papers in the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution is being copied for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, which will publish some of them in their series of *Collections*. A large number of additional papers recently brought to light in the Smithsonian Institution consist mostly of drafts of Schoolcraft's letters, accounts of Indian affairs under his charge, and official papers of Michigan during the territorial period.

The attention of users of the *Guide to the Archives in Washington*, published by the Carnegie Institution, is called to the transfer from the Bureau of Rolls and Library in the State Department to the Library of Congress of the following manuscripts noted on pages 20-29 of the *Guide*: Spanish manuscripts of 1631, supposed to have been captured in the City of Mexico; Orderly Books of Captain Robert Walker and Sergeant Dalson, together with the diary of Ebenezer Fitch and Paul Blancher; Forton Prisoners manuscripts, 1777-1779; Journal of the Travels of Alexander Church, Richard Ramsey, and Zephaniah Halsey; the printed books which are annotated by Sir Henry Clinton; Journal of the ship *Hope*, 1790-1792, 4 vols.; Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, 1792-1796; House Tax Insurrection, 1799; Correspondence of Albert Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury; Papers relating to the Burr Conspiracy; Log-Book of the ship *Lexington*, 1807; the John Henry Papers; and the Jefferson Davis Papers.

The Carnegie Institution has made provision for the completion of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, under the supervision of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, who edited volumes XV. to XX. after the death of Sabin. The work stopped with page 196 of volume XX., at Smith (H. H.); the materials for completing it in seven or eight additional volumes are on hand, and their preparation for printing has begun. The work will be completed within two years, and is to be published by Joseph F. Sabin, son of the author.

*United States Government Documents*, by James I. Wyer (New York State Library Bulletin 102, Library School 21, Albany, 1906, pp.

78), after treating in detail of the production, distribution, arrangement, classification, cataloguing, and use of United States government documents, concludes with a critical list of indexes to early documents.

A correspondent calls our attention to an error in Professor McMaster's article in our last number (*supra*, p. 525). New Hampshire did not abolish religious tests as qualifications for office in 1792, indeed not until 1877.

The index to the first ten volumes of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, is now in press, and is expected to be on sale early in July.

The *American Historical Magazine* for May contains: "New York City in the Nineteenth Century", by J. A. Stevens (second paper: The Construction Period); "Witchcraft in Connecticut", by Forrest Morgan; "The Authorship of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798", by E. D. Warfield; "The Morris Family of Morrisania", by W. W. Spooner.

The International Bureau of the American Republics is publishing *American Constitutions; a Compilation of the Political Constitutions of the Independent Nations of the New World*, with short historical notes and various appendixes by José Ignacio Ramirez. Each constitution is given in the original language with a parallel-column translation into Spanish or English, as the case may be. Volume I. is devoted to the federal unions, comprising the United States of America, Mexico, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Venezuela, and to the republics of Central America. There will be two more volumes, the last of which will contain other documents illustrating the development of political life in the nations of the New World.

The Johns Hopkins Press has just issued *Early Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia*, by John C. Hildt (pp. 195).

*Americana: Reiseeindrücke, Betrachtungen, geschichtliche Gesamtansicht*, by Professor Karl Lamprecht, has just appeared (Freiburg i. B., H. Heyfelder, 1906, pp. vii, 147).

The first volume of the *Grafton Historical Series*, to be edited by Dr. Henry R. Stiles, organizer of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and author of *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut*, will appear shortly from the Grafton Press.

*The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819*, by Kendrick C. Babcock; *The Rise of the New West, 1819-1829*, by Frederick J. Turner; and *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837*, by William MacDonald, forming volumes thirteen to fifteen of *The American Nation* (New York and London, Harper and Brothers), will receive fuller notice in a later issue of the *REVIEW*.

*The Development of the North since the Civil War*, by Joseph M. Rogers (pp. xxix, 482), and *Prehistoric North America*, by W. J. McGee and Cyrus Thomas (pp. xxviii, 485), form respectively volumes XVIII.



and XIX. of *The History of North America*, edited by Francis N. Thorpe (Philadelphia, George Barrie and Sons).

In these columns in the April number of the REVIEW we announced the succession of Dr. Francis N. Thorpe to the position of editor, formerly occupied by Guy Carleton Lee, of the *History of North America* (Philadelphia, Barrie) and commented on the methods by which, in the circular announcing the change in editorship, the REVIEW had been misrepresented as giving its unqualified indorsement to the series. At the suggestion of Dr. Thorpe and lest any one upon reading our comment should draw an incorrect inference as to the authorship of the circular in question, we think it is proper to state that Dr. Thorpe was in no way responsible for any of the statements contained in that document.

*American Public Problems* is the general title of a series of books dealing with "contemporary political, economic, and social questions" under the editorial direction of Ralph Curtis Ringwalt and published by Henry Holt and Company. The first volume issued is *Immigration*, by Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, reviewed elsewhere in this number; the second is *The Election of Senators*, by George H. Haynes. In the opening chapters the author reviews the reasons which led the framers of the Constitution to place the election of senators in the hands of the state legislatures, and the considerations which led to the law of 1866. He then shows the effects of the present method on the Senate and the senators, and on state and local governments, and discusses the movement for popular election, giving the arguments for and against a Constitutional amendment.

In *Les Droits Législatifs du Président des États-Unis d'Amérique*, by M. Henry Bosc (Paris, Rousseau, pp. 286), the author deals with the positive legislative powers as derived from the power of message, and with the negative right of veto. An introductory chapter discusses the separation of powers, and the legislative powers of the President at the Convention of Philadelphia.

In *Five American Politicians: a Study in the Evolution of American Politics*, by Samuel P. Orth (Cleveland, Burrows Brothers, 1906, pp. 447), the author treats of Aaron Burr, DeWitt Clinton, Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, and Stephen A. Douglas as they are identified with the beginnings of different institutions of American politics.

A recent publication of the University of Chicago Press is *The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States*, by Frank George Franklin (pp. 330).

*American Literary Masters*, by Leon H. Vincent (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1906, pp. xiv, 518), treats of the life, character, and works of nineteen men of letters whose principal literary activities fell within the years 1809-1860.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published a *Catalogue of the Library and Collection of Autograph Letters, Papers, and Documents bequeathed to the Society by the Rev. Robert C. Waterston*, prepared by J. H. Tuttle. The collection is miscellaneous and not related to any special subject. Books relating to England and Great Britain are largely represented in the collection; there are also some missals and other early manuscripts and nearly a score of incunabula. The catalogue is in three sections: Library, Manuscripts, and Engravings. Among the manuscripts are several which have an interest for students of American, and, more particularly, Massachusetts history.

W. H. Lowdermilk and Company propose to publish by subscription a reprint of *The Heckewelder Narrative, an Account of the Mission of the United Brethren [Moravians] among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians from its Commencement in the year 1740 to the close of the year 1808*. The reasons given for a reprint are the probable scarcity of the original edition brought out in 1820 and the many differences between the printed copy and the original manuscript from which the reprint will be made.

A volume of proceedings of the *Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States; Addresses delivered on Thanksgiving Day 1905*, together with other selected addresses and proceedings (The New York Co-operative Society, 1906, pp. xiii, 262), has been published. Another edition of this forms Number 14 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*.

A contribution of interest to historians in the recently published *Proceedings and Papers*, volume one, part one, of the Bibliographical Society of America is: "Materials in the Library of Congress for a Study of United States Naval History", by Charles Henry Lincoln.

#### ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

"The Montezuma Mounds", by Gerard Fowke (Missouri Historical Society Collections, vol. 2, no. 5), is an account of recent explorations made by N. D. McEvers, John M. Wulfin, and David I. Bushnell.

We have received *Heroes of Discovery in America*, by Charles Morris, author of *Historical Tales, Half-Hours with American Authors*, etc. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1906, pp. 344).

The Wisconsin Historical Society has recently acquired Pierre Margry's scrap-book, in which he placed clippings from American and continental magazines and newspapers, adding thereto in his own handwriting, in ink or pencil, annotations, criticisms, and other data. The clippings refer mainly to the discovery of the Mississippi and kindred subjects.

We note the publication of *On the Spanish Main; or, Some English Forays on the Isthmus of Darien, with a Description of the Buccaneers and a Short Account of Old-time Ships and Sailors*, by J. Masefield (London, Methuen, pp. 356).

A new edition of the *Relación de los Naufragios y Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (vol. I., Madrid, Moreno, 1906, pp. xxx, 388) forms the fifth volume of the *Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes á la Historia de América*. The narrative is illustrated by some hitherto unpublished documents.

The closing volumes in the Trail Makers Series (A. S. Barnes) are: *The Journeys of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle* (New York, 1905, 2 vols.), as related by Henri de Tonty, Fathers Zenobius Membré, Louis Hennepin, and Anastasius Douay, Father Christian Le Clercq, Joutel, and Jean Cavelier, together with memoirs, commissions, etc., edited with an introduction by Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox. The preface states that the various documents here reprinted are found in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part I., Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (part IV. of the *Historical Collections*), and Shea's *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*.

A reprint of the first English edition of Joutel's *Journal of La Salle's last Voyage, 1684-1687*, has been published, with historical and biographical introduction by Dr. Henry R. Stiles (Albany, Joseph McDonough, pp. 258). He reproduces the English text published in London, 1714, which was based upon the Paris version of 1714. Joutel's manuscript has been textually reproduced only in Margry's *Collection*, III. 89-534. The editor has combined with his own notes those of Professor Melville B. Anderson to the Caxton Club facsimile reprint of 1896, which were the result of a collation of the English with the first French edition; he has included also a reprint of a "Bibliography of the Discovery and Explorations in the Mississippi Valley", by A. P. C. Griffin, and the maps of the French edition of 1713 in facsimile. The volume was issued as the third and concluding one of a series on the "Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi", projected by the late Dr. Shea, of which the first was published in 1852, containing the narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membré, Hennepin, and Anastasius Douay, and the second in 1861, containing those of Cavelier, Saint-Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas.

Longmans, Green, and Company announce *The Middle Colonies and The Colonies under the House of Hanover*, by John Andrew Doyle.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for May contains a "Report of the British Board of Trade and Plantations, November, 1702", printed from a transcript in that library, probably made for the Earl of Bute about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Little, Brown, and Company have acquired the American publishing rights of *The Fight for Canada, a Naval and Military Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War*, by Major William Wood, and have just issued a definitive edition (Boston, 1906, pp. xx, 370). The first edition, published in 1904 (Westminster, Archibald Constable and Company), was reviewed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* for January,

1905, X. 398-400. One of the principal ideas of the author is to emphasize the part played by the naval forces in the campaign against Quebec. Major Wood has carefully revised his work and included several additional notes.

Charles Scribner's Sons have published a "commemorative edition" of A. C. Buell's *Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy*. A supplementary chapter, describing the recovery of the body of John Paul Jones, written by General Horace Porter, has been added. No changes have been made in the original text of Buell. Unfortunately, the publishers have not taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by a new edition to correct the many inaccuracies of the first imprint. Attention may here be called to an article in the *New York Times* of June 10 by Mrs. Reginald de Koven, who is of the opinion that many of the inaccuracies are due not merely to carelessness but to deliberate falsification.

Mr. Albert H. Smyth's edition of the *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* has reached the seventh volume, which covers the period 1777-1779.

The "List of Works in the New York Public Library by or relating to Franklin" is reprinted from the *Bulletin* of that library for January.

Volumes four to six of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, recently published by the Library of Congress, cover the year 1776. The Library of Congress has issued two reprints from the series entitled: *Some Papers . . . laid before the Continental Congress, . . . taken from . . . the Journals of the Continental Congress*. In the first volume, which contains papers of 1775 taken from vol. 2 of the *Journals*, are the Declaration on Taking Arms, Franklin's Articles of Confederation, the reports on trade (Franklin, Lee, Jay, and the Committee of the Whole Congress), the report upon Lord North's conciliation resolution, and the reports on the unfinished business. The second volume contains papers submitted in 1776, taken from vols. 4-6: The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the report upon coins, the plans of treaties with foreign states, and the instructions to the treaty commissioners.

A number of letters from John Adams to Samuel Adams, 1776-1797, and from John Quincy Adams to Arthur Lee, 1779, and George Bancroft, 1834-1838, are published in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for April. They are printed from the original manuscripts in the Bancroft collection in that library.

The Princeton Historical Association has published as No. 1 of a series of *Extra Publications* "A Brief Narrative of the Ravages of the British and Hessians at Princeton in 1776-1777: a Contemporary Account of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton". This manuscript, which was purchased by the Princeton Library at a sale of the late General William Scudder Stryker's collection, is here published for the first time, with introduction and notes by Varnum Lansing Collins. The editor gives evidence to show that the document could not have been written by Thomas Olden, to whom it has been ascribed; but he has been

unable to ascertain the authorship. The narrative does not throw any new light on the battles of Trenton and Princeton—for the author saw only the beginning of the latter and the former not at all—and is valuable chiefly as a first-hand account of conditions prevailing in Princeton and its vicinity during the winter of 1776-1777.

A new edition of the book published by the French Government in 1903: *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine, 1778-1783: Listes Établies d'après les Documents Authentiques Déposés aux Archives Nationales et aux Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*, has been issued by Congress as Senate Document 77 (Washington, 1905). The new edition contains a full index of names, which was not in the Paris edition.

Volume XIV. of the *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War*, covering the letters Sha-Sth, has been issued this year (Boston, Wright and Potter, 1906).

We note the publication of *Alexander Hamilton: an Essay on American Union*, by Frederick Scott Oliver (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; London, Constable, pp. xiii, 502). The volume contains portraits and a map.

The fifth volume of the *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States*, published by the Department of State, containing letters and papers relating to the Constitution from August 1, 1788, to the death of Madison, has just appeared.

In the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for March are a number of letters written in 1788-1822, from Spencer Roane, the Virginia jurist, son-in-law of Patrick Henry, printed from originals in that library. Several are addressed to James Monroe.

*The Early Exploration of Louisiana*, by Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox (University of Cincinnati, University Studies, series II., vol. II., no. 1, January-February), is a detailed study of the exploration of the Louisiana Purchase under President Jefferson, 1803-1807, and especially emphasizes the President's own plan for the exploration. The political and scientific results of the more familiar expeditions are briefly summarized, but the comparatively unknown work of Hunter and Dunbar, of Sibley, and of Freeman is given in detail. A bibliography, giving a full description of the original manuscript sources and a list of original printed and secondary sources, accompanies the work. The author has made use of the manuscript journal of Dr. Hunter in the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

It is not necessary to give any extended notice in these columns of C. T. Brady's *True Andrew Jackson* (Lippincott). The scope and plan of the work are similar to those of the other volumes in the series. Mr. Brady seems to have placed a rather uncritical dependence upon Parton and the two recent biographies by Colyar and Buell, and to have wholly ignored the collection of Jackson papers in the Library of

Congress, a collection that is unique for the vivid insight it gives into Jackson's character. It is probably safe to say that the most scholarly part of the volume under consideration is the appendix furnished by A. S. Salley, Jr., in which the much-disputed question as to the exact location of Jackson's birthplace seems to be satisfactorily and definitely settled in favor of South Carolina.

We have received the book entitled *Lincoln, Master of Men: a Study in Character*, by Alonzo Rothschild (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, pp. 531). As the title implies, the author restricts his treatment to what appears to him the most significant aspect of Lincoln's greatness—his mastery over men—and illustrates this aspect by chapters on his relations with such different types of men as Douglas, Seward, Chase, Stanton, Frémont, and McClellan. The volume contains nearly sixty pages of notes and a good index.

The *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Washington, Government Printing Office) is now complete in seven volumes.

Volume XX. of the First Series of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* has just appeared.

*Letters from a Surgeon of the Civil War*, compiled by Martha Derby Perry, will be published shortly. The author of the letters, Dr. John G. Perry, was a volunteer contract assistant surgeon in the Twentieth Massachusetts during the greater part of the war.

In *The Seventy-Seventh Pennsylvania at Shiloh: History of the Regiment* [by John Obreiter]; *The Battle of Shiloh* [by David M. Reed] (Harrisburg, Harrisburg Publishing Company, State Printers, 1905, pp. 406) is a full report of the work of the Pennsylvania Shiloh Battlefield Commission. The book is illustrated by two large and carefully prepared maps of the battle-field, showing positions on the first and second days.

An unusual aspect of the period of the Civil War is treated in *War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, 1861-1865*, by William B. Weedon (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, pp. xxv, 389).

It is announced that with the publication this fall of two more volumes Mr. James Ford Rhodes's monumental work will be brought to a close. The narrative will conclude with the year 1877, although it was the author's original intention to continue it to 1885.

*Memories of a Great Schoolmaster (Dr. Henry A. Coit)*, by James P. Conover, has been published by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company (pp. xxv, 270). Dr. Coit was rector and head-master of St. Paul's School, Concord, from its foundation in 1856 until his death in 1895.

In *Spanish-American Diplomatic Relations preceding the War of 1898*, by Horace Edgar Flack (Johns Hopkins University Studies in

Historical and Political Science, series XXIV., Nos. 1-2, January-February), the author discusses the status of the Cubans during the insurrection, the causes or, alleged causes for intervention on the part of the United States, and the efforts of Spain to avoid war.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, vol. XIX., for 1905 (Boston, 1906, pp. xviii, 583) contains a large number of hitherto unpublished documents, among which are the letters of Edmund Pendleton to James Madison, 1765-1781, and an account of a journey from Boston to Washington in 1812, among the extracts from the Memoirs of Dr. John Pierce. The paper by John Noble on "An Incident in 1731 in the Long Dispute of Massachusetts and Rhode Island over their Boundary Line" contains transcripts from unpublished papers in the early court files of Suffolk bearing on the trouble caused in 1731 by the attempt of the town of Attleborough to collect taxes in territory claimed by both states. Mr. Noble's paper on "Legislation in regard to Highway Robbery in Massachusetts" also contains original documents. "The Case of Samuel Shrimpton" [1685-1686], by Worthington C. Ford, is illustrated by papers from the Chamberlain collection in the Boston Public Library. In addition to the papers of Charles Francis Adams and Mr. Dunning noted in the April REVIEW, there are: "Edward Savage, Painter and Engraver, and his Unfinished Copperplate of 'The Congress Voting Independence'", by C. H. Hart; "Negro Suffrage and Reconstruction", by James F. Rhodes; "John Foster, the Earliest Engraver in New England", by Dr. Samuel A. Green; "The Book of Sports", by Edmund F. Slafter; "Manners, Morals and Laws of the Piscataqua Colony", by Dr. James De Normandie; "Abraham Bishop, of Connecticut, and his Writings", by F. B. Dexter; "The Outlook in History", by William R. Thayer; "Dr. Barefoot and Dr. Greenland", by F. B. Sanborn; "The Washington Oak at Mount Vernon", by Dr. Samuel A. Green; and "A Few Results of Recent Scientific Study of the Negro in America", by G. Stanley Hall.

A bibliographical index to the literature on Massachusetts local history, prepared by Charles A. Flagg, of the Library of Congress, will be printed soon by the Salem (Mass.) Press Co.

The Salem Press Company announce a work on *The Putnam Lineage*, by Eben Putnam, which includes the material comprised in the eight published parts of *A History of the Putnam Family* and nearly as much new material derived from extensive research in English and American archives.

Recent additions to the *Vital Records of Massachusetts Towns* are those of Douglas, Royalston, and Phillipston, published by the Systematic History Fund; Edgartown, Dalton, and Norton, published by the New England Historic Genealogical Society; and Beverly (vol. I. Births), published by the Topsfield Historical Society.

*Records of the First Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England, 1632-1830*, copied and edited by Stephen P. Sharples, which has been running in the *Genealogical Magazine*, is published in book form (pp. 522) by Eben Putnam.

Aside from articles of genealogical interest, the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for April contains "The Newburyport and Boston Turnpike", by H. Follansbee Long, and "Newspaper Items relating to Essex County", to be continued.

*The Development of the Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, by Professor Clyde Augustus Duniway, forming vol. XII. of the Harvard Historical Studies, is the result of an extended revision of the author's thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, which was accepted by Harvard University in 1897 and the same year received the Toppin prize. An appendix contains illustrative documents and a discussion of sources. The book will receive fuller notice in a later issue.

The thirty-fifth volume in the series of *Records relating to the Early History of Boston*, formerly issued under the direction of the Record Commissioners and now published by the Registry Department of the City of Boston, comprises the ninth book of the Boston town records, including the proceedings of the town from April, 1796, to October, 1813. The volume has an index.

In addition to administrative reports, the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at the annual meeting held in Worcester, October 21, 1905, contains "Labor Organizations in Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Times", by Carroll D. Wright; a Memorial of George F. Hoar, by Edward E. Hale, with contents of his speeches and addresses; "A Notice of Yucatan with some Remarks on its Water Supply"; "The Jackson and Van Buren Papers", a descriptive account by William MacDonald; "A Page of American History", the account of a band of American soldiers who went to Yucatan in 1847, by Edward H. Thompson; and "Henry Hitchcock", by John Green.

Contributions of general historical interest in the *Connecticut Magazine* for January-March include: "John Grave: His Booke—The Diary of a Connecticut Citizen in 1679 . . . a Representative to the General Court from Guilford"; "Letters of a Soldier of the American Revolution", transcribed from the original manuscript; "The Expenses of a Congressman in 1777: Political Account Book of Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, of Connecticut"; the "Invasion of Connecticut by the British", by William Hanford Burr; and a sort of encyclopedic compilation, "First Things in America".

Recent manuscript accessions to the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society are: a collection of 130 documents called "Waterman Papers" bearing upon the colonial and Revolutionary history of Rhode Island, chiefly relating to the town of Warwick, including papers



upon the Pawtuxet-Warwick controversy, petitions to the Assembly, letters on Revolutionary defenses, manuscript proclamations, etc., and a manuscript map of the colony of Rhode Island, 1720, drawn by the official surveyor, and illustrating the dispute as to the Rhode Island boundary lines.

A recently published doctoral dissertation is *Connecticut as a Corporate Colony*, by Nelson Prentiss Mead (Lancaster, Pa., New Era Print, pp. x, 117). The subject is discussed under the heads: Organs of Legislation and Administration, Finance and Currency, Land System, and Military Affairs.

An important publication in a hitherto unsearched field is: *The Constitutional History of New York from the Beginning of the Colonial Period to the year 1905, showing the Origin, Development and Judicial Construction of the Constitution*, by Charles Z. Lincoln (Rochester, N. Y., The Lawyers' Co-operative Publishing Company, 5 vols.). The author, who was for six years legal adviser to the governor and was also chairman of the Statutory Revision and Code Commissions, devoted over four years of continuous work to its preparation, consulting papers in private possession as well as the state archives. More extended notice will be given in a later issue.

The fifth and sixth volumes of *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York*, published by the state under the supervision of Hugh Hastings, State Historian (Albany, 1905), comprise documents of 1753-1760, and 1761-1810 respectively.

The Historical Association of Olde New York announce by subscription the "Old and New Metropolis", an illustrated work, which will contain a reprint of the first directory of New York, facsimiles of five original maps of New York, etc.

In the fourth and final volume of *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, compiled by order of the Corporation and edited by Morgan Dix (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. xxi, 595), the editor brings the history down to 1862, when his own rectorship began.

Aside from continuations and genealogical articles, the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April contains "A Brief History of the Monongahela Bridge, Pittsburgh, Pa.", by Herbert Du Puy, and "The Masonic Chronology of Benjamin Franklin", compiled by Julius F. Sachse.

The Pennsylvania History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition, which is in charge of Marion Dexter Learned and Albert Cook Myers, will comprise these general subjects: (1) the early settlement or development of Pennsylvania; (2) the extension of settlement from Pennsylvania into the Great Valley and Piedmont Region of Virginia and the influence of Pennsylvania in the making of the South and West, with special reference to Virginia.

Noteworthy articles in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* for March are "Some Religious Discussions in Philadelphia just after the Revolution", by Dr. James J. Walsh, and "The Jesuits in American California" (part first), by Bryan J. Clinch.

The Historical Society of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, has published three numbers of *Proceedings* (vol. I., nos. 1-3, Pottsville, Pa., 1905). "The County Historical Society", by D. G. Lubold (vol. I., no. 1); "A Talk about the Lightfoot Survey of 1759—the Forerunner of the Great Road of 1770", and "The Story of a Colonial Highway—the Great Road of 1770", both by Dr. J. J. John (vol. I., no. 2); and "The Schuylkill County Soldiery in the Industrial Disturbances in 1877", by George B. Stichter (vol. I., no. 3), are noteworthy papers.

Volume XXV. of the *Archives of Maryland* covers the administrations of Governor Nathaniel Blackiston, Thomas Tench, Esq., Governor John Seymour, Edward Lloyd, Esq., and Governors John Hart, Charles Calvert, and Benedict Leonard Calvert. Volume XXVI. is in course of preparation.

The Maryland Historical Society has begun the publication of a quarterly, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the first number being issued in March. In this magazine, which will be under the editorial direction of Dr. William Hand Browne, editor of the *Maryland State Archives*, it is proposed to publish original contributions, selections from the historical documents in the possession of the society, genealogical notes, and the society's annual report and other official communications to members. The first number contains "The Early County Seats and Court Houses of Baltimore County", by Judge Albert Ritchie; "A Pirate in the Chesapeake Bay", by Henry F. Thompson; "Baltimore and its Defences, Past and Present", by General William P. Craighill; unpublished letters of Washington to General Gist (from the Gist Papers in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society); "The Migrations of Baltimore Town", by Reverend George Armistead Leakin; "The Tuesday Club of Annapolis"; "The Brooke Family", by Dr. Christopher Johnston; the society's annual report; and a column of notes and queries.

As there was no legislative provision for printing the detailed report of the Public Records Commission of Maryland, which is deposited in the Land Commissioner's office, a synopsis of the work has been prepared and printed: *Condensed Report of the Public Records Commission of Maryland for the years 1904-1905*. The annual appropriation of one thousand dollars for two years has not enabled the commission to examine all the records. It is to be hoped that the legislature will provide for the completion of this work and for the publication of the detailed reports, which fill nearly 2,000 pages and form an inventory of the public records of Maryland. The condensed report states that many

of the records were found in a state of decay and require immediate attention in order to assure their preservation.

An important contribution to the history of the period of Reconstruction is a letter, September 9, 1865, from Judge J. R. Doolittle to President Johnson (probably a rough draft of a more carefully prepared document) which is printed in the *Publications of the Southern History Association* for March. Another important communication is: "Maryland Politics in 1798, being Letters from the Correspondence of Dr. James McHenry, Secretary of War", contributed by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner. Letters of 1799 from the McHenry correspondence are given in the May number, and the Whiting diary is concluded.

Volume nine of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* contains among other papers: "The Earliest Free Public Library Movement in Washington, 1849-1874", by W. Dawson Johnston; "William Duane", by Allen C. Clark; "The Rise of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia", by Arthur S. Browne; and "Our Postal System", by Francis C. Huebner. The reprints which are a feature of recent volumes of the *Records* consist of extracts from the reports of a committee of the House of Representatives regarding payments for removal of the executive departments to Washington. The volume concludes with administrative reports.

The *Berichte* (Washington, D. C., 1905) of the Deutsche Historische Gesellschaft für den District Columbia, a newly organized society, contain a study of "Die ersten Deutschen im nochmaligen District Columbia", by Dr. Christian Strack.

Two new departments in the Virginia State Library are those of Archives and History, and of Virginia Bibliography. The former is in charge of Dr. Hamilton J. Eckenrode, and the latter is under Mr. W. Clayton-Torrence.

The first instalment of "Revolutionary Army Orders for the Main Army under Washington, 1778-1779", from originals in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society, appears in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April. "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734", is concluded in this number. The magazine prints a letter of Colonel Richard Kidder Meade, one of Washington's aids, dated October 3, 1780; and concludes with an address on "The Relations of History and Literature", by William Peterfield Trent, delivered before the Virginia Historical Society January 4, 1906.

In the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April the letters of William T. Barry are concluded. There are letters from Governor Benjamin Harrison to the mayor of Williamsburg (April 23, 1783) and from Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill to Humphrey Harwood, assistant master of William and Mary College (1791).

*Reconstruction in North Carolina* is a doctoral thesis by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, associate professor elect of history in the University of North Carolina (Raleigh, N. C., 1906, pp. 264).

A contribution to American church history is a *History of Methodism in North Carolina from 1772 to the Present Time*, vol. I., by W. L. Grissom (Nashville, Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1905, pp. xviii, 373), which covers the period from the introduction of Methodism in North Carolina to the year 1805. The most extensive collection of material consulted by the author was that in the Library of the Methodist Historical Society of Baltimore, which has since been destroyed by fire.

"The Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. G. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828", with introduction and notes by Dr. Kemp P. Battle, is published as No. 6 of the *James Sprunt Historical Monograph Series* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1905, pp. 73). Dr. Mitchell was in charge of the Geological and Agricultural Survey of North Carolina.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for January contains letters from the Marquis de Lafayette to Honorable Henry Laurens, 1777-1780, and some letters from John C. Calhoun to Francis W. Pickens. The latter are in private hands and were not printed in the volume of Calhoun letters issued by the American Historical Association in 1900. The April number of the same magazine has a continuation of the Lafayette papers and "An Order Book of the 1st Regt., S. C. Line, Continental Establishment".

The historical library of Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama, was destroyed by fire March 6, 1906.

Volume I. of the *Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1803*, which has appeared (Nashville, Tenn., Brandon Printing Company, 1905, pp. viii, 615) under the editorship of Mr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, contains the Executive Journals of Winthrop Sargent, first Governor of Mississippi Territory, covering the period from May 21, 1798, to April 3, 1801, and of W. C. C. Claiborne, the second Governor, July 10, 1801, to March 27, 1803. The plan of the Department embraces a series of "Provincial Archives", 1540-1798, and one of "State Archives", 1817 to date. These, with the intermediate series now begun, afford a complete documentary history of Mississippi. The present volume, carefully printed and with an adequate index, marks the successful inauguration of a most important series.

Considerable space in the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is given to extracts from the Journal of Cyrus P. Bradley, kept by him during a Western trip in 1835. This presents a vivid picture of conditions in Ohio and Michigan at that time. Another notable contribution is "Antoine François Saugrain (De Vigni), the First Scientist of the Mississippi Valley", by N. P. Dandridge, the presidential address delivered at a meeting of the American Surgical Association at St. Louis.

*A History of Taxation in Ohio, giving the Legislation on the Subject and a Commentary on the Methods of Providing Public Revenues*, is written by Nelson W. Evans, a member of the Committee on Taxation of the Ohio State Board of Commerce (Cincinnati, R. Clarke Company, 1906, pp. vii, 220).

In the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for March (volume II., no. 1) are some old Indianapolis documents; and a chart of Indianapolis showing outlines of population in 1823, 1835, and 1850. An interesting paper on "The Old Indian Traders of Indiana", by Charles B. Lasselle, is based on original documents in the possession of the writer.

*An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Question of a Convention*, by Morris Birkbeck, has been reprinted from a copy in the Boston Athenaeum printed in 1823. Birkbeck was an antislavery agitator and greatly opposed to the projected convention for amending the state constitution. This reprint is from the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* and contains: "A Contribution toward a Bibliography of Morris Birkbeck and the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, 1817-1818", by Charles Wesley Smith.

The seventeenth volume of the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, edited by Dr. R. G. Thwaites (Madison, 1906, pp. xix, 544), contains documents relating to "The French Régime in Wisconsin, 1727-1748", translated from the French originals. The material consists for the most part of transcripts made for the society from the several French archives in Paris, which have been supplemented by documents of the same nature already printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*, the *Macalester College Contributions*, and elsewhere. Volume XVI. contains documents of the French régime 1634-1737, and volume XVII., which is expected to appear before the end of the year, will contain the remainder of the French material.

*Narratives of Early Wisconsin Travellers*, prior to 1800, by Henry Edward Legler, has been issued in advance from the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1905 (pp. 157-193). The author divides these narratives into four classes: reports sent back by Jesuit priests for the information of their superiors; accounts of Recollect fathers who were attached to expeditions from which Jesuits were excluded; memoirs of voyageurs who were acting wholly or in part as governmental representatives; narratives of travellers acting independently. These last were principally in English, the others in French. The pamphlet contains a facsimile of a page of Radisson's narrative from the original text, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, facsimiles of title-pages of early editions of other narratives, and several pages of important bibliographical data.

Separates from the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* are: *First Constitutional Convention in Wisconsin, 1846*, by F. L. Holmes; *Slavery in the Old Northwest*, by R. V. Phelan; *The*

*Impeachment of Levi Hubbell*, by J. B. Sanborn; *Pioneer Life in the Fox River Valley*, by A. S. McLenegan; *Some Historic Sites about Green Bay*, by A. C. Neville; and *John Scott Horner: a Biographical Sketch*, by E. H. Merrell.

The Historical Department of Iowa has succeeded in securing the passage in the Iowa Legislature of an act providing that the Department shall be given the custody of all the original public documents of the state departments, offices, commissions, etc., ten years after the date or current use of such documents (the power being reserved to the Executive Council to order the transfer of such records or their retention in the offices). It is directed that the Historical Department shall arrange, label, file, and calendar the same. The act further provides for the establishment of a Hall of Archives in the new Historical Memorial and Art Building, now nearly completed.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press *The Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, edited by B. F. Shambaugh, and a journal or diary of the War of 1812 kept by Robert Lucas, Governor of Ohio and later of Iowa, which covers the Hull campaign.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April contains an article on "Meskwakia", giving an account of the Meskwaki Indians in Tama County, Iowa, and the lands bought and owned by them between the years 1857 and 1905, by Duren J. H. Ward; and "The Danish Contingent in the Population of Early Iowa" and "The Growth of the Scandinavian Factor in the Population of Iowa", both by George T. Flom. Dr. Thwaites's report on "State and Local Historical Societies", which has also been reprinted separately, is based on data secured by the committee of the American Historical Association in its recent inquiries on the subject.

An interesting contribution to *Annals of Iowa* for April is "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons", by C. R. Marks. This is somewhat abbreviated from a paper read before the Sioux City Academy of Science and Letters and printed in volume one of the *Proceedings* of that society.

The Historical Society of Linn County, Iowa, organized March 31, 1904, and located at Cedar Rapids, has recently begun to publish its *Proceedings*. The first volume, edited by Albert N. Harbert, contains among other papers: "A Contribution to the History of Cornell College", by W. H. Norton; "Early Steamboating on the Cedar", by B. L. Wick; and "Reminiscences of the First Constitutional Convention of Iowa", by Colonel Samuel W. Durham.

*Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa, or Reminiscences*, by Reverend John Todd of Tabor, Iowa (Des Moines, Historical Department of Iowa, pp. 203), and *Memories of Frontier Iowa*, by George C. Duffield (Des Moines, Bishard), are recent books on Iowa local history.

In the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society, vol. III., part 3 (October, 1905, pp. 47), are the following noteworthy communi-

cations: "The Archives of Cuba" (an account of material relating to United States history), by Hon. James S. Zacharie; "Florida as described by a Spaniard in 1568", by Rev. C. F. Widman, an extract in translation from a manuscript of 1568 by Don Bartolome Barrientos, recently published in Mexico; "Journal de la Campagne de Mr de Villiers depuis son arrivée au fort Duquesne jusqu'à son retour aud. fort", a transcript of a document in the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec.

"The Texan Revolutionary Army", by Eugene C. Barker, in the *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly* for April, is based on original sources, particularly the archives of Texas, now in the State Library, and the Austin Papers at the University of Texas. An article on "Lewis Ayers", by Charles H. Ayers, contains some letters bearing on the Texan Revolution.

It is a source of much gratification that the H. H. Bancroft library, recently acquired by the University of California, did not suffer in the late destruction of San Francisco. Less fortunate were the Sutro collection and the Library of the Society of California Pioneers, notable for its collection of type-written reminiscences, which were destroyed. These losses however are of minor importance as compared with the destruction of the Spanish records of California. These records, like those of Florida and New Mexico, were in the custody of the United States Land Office. A year or two ago when the records of Florida and New Mexico were transferred to the Library of Congress the effort was made to secure also the transfer of the California records, but was abandoned owing to local opposition. The records of Florida and New Mexico are now carefully preserved in Washington, while those of California have been destroyed, an irreparable loss to the history of the Pacific coast.

A historical association has been formed in Manila which has for its organ a bilingual review (Spanish and English) entitled *Revista Histórica de Filipinas*.

Volume XXXIV. of *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906, pp. 453), contains the conclusion of the Pigafetta narrative begun in vol. XXXIII., a description of the Philippines written by a Chinese geographer, probably in the thirteenth century, and documents of 1565-1605 supplementary to those of the same period published in earlier volumes of the series.

The fifth volume of the *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, by W. E. Retana (Madrid, V. Suárez, 1905), announced in a preceding number of the REVIEW, contains, in addition to reprints of rare pamphlets and extracts from books relating to the Philippines, a group of documents of 1898 relating to Aguinaldo, collected and annotated by Felipe G. Calderon. Many of these were originally in Tagalog and have been translated into Spanish. A valuable feature of the *Archivo* is the "Revista

histórico-bibliográfica" by Señor Retana, which contains historical notes and extracts from documents in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The author gives an account of the sale of his library to the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas of Barcelona, in whose possession it has been increased by the addition of about 2,000 titles, so that it now consists of 4,600.

We have received the tenth volume of the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, edited by Messrs. Wrong and Langton. This completes the first series of this valuable publication. An analytical index to the series is in preparation and is expected to appear in July.

The *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, by Alexander Fraser (parts I. and II., Toronto, L. K. Cameron, 1905, pp. 1436), contains important documents pertaining to the period 1763-1791. In his introduction Mr. Fraser gives a résumé of the history of the Loyalist migration, to which the documents principally relate.

In *Acadiensis* for April is the first of a series of papers contributed by W. F. Ganong on important New Brunswick settlements of which the history is largely or wholly unwritten. The first article deals with Miscou and is illustrated by maps.

The Archivo Nacional, Havana, publishes a bimonthly *Boletín*, of about twenty pages, devoted to general indexes of the materials in the archives and to unpublished documents relating to the history of Cuba. An index for the years 1902-1905 (the entire period of its publication) has recently appeared, which shows that the depository is rich in materials for Cuban history. Several of the documents printed in the *Boletín* relate to the expeditions of Lopez (1850-1851), and one to the first expedition of the *Virginus* (1871); there are a number of confidential despatches from the captains-general Vives, O'Donnell, and Concha, and other documents relative to revolutionary projects and disturbances in the island at various times, and to the Cuban policy of Great Britain and the United States. The Archivo Nacional contains also a relatively small, but not unimportant, body of materials for the history of the United States, particularly of the Mississippi region, on which a report will soon be issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

A collection of documents relating to the Inquisition in Mexico forms the fifth volume of *Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México*, published by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra (Mexico, Bouret, 1906, pp. 287). This collection comprises manuscripts, for the most part inedited, of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, now preserved in the Museo Nacional of Mexico. The earlier volumes of the series are: (I. and IV.) "Correspondencia de los Principales Intervencionistas Mexicanos, 1860-1862"; (II.) "Mi Historia Militar y Política", by Antonio López de Santa Anna; and (III.) "México durante la Invasión Norte Americana", by José Fernando Ramírez.



*Les Origines Vénézuéliennes; Essai sur la Colonisation Espagnole au Vénézuéla*, by Jules Humbert (Bordeaux, 1905, pp. xx, 337), is the result of an investigation of the archives and libraries of Spain, where the author found material which fills important gaps in known history and is in many cases of the utmost importance and significance. *L'Occupation Allemande du Vénézuéla au XVIe Siècle*, by the same author (Bordeaux, 1905, pp. x, 87), is the development of a single chapter of his longer work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Charles O. Paullin, *The Administration of the Massachusetts and Virginia Navies of the American Revolution* (Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute, March); Andrew McFarland Davis, *The Investments of Harvard College, 1776-1790: an Episode in the Finances of the Revolution* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); Margaret C. Klingelsmith, *Two Theories in Regard to the Implied Powers of the Constitution* (American Law Register, April); James B. Scott, *John Jay, First Chief Justice of the United States* (Columbia Law Review, May); Frederick Trevor Hill, *Decisive Battles of the Law: United States vs. Burr: the Inside History of a "Scotch" Verdict* (Scribner's, June); J. Schouler, *President Johnson's Policy* (Outlook, February 3); William Garrott Brown, *The Tenth Decade of the United States*, concl., VI. *The Thirty-ninth Congress* (Atlantic, April); H. O. McCrillis, *Ancient Pemaquid: the Jamestown of New England* (The New England Magazine, May); R. de Kerallain, *La Prise de Québec et la Perte du Canada, d'après des Publications Récentes* (Revue Historique, March-April); P. de Vaissière, *Les Origines de la Colonisation et la Formation de la Société Française à Saint-Domingue* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Walter L. Fleming, *The Freedmen's Savings Bank* (Yale Review, May); Hubert H. S. Aimes, *The Transition from Slave to Free Labor in Cuba* (Yale Review, May).

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